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J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P. FOR CANTERBURY

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

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HOW TO SMASH THE CABLE RING: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND MARCONI.

By J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P.

INTRODUCTORY.

I DO NOT know if any apology is needed for introducing the venerable figure of Benjamin Franklin in the pending controversy. Americans find themselves confronted by a Cable Trust, which makes them pay prohibitive prices for a privilege of prime necessity. I have ventured to imagine the view of this, that would have been taken by one of the American Great Twin Brethren, a man whose name History has bracketed with Washington's; a man whose genius, wisdom, virtue and nobility of soul are among the most cherished traditions of his country; nay, of our race.

There is no reason why matters of grave importance should not be discussed in the dialogue form. Shakespeare and lesser writers have done it; Franklin approved it. For the rest have we not seen the spectators at a circus, who have languidly watched the solo performance of the "india-rubber man," and his contortions, instantly roused to the keenest interest and attention when two brisk lads step forward to spar?

I have endeavored to reproduce, or at least go upon, the recorded utterances of the great man.

MARCONI AND FRANKLIN.

We were all impressed with the *tableau vivant* presented in the story of Marconi, looking out from a window in a house at St. John's, Newfoundland, over the wild Atlantic; sitting grave, confident, impassive, listening at a telephone—for what? The receiver was attached to a wire that ran out of the window, and thence to a huge kite, furiously buffeted, high above, by the raging east wind, as if demoniac forces knew and would destroy it, and all the good depending on it. The message came—from far Poldhu, Cornwall, England—only one letter; but it was a key-sound that unlocked the immemorial gates of Silence; the tonic of a new world-symphony.

Musing on this picture of the marble-faced young scientist, who waited, still as Canova's "Listening Faun," for a voice from the abyss, methought the scene changed to open country "down South."

The mountainous waves were now golden cornfields, gently undulating in the breeze; the roar of the ocean was rolling away afar, like thunder, with angry mutterings of baffled wrath. The kite still flew overhead; but Marconi had vanished, and its string was held by a person of very different appearance, a long-haired, benevolent-looking man of middle age, who wore an antique coat of sober cut and hue, square-toed shoes, breeches and gray stockings, and a low three-cornered hat. As I gazed, a black cloud enveloped his kite, with wide-spread, threatening arms. He applied his knuckle, a key hung on the string, and drew spark after spark of the potent fluid, which seemed to fill his very being with ecstasy. Then I knew I must be dreaming.

"Benjamin Franklin!" I murmured; "he has been dead a century and more."

I opened my eyes and looked round my study. The fire burned clear; all was still; I leaned back again in my easy chair.

A MAJESTIC APPARITION.

The next moment he stood in the room before me. While inwardly delighted to receive so distinguished a visitor, I resolved to chide Jones, my servant, for suffering him to enter unannounced.

"Friend," said he, "prithce do me a favor."

"I am honored, Sir. What can I do?"

"I desire you to tell me how my countrymen have utilized electricity."

"You mistake; I am not an American."

"What! are those unhappy distinctions yet observed! There should be between Englishmen here and those in Europe but one division—the Atlantic."

"That ocean still separates their bodies; but no longer their minds."

"Would it had been so in my days for the mind *is* the man! If there had been no gulf of ignorant misunderstanding, we should have been spared a fratricidal

war, and a disruption of the Empire. Pray, explain. I hear your words, but cannot understand. What marvel is this; and whose?"

"Yours, Sir."

"Mine!"

"It was your famous kite experiment with the thunder-cloud in 1752 that revealed the subjection of Electricity to man. That force is now transmitted by a cable; that is, a copper wire stretched along the ocean bed, and made to signal instantaneously, by combinations of short and long currents of electricity, used to represent letters of the alphabet, any desired message."

"Wonderful! But such a use of Electricity never occurred to me. I was a humble pioneer, blazing the way. Why assign the credit to me?"

"May I ask *you* a question?"

"Aye, aye."

"What did you think would result from your discovery?"

"It is hard to say what truth may grow to. The expressed thoughts of men, if true, have indestructible vitality, and flourish in the minds that come after them like seed borne on the winds. The tree that bears the seed must remain in its place until it fall; yet the seeds will surely be carried to fitting soil. I never troubled about the matter; I left it."

"Well, Sir, as a patriot and statesman your countrymen have written your name beside that of Washington; as the discoverer of the nature of electricity mankind ranks you with Newton."

DISILLUSION.

"No more on that subject, friend. So the English on one side of the Atlantic, rich and poor, communicate instantaneously with those on the other, sharing joys and sorrows, comforting and cheering one another, as if parting and exile were not, and old homes had never been broken up. What a panorama opens before me! The development of com-

merce, the crowding of a month's negotiations into a moment, the saving of time—equivalent almost to a recovery of the patriarchal span—the virtual annihilation of space, toil, travel and danger; all these boons appear unto me little, as compared with the happiness conferred on the families of the poor, scattered by stern necessity, the wiping away of tears from aged cheeks. But why dost thou shake thy head? Is it not as I have said?"

"Sir, I have devoted the best part of my life to the task of realizing the picture you have drawn; but little has been accomplished. A poor English mother telegraphing to her son has to pay one shilling (25 cents) per word."

"Then the ocean cable wire is made of pure gold?"

"No, copper."

"The supply of electricity is perhaps limited?"

"It is inexhaustible— \neg marvelously cheap to produce."

"You say the English pay one shilling (25 cents) per word. What do Americans pay for this cheap force. *They* would never submit to such an exaction."

"They pay the same rate."

"Then Americans have greatly changed since my time. Their forefathers would not have tolerated any kind of tyranny, whatever form it took. Have they not still self-government? Surely you are dreaming, friend!"

It was true: yet I felt a little hurt.

"I have been called a dreamer because, as a young man, I declared that 'communication between our sundered coasts should be as easy as speech, as free as air,' and I have given my life to realize this ideal. But I am telling you facts."

"Every man of action is a dreamer before he is a doer. But tell me shortly what has electricity accomplished for men?"

THE MISSION OF ELECTRICITY.

"It enables them to communicate over

any distance with the speed of thought; it supplies the motive force for vehicles, ships and machinery of all kinds; it can transport an army or a forest hundreds of miles in a night; it lights up streets and rooms with the brilliance of mid-day."

"These are wonders indeed; I trust all, even the poorest, benefit by them?"

"Alas, no! Electricity is the slave and chattel of monopolists, who, generally speaking, charge prices far above the means of the masses."

"That must be the fault of the legislatures, in other words, of the masses themselves. Electricity, I think—judging from what you tell me—is a gift intended for all mankind. If such things had been known in my time, I should certainly have included it in the second clause of the 'Thanks' section of my 'Articles of Belief,' which ran thus: 'For the common benefits of air and light, for useful fire and delicious water, etc. . . .'"

"Unfortunately, instead of laying wires and cables itself, the State has suffered private citizens to lay them for profit. And much of the apparatus is also private property under patents. The God-given gift of electricity or electric communication has been seized by the monopolists."

"*The State should buy up all useful patents for the use of the public.*"

"I remember one of your biographers makes you say: 'I am not a believer in patents. If the invention is a real public benefit, the people should have the advantage of it.'"

"Yes, that is my view. Take the case of the inland electric telegraph which you describe. You tell me a man in Philadelphia can converse in a sort of alphabet with a man, say in Boston?"

"By the invention of a great Canadian, Dr. Bell, he can have his spoken words, the very tones of his voice, transmitted, without the trouble of writing. The two converse as if they were in the same room. This invention is named the Telephone."

"You amaze me more and more. So most of the time hitherto spent by business men in traveling, or conveying letters by post, is now saved, more business can be done, prices fall, and the nation profits. Moreover, it follows that all private matters of any urgency can be promptly and cheaply settled. The telegraph should therefore be acquired by the State."

"I have advocated State purchase of all electrical means of communication for many years. But the monopolists are too rich and powerful for me."

A CHAINED MERCURY.

"I must not then picture electricity to myself as a newly-descended Mercury, clad in a cascade of fire, with free arm darting beneficent lightnings that shrivel up time, distance, darkness, fatigue—so many of the evils that afflict humanity?"

"No. He is rather a blinded prisoner, like Samson. He is immured in a temple of glass, all hung with silken tapestry. A massive chain of gold binds his wings, and he is condemned to grind for the benefit of selfish masters!"

"Will no spell release him?"

"Yes, one—the shout of an indignant people. It was easier to call him from the clouds than it is to cast down those walls of glass."

"Why not appeal to my countrymen, telling them all this?"

"I am about to do so; and first, on the subject of the charge of one shilling per word for messages sent by electric cable across the Atlantic, which exaction is the most rapacious and mischievous of all."

"I agree with you: who is the owner of this cable? I hope he is not a Bostonian?"

"There are thirteen cables owned by five companies."

THE GUILTY GOALERS.

"Why not persuade the owner of one

cable to send messages at the lowest remunerative rate, and so compel the rest to abate?"

"Sir, I will answer by recalling a repartee of yours. When you and four others signed the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, and got it adopted by Congress, John Hancock remarked: 'We must be unanimous; we must all hang together.' 'Yes, if we would not hang separately,' was your reply. And that is the policy of the cable companies."

The ghost of a smile passed over the grave, handsome face.

"Yes," said he, "if my countrymen knew what we faced for their liberties, they would not lightly give them up."

"About 1885," I went on, "Messrs. Mackay and Bennett, owners of one cable, lowered their rate by way of experiment, to sixpence a word. Their traffic at once leapt up more than 50 per cent.; but so tremendous was the pressure brought to bear by their rivals, that the rate was shortly forced up to a shilling."

"How many words can be transmitted by the thirteen cables?"

"About 300,000,000 in a year."

"Come, that is something to the credit side of monopoly."

"But, owing to the high rate, only 25,000,000 words a year are actually sent and paid for. As a matter of fact, eleven of the thirteen cables are kept unused by the Cable Ring."

"Do you tell me that tens of millions of our countrymen and countrywomen, pining for this electric speech across the ocean with dear friends, or consumed with anxiety as to their business affairs on the farther shore, are condemned to life-long silence and suffering by a handful of hard-hearted capitalists?"

"I do. It was recently given in evidence that not one message in a hundred is of the 'social' or family class. There is a tendency in business to group each industry under a single chief, all the constituent firms obeying a common policy. This is styled a 'Trust,'

and the small manufacturer is hard put to it to hold his ground. The Cable Trust aids its fellow-trusts. Electrical communication, in short, exists, not for the millions, but for the millionaires."

"What are the names of the five companies?"

"The Anglo-American Telegraph Co., the Commercial Cable Co., the Direct United States Cable Co., the Western Union Telegraph Co., and the Compagnie Française des Câbles Télégraphiques."

"The British nation joins in this?"

"The British Cable Trust is far more iniquitous. All the principal cables to every part of the Empire are in the hands of a ring."

RIGHTEOUS WRATH.

The illustrious questioner took two or three hurried turns up and down the apartment, and struck the right fist into the palm of the left hand; but no sound was produced by this action. Only the voice seemed more resonant with suppressed indignation; and I noticed very distinctly the modern Bostonian pronunciation, so piquant to the British ear. He asked:

"Can you tell me how many emigrants annually leave England for the United States?"

"Our emigrants yearly number about 250,000, of whom some two-thirds go to North America. Of 15 millions in the years 1805 to 1900, more than 10 millions went to your country. We send you every two years the population of a minor state of the Union, all young, picked workers."

"In my opinion," said he, slowly, "the two governments should jointly acquire the cables, as you propose, and charge these emigrants and their friends, aye, and our not less deserving traders, just so much as would cover expenditure, and no more. Not a day should be lost, not another tear should fall!"

THE DELIVERY OF THE MESSAGE.

"May I be the honored means of communicating your sentiments on this grave question to your countrymen?"

"If you think there can be communication between the dead and the living, I repeat, you must be dreaming."

At this word "dreaming," I once more shrugged my shoulders impatiently.

"But this you may do. Remind them of any sayings, writings or actions of mine which bear on the matter, and appear to support the principles you advocate, and perhaps they will listen to me, as their ancestors did. Certainly I think my countrymen, unless they are strangely forgetful, will give a fair hearing to any argument based on the opinions of Benjamin Franklin."

"I will carefully observe your wishes. As to the form of the communication, I have your authority for presenting as far as possible the very words of this talk, instead of the ordinary dreary array of facts and statistics, called an article."

"You mean, I have expressed approval of the dialogue form?"

"Yes. Speaking of a book, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which deeply influenced your life, you once said: 'Narrative mingled with dialogue is very engaging, not only to the young, but to adults also. It introduces the reader directly into the company, and he listens to the conversation, and seems to see the parties. Bunyan originated this colloquial style, and Defoe and Richardson were his imitators. It is a style so attractive, conveying instruction so naturally and pleasantly that it should never be superseded.'"

"I remember."

STATE-OWNED CABLES.

"But now tell me, has the experiment of State purchase of cables ever been made?"

"Yes. About eighteen years ago we

wished the British government to join the Belgian and French governments in acquiring from private owners the cables connecting England with the Continent. I saw Lord Salisbury, our Prime Minister, on the subject, and he, being a masterful man, with a knack of trampling on all sorts of opposition and Oppositions, carried out the purchase, in spite of the objections of France and the cable companies."

"I hope the three governments did not lose?"

"They derive large profits (twenty per cent. last year) from the venture."

"Good. But how about war?"

"Cables are useless in war. An eminent expert says they would instantly be cut on the declaration of hostilities. But England is a joint Protector of Belgium, and has since this cable purchase (I do not say, *post hoc, propter hoc*) established an *entente cordiale* with France."

"With France—her ancient, implacable foe!"

"Even so. Our King's is a familiar figure on the boulevards."

How he stared at this!

"But as the English are so often at war, the cables are useless."

"We were only involved in a European war twice in the nineteenth century. Besides, by a marvelous discovery of Mr. Marconi, an Irish-Italian scientist, it is now possible to telegraph without wires."

MARCONI.

"Nay, electricity, like water, needs a channel; or it will return to earth."

"Marconi finds that the electric spark sets up vibrations in the ether, that pervades all space, and these vibrations can be registered and interpreted at any distance."

"At any distance!"

"It is proposed to communicate with the other planets thus, by ethereal signaling."

"How little of science, after all, we

knew in the eighteenth century! Yet how vain some four scientific men were! Then does not Marconi's discovery solve the cable question?"

"No, his rate of transmission is comparatively slow, and therefore costly. Cheap communication must still be by wire."

"But the speed of electricity is constant—eleven times round the world in a second, I think."

"Yes. But while Marconi sends one message, four messages each way can be simultaneously sent by wire. Moreover the cable is not affected by storms. Marconi makes ceaseless experiments, and constantly improves his system, which already fills the place of unalaid, broken or over-costly cables."

"This is the most interesting subject you have introduced. Tell me more."

"His system, or some adaptation of it, has been adopted in the fleets and mercantile vessels of the world, so that every fitted ship is in electrical communication with shore and with other ships. Wrecks and disasters are averted; and a Nelson to-day could know the enemy's positions and mass his country's forces at the threatened point without losing a moment."

"Can he do anything to cheapen communication between England and America?"

"He has personally encouraged me to hope for Anglo-American messages at a penny per word:"

AUSTRALIA.

"This Anglo-French-Belgian purchase is, I gather, the sole example of state-ownership of cables?"

"No. A few years ago the governments of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in face of bitter opposition from the cable companies, established a guaranteed 'Pacific Cable Company,' which has laid a cable from Canada to the Antipodes."

"Australia and New Zealand! What countries are these?"

"They are great British colonies, with a population of 4,000,000, in the South Pacific." Another stare.

A FEW FIGURES.

"Your conclusion is, that the wisest and only feasible policy is for the governments of Great Britain and the United States to become joint purchasers of the Atlantic cables?"

"Yes—at the present market price of their shares."

"Have you any evidence that this would make cabling cheaper?"

"Most conclusive evidence. Sir James Anderson, one of the most sagacious of the 'Cable Kings,' dolefully predicted that state purchase would mean an immediate reduction in cable charges of 50 per cent."

"That is to say, the peoples of Europe and America would find the gulf between them shrink to one-half its width?"

"Yes. Three hundred millions in Europe and eighty-five millions in North America."

He raised his hands in wonder.

"What is the annual total of American imports and exports? I remember it at nearly the imposing figure of \$20,000,000."

"It is now \$3,000,000,000."

My interrogator's lips seemed to be producing a long whistle of astonishment. But as before he produced throughout this interview no sound but his voice—*vox et proeterea nihil*.

"What is the amount of your British general trade?"

"About \$5,000,000,000."

"What is your population?"

"Some 41,000,000."

"And what do these cable owners extort from you yearly for cabling?"

"Nearly \$15,000,000."

THE CULMINATION.

After a pause my companion, who

seemed to labor under growing excitement, suddenly burst forth thus:

"You tell me that a few greedy monopolists stand between these vast masses of human beings, pining for instantaneous communication by means of this beneficent agency; and tax and throttle all this growing commerce?"

"Yes. The cable system of the world ramifies from London, and with state-ownership distance, oceans and deserts could not hinder universal exchange of thoughts as they arose. But the astute founders of the system, led by the late Sir John Pender, laid each wire, to Egypt, India, South Africa, Australia and the United States, at a time when the potential value of cabling, its important bearing on human activity and happiness, were not generally recognized. They were like the speculators who buy up a gold-field before the presence of gold is known to others. When I first attacked them, in 1885, their charges were outrageous. Most of these charges have been beaten down; but they still demand per word to Argentina, 4s. 2d.; Barbados, 4s. 9d.; Benguela, 10s.; Brazil, 6s. 5d.; British Guiana, 7s.; Chili, 5s. 9d.; China, 3s. 10d.; Colombia, 5s. 9d.; Gold Coast, 4s. 10d.; Japan, 4s. 10d.; West Indies, 3s. to 5s. We in England pay £1,000 a day to cable to Australia, £1,000 a day to India, £1,000 a day to South Africa, £1,000 a day to China and the East, and £3,000 a day to the United States. And nobody seems to know how to deal with this vampire trust."

AN EXPLOSION.

The antique figure with the flowing locks of silvery gray strode to the fireplace, took a ponderous poker, and with one blow smashed a log that was burning red. There was a kind of volcano of gas, sparks, smoke and flame, but no sound.

"Aha!" I thought, "if you go on like this, we shall have urgent need for your fire-engine association."

"Act lawfully, justly, deliberately"; said he; "but *smash* it!" Round swung the poker again, like a stream of blue lightning, and oncemore it fell like a mace on the remains of the log, which this time disappeared in a gust of sparks.

Then a strange thing happened. As I gazed, his figure became that of a clean-shaven man of forty in the black dress of a twentieth-century

butler. It was Jones, stirring my fire. "Beg pardon, Sir," said he, "I thought, as it is after midnight, you would like to be woke up."

"Ah, Jones," I replied, taking my candle; "we all, men and nations, sometimes badly need, in your phrase, to be 'woke up.'"

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

London, England.

TWO SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS IN CIVIC GOVERNMENT: GALVESTON AND HOUSTON, TEXAS.

I. GALVESTON.

By GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

ON THE 8th day of September, 1900, the whole civilized world was shocked and horrified at the terrible news of a great natural disaster that had befallen Galveston, Texas. A fierce storm had blown a tidal wave over the city, destroying a large portion of it and sacrificing fully six thousand lives. For a short time, as was inevitable, chaos reigned.

The city government was paralyzed, as several of its members were killed by the storm. New members were elected, but for fully a year no city could have been worse governed or its finances worse mismanaged than they were under this municipal government. It was composed of twelve aldermen elected from the different wards of the city, as is common throughout the United States. Not only did this city government demonstrate its total incompetency to handle the city in its ruined condition, but it really seemed as if the disaster had added to the usual incompetency, corruption, grafting, wastefulness of the city's resources, sinecurism and conditions of general scandal. Though, of course,

there were honest men in the city government, they were in so small a minority as to be unable to stem the tide of inefficiency and corruption.

For years past, the annual budget of the city had exceeded its income from taxes and all other sources by fully \$100,000 and at each meeting of the legislature, which occurs biennially, a bill was introduced asking for authority to issue bonds for this \$200,000 of floating indebtedness. The city was acknowledged to be bankrupt, and the payment of interest on its bonded indebtedness had been defaulted for some time. Everything in the city belonging to the municipal government was in a state of chaos and ruin. The city hall and public buildings were in absolute dilapidation, the sidewalks of the whole city were dangerous and the pavement in the business streets were unsanitary, unsightly and almost impassable. Everything seemed to be going from bad to worse. The disaster, instead of banding the officials together, seemed to provoke further dissension and quarreling and the city was fast drifting to complete

wreck and ruin, when a few of the leading citizens got together and determined that, if possible, this scandalous state of affairs should cease and a new attempt be made to restore the city's finances, as well as to put a stop to the scandals that were disgracing the city throughout the whole country.

A committee was formed which assumed the title of the Galveston Deep-Water Committee. It was composed of fifteen of the leading men of the city and its members represented, possibly, in their various capacities, sixty per cent. of the tax valuation. To these men is undoubtedly owing the rehabilitation of the city's finances, the organization on new lines of its city government, its payment of all public indebtedness and the material progress in civic improvement that has become the astonishment and admiration of the world.

These men got together and thoroughly discussed the local situation. They came to the conclusion that they had been misrepresented long enough. They decided that as they paid the major part of the taxes, they would make a desperate endeavor to control the government for the benefit of the whole of the people, instead of providing sinecures for a lot of politicians, who cared for nothing but their own selfish interests. The problems that faced them were enough to have daunted the hearts of brave and gallant men, and it is nothing to their discredit that occasionally a majority of the members did become discouraged as they saw the Herculean tasks that awaited them.

The first thing to be done was to clean out the Augean stables of the political hyenas. This required the choosing of competent men to take their places. They decided also, if possible, to change the whole form of city government and instead of having the usual ward elections to have the Governor of the state appoint four commissioners, who, with the mayor, should comprise the city government.

To protect it from future storms, it

was deemed necessary to build several miles of sea-wall to a height of some seventeen feet above mean low-water level. It was also deemed necessary to fill up all the low area of the city, which meant the practical raising of the whole area of the city to an average height of about six feet.

When the committee faced these gigantic tasks, most of them felt inclined to throw up their hands, but three or four of their number insisted that what ought to be done could be done, if persistent energy and effort were maintained. Three of these men were chosen to formulate a new charter and to carry it through the legislature. These three men were R. Waverley Smith, the well-known capitalist of Galveston, Walter Gresham, formerly congressman from this district, and J. B. Minor, a successful business man now residing at Beaumont. These men made out so good a case before the legislative committee and so thoroughly worked up the sentiment in favor of helping out Galveston, and the dire straits of the city, owing to the hurricane, were such that that factor alone was forcefully presented as reason sufficient for justifying the change of government, so that when the bill was finally offered, it was duly passed, and on April 19, 1901, received the Governor's signature and became law.

It must not be thought that the bill passed without opposition from the politicians and even some of the citizens of Galveston. It was not to be expected that the jackals of the body-politic of any city would calmly submit to having their carrion removed. In other words, the old ward politics and the old-time adherence to bossism give opportunity for endless petty as well as large grafting, and the politicians fought the innovation tooth and nail. They sent delegations to Austin to help defeat the move. "The old charter was good enough for them; why not let well enough alone? If four men alone were entrusted with the government of the city, what d^r

results might, and undoubtedly would, ensue." But for once the law-makers were really and truly with the people, high and low, rich and poor,—all the people as opposed to the politicians, and, as I have said, the bill was passed and the new charter became law.

It placed the city government in the hands of five commissioners, three of whom were to be appointed by the Governor and two elected by the people without any regard to city ward lines. The avowed object of this was to eliminate politics, as it was believed the Governor would appoint none but honest, capable and efficient men, and that thus a majority of the board could be relied upon regardless of the other two, should the city be so unfortunate as to have the wrong kind of men foisted upon it at the election.

The question now was to find the men to act as commissioners, and the same committee, with its advisors, that had worked for the new charter, at once set to work to examine the qualifications of the men they hoped to secure for the positions. Five men were suggested to the Governor for selection: he appointed three of them and the other two were later elected by the city, and September 18, 1901, the new government was duly installed in office.

I now quote from a letter prepared by the Mayor President:

"On taking charge, the commission government found an empty treasury, city without credit, employes paid in script which was subject to a large discount for cash, and floating indebtedness running back for several years. The personnel of the commission, together with the heads of departments, inspired confidence, and the city was soon put on a cash basis, her credit restored so that it could go in the open market, buy supplies on same terms and prices as our best merchants or wealthiest citizens, and the outstanding script was being taken up with our surplus cash

as it accumulated in our treasury.

"The result of the commission form of government met the expectation of its most ardent friends, and was the pride of every patriotic and civic-loving citizen. Every detail worked without any friction or hitch until a drayman was arrested and fined \$10.00 by our recorder for violating a sanitary ordinance. The case was appealed to the Criminal District Court, upon the ground that our whole city government was unconstitutional, hence the recorder had no authority whatever to impose a fine, and the ground for such action was that a majority of our commission being appointive, the citizen was deprived of the right of ballot guaranteed him by the Constitution. The Criminal District Court affirmed the verdict of the recorder, but the case was again appealed to the Supreme Criminal Court of the state, and to the great astonishment of our people that court by vote of two to one pronounced our form of government unconstitutional, on the ground that our citizens had no voice in the selection of our officers who were administering the government. Later the Supreme Civil Court held that the appointive feature was constitutional, thus our commission was constitutional in civil matters but had no police jurisdiction. There was but one thing to be done and that was to apply to the legislature then in session and nearing its close for a change in our charter eliminating the appointive feature, which was the weak point as decided by the Supreme Criminal Court. We regretted to give up this feature of our charter, because we believed that the very best material for our city government could always be had by the appointive clause it contained.

The emergency required quick action, and upon application of our Board, joined by our citizens, the seemingly objectionable part of our charter was revoked, the entire elective feature substituted and in just two days this act was passed unanimously by both branches of the state legislature, signed by the Gov-

ernor on March 30, 1903, and election for five commissioners under the new charter was ordered."

This new charter contains, in the main, all the provisions of that granted in 1891, and is a most remarkable and interesting document. It is as much an innovation as was the Magna Charta wrested from King John by Stephen Langton and the barons, for it completely wrests the power, when the citizens choose to exercise it, from the politicians of any and all stripes.

Here are some of its salient and novel provisions:

The second section, defines the corporate limits which extend from the point on the east of the island of Galveston to Fifty-sixth street, or to include the league and labor of land known as the Menard Grant, thence to include Galveston Bay and Pelican Island, and one mile north thereof; and the waters of the Gulf of Mexico extending south one league from the shore, from the channel and anchorage on the eastern end of Galveston Island to the western boundary of the city, so as to extend the police authority and jurisdiction, inclusive of Pelican Island, over all the area and territory aforesaid.

Section Five calls for the election of a "Mayor and four commissioners, who shall constitute the Board of Commissioners of the City of Galveston," the Mayor to be President of the board and to be styled Mayor President and to exercise all the functions of mayors in other cities, and the "said board of commissioners shall constitute the municipal government of the City of Galveston."

Section Six confers upon the board all the rights, powers and duties of the mayor and board of aldermen of cities as may be conferred by the constitution and laws of the state, and declares the old board of aldermen at an end.

The pay of the Mayor is \$2,000 and that of each member of the board \$1,200, per annum, payable monthly, each to

give bond in \$5,000 for the faithful performance of his duty.

Section Twelve confers control and supervision over all city departments and calls upon them to designate "from among their members one commissioner who shall be known as 'Police and Fire Commissioner,' and who shall have under his special charge the enforcement of all police regulations of said city and general supervision over the fire department thereof; and one commissioner to be known as the 'Commissioner of Streets and Public Property,' who shall have under his special charge the supervision of the streets, alleys, public grounds and property of said city, and be charged with the duty of lighting the streets, and keeping the streets, alleys, public grounds and property in a clean and sanitary condition, and with the enforcement of all rules and regulations necessary to these ends, and who shall also have under his special charge the supervision of all public improvements, except as herein otherwise provided and shall see that all contracts therefor are faithfully complied with, and that the conditions of the grant of any franchise or privilege are faithfully complied with and performed; and one commissioner, to be known as the 'Water-works and Sewerage Commissioner,' who shall have under his special charge the construction, maintenance, and operation of the water-works and sewer-system and departments of said city, and shall see to the enforcement of all regulations with respect to said departments and with respect to all revenues pertaining thereto; and one commissioner who shall be known as the 'Commissioner of Finance and Revenue,' who shall have under his special charge the enforcement of all laws for the assessment and collection of taxes of every kind, and the collection of all revenues belonging to said city from whatever source the same may be derived, and who shall also examine into and keep informed as to the finances of such city."

Section Seventeen confers upon th

board all the power and they are charged with the duty "of making all laws or ordinances not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the state, touching every object, matter and subject within the local government instituted by this act."

Section Nineteen requires that they "at their first meeting after their qualification, or so soon thereafter as possible, shall select the following officers, to wit: a secretary, a treasurer, an attorney, a recorder or judge of the Corporation Court, an assessor and collector of taxes, a chief of police, a chief of the fire department, an engineer who shall also be superintendent of streets, an auditor, a secretary of water-works and sewerage departments, a harbor master, a sexton, a superintendent of water-works and sewerage, an engineer of the water-works, an assistant engineer of the water-works; and if deemed necessary by the Board, an inspector of water-works and sewerage plumbing, an assistant chief of police, an assistant chief of the fire department and an assistant city engineer. All said officers so elected shall hold their offices for two years, and until the election and qualification of their successors, unless removed by said Board of Commissioners under the authority vested in it by this Act."

The salaries of the chief of police, secretary of water-works, water-works engineer and city engineer are fixed at \$1,500; that of secretary, treasurer, attorney, physician (health officer), superintendent of water-works and sewerage, inspector of water and plumbing, at \$1,200; harbor master, \$1,000; sexton, \$1,000; assistant engineer of water-works, \$1,080; and the commissioners are restricted to a salary of \$900 yearly for any officer elected by them to an office created by them.

The board, in Section Thirty-two, is given full power "to remove any officer for incompetency, inefficiency, corruption, malconduct, malfeasance or nonfeasance in office, or such other causes as may be

prescribed by ordinance, after due notice in writing and opportunity to be heard in his defense."

Section Thirty-four confers general powers as to local governments, paragraph C reading: "To regulate, establish and alter the grade of premises and to require the filling up and raising of the same to such grade at the cost of the owner, or cause the same to be done at his or her expense, in which event the cost of so filling and raising said premises shall be assessed against the same."

They are also granted full power to regulate, control or *suppress* disorderly houses and houses of prostitution or ill-fame, houses of assignation and gaming houses.

They are also empowered to provide and operate a sewerage system and water-works for fire and other purposes, "and to pass ordinances for the condemnation of property for the purpose of establishing, enlarging or maintaining a system of water-works whether within or without the limits of such city."

Section Thirty-seven confers upon them complete control over the harbor of Galveston, dredging, cleansing and protection, but in Section Thirty-eight they are limited in their expenditure to \$3,000 per annum for the purpose of obtaining and maintaining deep water in the harbor.

Under this revised charter the election for the five commissioners was again held, and the same men were elected by handsome majorities. The city to-day is under the control of the same men, save the Mayor, William T. Austin, who died in November, 1905, and in whose stead H. A. Landes is now serving.

To quote again from the Mayor's letter:

"The meetings of the Board are held every Thursday evening at six o'clock, and as the utmost harmony prevails, business at these meetings is held and dispatched in the same manner as that of a bank or private corporation. The city

hall is conspicuous by the absence of politicians and place-hunters, as a simple request in writing from the humblest citizen addressed to the Board meets with the same consideration as would the presence in person or by attorney of our most influential citizen.

All purchases or contracts amounting to \$500.00 or over are made or awarded on sealed bids after being duly advertised, and this saves our city thousands of dollars annually.

"Our cash held for the different sinking funds is let out subject to call, on approved security to our different moneyed institutions at three per cent. interest, which is now a source of considerable income.

"Our Commissioner of Finance and Revenue at the beginning of each fiscal year estimates the income and receipts of the year, and our Board sitting as a whole formulates a budget making disposition of our income, first taking care of fixed expenses such as interest and sinking fund on our bonds and salaries and each head of department furnishes an estimate of fixed expenses, and also contemplated permanent improvements in each particular department, care being taken that expenditures do not exceed receipts, and in no case is this budget deviated from. All unexpended balances at the end of each year revert back to general fund.

"Our city owns its water plant and sewerage system, for which they issued special bonds, and the income not only takes care of the interest and sinking fund of these bonds, but pays a revenue to the city. It also owns and operates its electric-light plant, for its own use only, and being run in connection with

the water-works plant, thereby saves a considerable sum on lighting the city.

"The Commission since its organization has paid off in settlement of old claims and made the following permanent improvements:

Outstanding script and interest issued by previous administration,.....	\$169,924.32
Outstanding judgments paid and cancelled,	21,086.49
Permanent improvement, paving, rock, shelling streets, drainage, etc.	279,638.75
Permanent improvement, water-works, fire department, Jno. Sealy Hospital, city hall, etc.,.....	124,040.33
	<hr/> \$594,689.89

"Besides this, it has defrayed the fixed expenses of the city government on a cash basis, even to paying its laborers weekly in cash. And all this has been accomplished without borrowing one dollar, issuing bonds or increasing the rate of taxation, although our taxable values were reduced 25 per cent. by the calamity of 1900. The above sum of \$594,689.89 was saved and paid out of the general revenues after the fixed running expenses had been paid."

With the building of the sea-wall, the raising of the grades of Galveston and other civic improvements, I shall deal fully in a future article. As, however, other Texas cities have followed Galveston's lead in the matter of the commission form of government, I determined to make a study of the conditions in the city of Houston, which was the first to adopt the new method. The extraordinary results which followed have made Houston almost as noted as Galveston.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, California.

MASSACHUSETTS' HISTORIC ATTITUDE IN REGARD TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT: THE TEACHINGS OF THE FATHERS.

BY HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR.

THE LEGISLATURE of Maine last spring passed unanimously the constitutional amendment for Direct-Legislation. Oregon, adopting Direct-Legislation in 1902, has successfully made tests of it at each election since. Thus wide-spread, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is this movement, now rapidly gaining headway, for the more direct impress of the popular will upon legislation.

In Massachusetts the mildest possible method in this direction has just been defeated in the House of Representatives where the representatives of the people refused to permit the people to make even an expression of their wishes as a guide or suggestion for legislative action. Yet the Constitution of Massachusetts in its Bill of Rights expressly asserts that the people have a right to give instructions to their representatives, that is, not merely to offer advice but to issue instructions.

The conservative classes, who dislike what they imagine to be changes, continually hark back to the good old times of the fathers. Let them consider for a moment, frankly and fairly, what those good old fathers actually thought and did, and then let them ask themselves whether the proposed law involved any change whatsoever in principle, or any deviation from the practice of the fathers.

The Constitution of Massachusetts, with its specific declaration that the people can instruct their representatives, was adopted in 1780. It was prepared by a constitutional convention whose delegates were chosen by the people especially for that purpose. The leading men of the State were its members. Assembled in Cambridge, September 1,

1779, their first action was to vote, 250 to 1, to prepare a Bill of Rights. Why did they set such importance upon a Bill of Rights? Two years before the General Court had resolved itself into a constituent assembly and had drawn up a Constitution which contained no Bill of Rights—no declaration of those fundamental rights which the long struggle of the Anglo-Saxon race had won at great cost and had established as the political essentials of liberty and self-government. This absence of a declaration of rights was one of the chief reasons why the Constitution submitted by the legislature had been strongly defeated by the people. Boston voted against it 968 to nothing.

Therefore the constitutional convention in 1779, direct from the people, determined to set forth and protect the fundamental rights of the people. John Adams, Sam. Adams and James Bowdoin were selected as a sub-committee to draft the Bill of Rights, and with the exception of the article on religion it was written by John Adams, who, afterwards the President of the United States, was probably the most learned authority in Massachusetts on political institutions.

This right of instructions thus proclaimed in our Constitution was no new or unusual right. Our fathers had continually exercised it. Historians state, for instance, that in 1772 and in 1774 almost all the towns in the State with remarkable uniformity gave instructions to their representatives.

Probably no town gives a better illustration of its frequent and continued use than Boston. According to the Town records apparently the first vote of instructions dates far back to 1661. From that year down to the adoption of the

Constitution our fathers gave instructions to their representatives, 1661, '62, '63, '64, '65, '69, '77, '79, '81, '83, '85, 1700, '15, '18, '19, '20, '21 (twice), '22, '23, '27, '29, '31, '32, '33, '35, '36, '38, '39, '44, '55, '64, '65, '66, '67, '68, '69, '70, '72, '73 (twice), '74, '76, '77, '78, '79 and '80 (May). This long enumeration establishes the fact beyond power of disproof that our fathers were accustomed to give instructions to their representatives.

The subject-matter of these instructions covers pretty nearly the whole field of legislative activity both as to general principles and as to special topics: Education, morality, political conduct, agriculture, manufactures, trade and commerce, the fisheries, taxation, debt, military affairs, slavery and constitutional questions relating to the Mother Country and to the other colonies. The instructions of any one year varied from a single subject to a dozen, and in length often covered two pages and in one instance as many as six pages.

The character and quality of the representatives were not lowered by this giving of instructions to them by the people. In 1685 the deputies to the General Court requested such instructions. The leading men of the state were the representatives from Boston. They were men like John Hancock, who was President of Congress, 1774-1776, and was the first to sign the Declaration of Independence, President of the Convention that made our Constitution, and under it the first Governor of Massachusetts, from 1780 to 1784, and again from 1787 till his death in 1793; like Sam. Adams, James Bowdoin, James Sullivan, all of them Governors; James Otis, Oliver Wendell, John Lowell, William Phillips, and a long line of eminent men.

Committees were selected at the town meetings to prepare these instructions, which were presented at a later meeting or adjournment, and after discussion or amendment, were adopted by the voters, and many a time unanimously.

On these committees may be found such names as John Adams, Sam. Adams, Samuel Eliot, Joseph Warren, Richard Dana and Edmund Quincy.

It was not distrust of their zeal or ability which prompted these instructions. The instructions usually began with an emphatic statement of testimony as to the confidence felt by their constituents in the integrity and capacity of their representatives and sometimes even with a similar statement as to the affection felt toward them. Nor did it make any difference how eminent or long-tried in the service were their representatives. No lack of faith led the men of Boston repeatedly to pass instructions for the great champion of their cause, the leader of their town meetings, Sam. Adams, when he was reelected as their representative from 1766 to 1774, though in some of these years he was chosen unanimously. It was the freeman's deliberate exercise of a fundamental political right.

Observe what our fathers themselves thought of this right of instructions. In 1764 they state "By this choice, we, the free-holders of the town, have delegated you the power of acting in our public concerns, in general, as your prudence shall direct you; *reserving to ourselves the constitutional right of expressing our minds and giving you such instructions upon important subjects as at any time we may judge proper.*" Two years later they state that "although it is not customary for us to give instructions to our representatives for their conduct in all cases, or upon all occasions, *yet we hold the right of so doing, whenever we think fit, to be sacred and unalienable.*"

It was this sacred and unalienable right, among others, which the legislature omitted from its proposed Constitution, but which the constitutional convention chosen by the people inserted through the authorship of John Adams and thus established as a bulwark of popular liberty not to be denied while the Constitution endures.

A single instance must suffice to show that the instructions adopted under the new Constitution, which is our present existing Constitution, run in almost identically the same form as before 1780.

In 1783 Sam. Adams himself was on the committee to prepare the instructions. Having been a member of the constitutional convention and of the special committee of three to draft the Bill of Rights, no one better than he knew what that declaration in the Bill of Rights meant, as to the right of the people to instruct their representatives, and thus, under his direction, the instructions ran: "It is our unalienable right to communicate to you our sentiments, and when we shall judge it necessary or convenient, to give you our instructions on any special matter, and we expect you will hold yourselves at all times bound to attend to and to observe them." Such is the interpretation and the unanswerable statement of our existing Constitution from the mouth of Boston's greatest leader in the days of the Revolution.

The first instructions from Boston under the new Constitution were adopted in October, 1780, when among their seven representatives was Caleb Davis who was to be the Speaker of the House. Instructions followed in 1781, 1782, 1783 and in 1785, when John Hancock the leading citizen of the state was elected one of the seven representatives thus instructed.

The careful reader of the above instructions, or rather of these opening sentences, for two pages of definite instructions follow in each case, will notice that the sacred and unalienable right they claim is not only to give instructions to their representatives, but to express their minds and communicate their sentiments. There are several instances where they thus refrained from issuing instructions and contented themselves with an expression of their opinion, as in 1715, 1716, 1726, 1742 and 1760.

New significance and a larger meaning

attaches to the embodiment in our Constitution of this sacred and unalienable right of instructions when in the clear light of history we review the constant use our fathers made of that right which they regarded as so precious.

This right of instructions must not be confused with the other rights enumerated in the same Article, No. XIX., of the Bill of Rights, the right, for instance, of "Assembling, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to consult upon the common good, or the right of" "Requesting of the legislative body, by way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done the people, or of the grievances they suffer." The right of instructions cannot be juggled away by any emphasis placed upon the right of petition. They are separate and independent. Both ordained by the Constitution it is not open to admit the one and deny the other.

To gain a still clearer comprehension of the views of the fathers as to the sovereign source of authority and the power of the people, the earlier Articles should be read and especially Article V., which states that all power residing originally in the people and being derived from them, the several officers of government are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. Obviously the Constitution presupposes that the people as principals or masters may issue their instructions at such times as they may judge proper to those whom they have selected as their agents, and yet to make assurance doubly sure, that all citizens must realize the existence of this fundamental right, the Constitution expressly states in Article XIX.

The judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in an opinion rendered February 24, 1894, in reply to an inquiry from the House of Representatives, stated that the characteristic feature of the Constitution of Massachusetts was that it established "a government by the



Photo. by Young & Carl, Cincinnati, O.

THOMAS McGRADY

representatives of the people, and not a government directly by the people. This was the kind of government to which the people were accustomed." Yes, undeniably, and beyond the power of present-day opponents of the constitutional provision to dispute. Our fathers were accustomed to a representative government in which and under which they were accustomed to give instructions to their representatives as an essential ingredient in that kind of government. The Supreme Court proceeds to explain that the people reserved to themselves no direct power of supervision. They provided for no appeal to themselves from any legislative, executive or judicial act. They apparently relied upon frequent elections; upon the right of meeting and consulting upon the common good; upon the right of petition and of instructing their representatives; upon impeachment; etc.

The Constitution as a whole establishes the government. All rights embodied in it together make up and constitute what is characterized as a representative government. The right of instructions which our fathers declared sacred and unalienable comes as near as any one to being the keystone of the arch. Because they possessed and relied upon the right of instructions, with others, they therefore did not provide for direct power of supervision.

The supreme faith of the fathers in the people as a whole is most strikingly exemplified in the fact that they were the first ever to submit to a Referendum vote by the people, the acceptance or rejection of a Constitution. The other Colonies had each of them before 1780 settled upon their Constitutions. Not one of them had submitted it to the people. To Massachusetts belongs the credit for this almost amazing innovation of the establishment of the fundamental Frame of Government directly upon the will of the whole people. In a letter of August, 1776, John Adams had prophetically

written "The right of the people to establish such a government as they please will ever be defended by me, whether they choose wisely or foolishly." This confidence of the fathers in the people was based on and justified by their experience and knowledge that the people both in their local communities and in the colony as a whole had exercised large powers and had displayed the highest political sagacity. Trained in the town-meeting system each voter became an important and self-respecting member of the governing body. Both the Massachusetts Bay and the Plymouth Colonies had started with every freeman entitled to take part in the "Greate and Generall Court."

In Plymouth Colony, in spite of the fact that the spreading of the settlements and the increase in the number of the towns made it very inconvenient and difficult for all the freemen to attend the regular meetings of the General Court, although a fine of three shillings was imposed for absence, it was arranged that while to the other meetings delegates from the towns should attend to carry on the regular affairs of government, yet to the meeting in June all the freemen should be ordered to come in order to elect officers, and also to enact laws or if deemed prejudicial to repeal those passed by their delegates at the other meetings of the General Court. The Plymouth Colony records state that as late as June 3, 1657, "The whole body of the freemen personally appeared and enacted sundry laws."

Imagine the surprise and indignation of the fathers who in the earliest years had this right and power and had exercised it themselves to enact laws and who had also for long years issued instructions to their representatives, if they had been told by modern wiseacres that they had neither the wisdom nor the right even to offer advice as a suggestion to their representatives as to the laws they desired.

It has been well said that our governments established a system of checks and balances. Of late years the political machinery has been so largely controlled by the party machines and the bosses and so strongly influenced, in many cases, by the lobbying of powerful interests that the system has at times almost seemed to degenerate, as regards legislation beneficial to the common people, into a system of all check and no balance. Again we need the mighty inspiration of the popular voice. Again we need a Sam. Adams to arouse and lead the men of Boston and of the state in championship of great measures that they may insist on appropriate electoral methods by which to make their will felt. Through the voice of the people instructing their representatives "through their constitu-

tional and unalienable right of instructions" we need the stimulus that shall cause the laws to keep pace with the keener moral conscience and with the advancing political sentiment of the age. Though the present political methods handicap or prevent their just participation, the people not only are ready but are eagerly desirous of the legitimate exercise of their ample right and power to assume more specifically the burden and responsibility of popular government. This is the best guaranty that our American form of government will continue increasingly successful to the end, and that like the fathers, the people will continue to deserve and to receive the abundant blessings of Providence.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR.

Boston, Mass.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

BY THOMAS McGRADY.

Note: Thomas McGrady, the author of the following paper, was for fifteen years a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, ever standing high in the respect and love of the people to whom he ministered. Coming from a race that had been oppressed for generations in the Old World, he had learned to hate injustice and oppression with a deathless hatred; and in the free, intellect-stimulating atmosphere of America he had learned the sacred duty of exercising reason, and thinking rather than parroting what others decreed one might think. He was from boyhood a great reader and after he entered the ministry of the church he not only studied exhaustively the writings of the greatest of the church fathers, but he also read the works of the master thinkers of recent centuries who had done so much to advance the cause of science, justice, and freedom. In the philosophy of Socialism he believed was to be found the political economy that embodied the ethics of Jesus and that would emancipate the toilers of all lands while binding them together in a great and truly fraternal brotherhood for mutual development and happiness. He advocated the principles of Socialism with much the same religious fervor that marked the apostolate of Giuseppe Massini. His reading naturally broadened his intellectual vision, and in his writings he spoke of the debt civilization owed to Charles Darwin. He was not blind to the immense service rendered to the oppressed

and the struggling ones by the fearless pen of Emile Zola. His adherence to Socialism and the breadth of thought that could see good in the writings of such men as Darwin, Zola and Renan, aroused the indignation of the dignitaries of the Roman Church. The priest was ordered to recant and to cease to proclaim his adherence to the social philosophy which he believed most perfectly to mirror forth the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. This brought him face to face with a most important question. A great temptation confronted him. In the church he had a good position, a comfortable living, and for one as intellectually brilliant and naturally gifted as was Father McGrady, steady and rapid advance in positions of power and honor in the priesthood was assured. Moreover, he loved the Mother Church with all the deep affection that his race feels for the Roman Catholic religion; but to yield to the autocratic demand of the hierarchy would be to be false to what he believed to be the high demand of justice, duty and human rights. It was to be false to the teachings of Jesus and the early fathers of the church as he understood these teachings. In a word, it would be to sacrifice his moral and mental integrity. A less high-minded man, a person more interested in the flesh-pots of Egypt and personal ease and advancement, would have succumbed to the double temptation, stifling his conscience and sense of right; but this was

impossible for one so constituted as is Mr. McGrady, and with feelings of profound regret that the church he so loved refused to permit him to be an intellectually free man and to proclaim the ethics of social justice, he resigned his position, leaving a congregation that idolized him. Something of the love and reverence felt for him by the members of the church in which he had long ministered may be gained from the following extract from a leading news article published on the first page of the Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, on December 8, 1902. The article opened with these words:

"Yesterday morning, to a congregation that packed his church, St. Anthony's, in Bellevue, Kentucky, Rev. Father Thomas McGrady announced that he was no longer their pastor, as he had resigned the charge, left the priesthood and the church in which he had been reared."

Of the reception of his resignation by the congregation the *Commercial Tribune* said:

"When Father McGrady made his rather startling statement, yesterday morning, to his congregation, there followed a remarkable scene.

"I am no longer your pastor, and this will be my farewell sermon," were the introductory words. It seemed as if all, old and young, knew and fully realized the import of the announcement. There

was bowing of heads, and men, women and children wept. For let it be said that Father McGrady, no matter how far he departed from the rules and doctrines of his church, was still greatly beloved by his congregation in the little city just across the river. They had come to know him as their spiritual father and adviser, as their fellow-man and physician. He comforted them spiritually, but he also had time and again comforted them and others physically. For he went about often doing good to those of the faith and to those not of the faith. In Bellevue, in the neighboring communities and on this side of the river the man came to be known. His ministrations were to the sick physically as well as to the sick spiritually.

"After the services almost all of the congregation lingered and crowded about their beloved pastor, weeping and pleading with him not to leave them. It was a scene remarkable in this day and in this country. But the priest remained firm."

The following contribution by Mr. McGrady, coming as it does from a man who officiated as a priest for fifteen years, with a splendid record for faithful service, and who gave up a position of ease, with splendid prospects before him, rather than be untrue to the dictates of his higher nature, is worthy of the thoughtful consideration of all lovers of intellectual liberty, justice and human progress.—Editor of THE ARENA.

DIVERSE opinions are held to-day, in the United States, by the conflicting schools of political and economic thought on the influence that the Catholic Church will exercise in suppressing the growth of the socialist movement. It has been frequently intimated, and sometimes openly declared, by representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties, that the Church of Rome will be the bulwark against the onward tide of economic revolution, and their views have been sanctioned in many cases by the metropolitan press. The disciples of the Marxian philosophy maintain that any Church which presumes to dabble in politics is destined to suffer loss and sustain defeat by disunion and dismemberment; for in that field of thought and activity the laic asserts his independence and will not be governed by clerical authority, and in support of their views they refer to Protestant secession in the United States on the question of slavery. Again it is said that Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany are dominated by Catholic influence, and yet in those

countries both the Catholic laity and members of the Catholic clergy give their support to the revolution.

Having spent fifteen years in the Roman Catholic priesthood, and being thoroughly acquainted with the history, theology, laws, institutions and the spirit and ambition of the Church, I am prepared to give an opinion on this much mooted question. The inference drawn from Protestant dismemberment on the question of slavery in America has no application to the empire of the Pope. The Catholic Church is an organization which has its center of unity in the Eternal City, cemented by the primacy and infallibility of the Holy See. She has the same faith, speaks with the same voice, commands with the same authority and inspires the same obedience wherever her temples are erected and her altars are consecrated to receive the homage and adoration of her loyal children. The Pope cannot err in proclaiming dogmatic and moral definitions. A Catholic must accept the entire body of doctrines or he ceases to be a Catholic. There is no place for individual opinion

Private interpretation is strictly prohibited. Reason is dethroned and authority usurps its place. This accounts for the fact that an intelligent Catholic never becomes a Protestant. The moment he repudiates one dogma of his faith he bids farewell to the altar of his sires and adopts the religion of science. The Pope is not infallible if he commit a single error, and if the Pope be not infallible, the Bible is a human creation, and Christianity is a human institution.

The Catholic Church brooks no compromise. She maintains her position with heroic courage. She disputes every inch of territory claimed by science, and only submits when absolutely conquered, though she never admits defeat. She meets the enemy with scorn and defiance. When victory ultimately perches on the flag of her adversary, she adroitly veers around, and qualifies her doctrines and attempts to reconcile her views with the logical and indisputable deductions from the facts of scientific discovery, and finally adopts the universally accepted conclusions of the learned without reservation. But in this triple attitude of defiance and condemnation, compromise and reconciliation, submission and acceptance, she maintains that she has never changed. She cannot admit defeat. The acknowledgement of defeat is a confession that she had previously erred in condemning what she now sanctions, and such concession would demolish the doctrine of infallibility. She evades all difficulties arising from her contradictions, by creating in the person of the Holy Father a dual character, in one of which he plays the rôle of a human being with all the defects of a fallible creature, and in the other he is the vicegerent of the Nazarene, and his utterances in that capacity are hallowed with divine authority. Popes have contradicted the pronouncements of their predecessors, but the Church has always contended that the first spoke in his human character, while the latter expressed the fiat of

heaven. It is an arduous task to decide when the incumbent of the Holy See speaks with human, and when he speaks with divine authority. It is this uncertainty which enables the Church to proclaim the condemnation of science in solemn and terrific language, and at the same time to escape the censure of committing herself to error. The Pope may err, but the Church is infallible, for the Pope errs only in his human character. Thousands of books have been written, and the learning and genius of the Church has been expended in disproving the fact that the heliocentric theory was condemned by papal authority. Doctor McGlynn was excommunicated by the Holy See for advocating the Single Tax, and the Papal encyclical on labor, issued in 1891, distinctly mentions the land question and unequivocally places the doctrine advocated by Henry George under the ban. Two years later Doctor McGlynn was restored to the Church, without a word of recantation, and the Church maintained that he had never been excommunicated.

The Roman Church succeeded the Roman Empire, and she inherited the institutions, the literature and the laws of her pagan predecessor. The dominion of the Cæsars was world-wide. It extended from the vine-clad hills of Caledonia to the ramparts of Gog and Magog. It was the mightiest power on the globe. Roman ambition thirsted for universal empire. It was the dream of the bard and the pride of the statesman. It was the inspiration of its legions and the glory of its generals. But a conquering nation must cultivate the science of jurisprudence. Law follows the sword. Rome became familiar with the customs of the conquered tribes, and from this vast knowledge of the common law of diverse peoples she created the most remarkable system of jurisprudence that the world has ever known. The Papacy was established on the throne of the Cæsars, and inherited the ambition for universal empire. The study of law was an es-

sential concomitant of this glorious dream, and the Roman ecclesiastics became masters of Roman jurisprudence. They adopted the law of pagan Rome as the basis of ecclesiastical law. The canon law and the civil law are wedded, and whenever the Church met the barbarian, she combined the establishment of government with the Christianization of the tribe. The Roman ecclesiastics are the ablest lawyers and diplomats that Christian civilization has produced. For three hundred years they defeated all the efforts of juridical lore in England to enforce the laws of mortmain which were passed to prevent the growth of vast estates in the possession of the monastic institutions.

The Church of Rome is the most potent psychological factor since the dawn of history. In the language of Lord Macaulay, she has been created and fortified by the wisdom of fifty generations of statesmen till her organization is almost perfect. She knows how to adapt herself to circumstances and to utilize the ability of individuals and the eccentricities of human character. She inspired the youthful hero with visions of glory and transformed the religious dreamer into an ardent soldier of the Cross, and Loyola created an army that has braved the perils of land and wave to extend the Papal empire. She has found a place for the ambitions of the high and the lowly. She has opened a way for the exercise of masculine power and of feminine enthusiasm. Through the confessional the voice of the millions resound in her ears. She is familiar with their thoughts and desires, their woes and sorrows, their pleasures and joys, their sins and crimes, their strength and weakness. She is acquainted with their social and domestic relations. She knows the heart of the peasant and the soul of the king, the simplicity of the cottage and the splendor of the court. She knows how to mete out rewards and threaten punishment so as to accomplish her designs. She is imperious with

the weak and bland with the mighty, when she realizes that she will lose in the conflict. When fear is the best weapon she is relentless, when courage is requisite she is equal to the occasion. Persuasion is used when command would fail. She rewards the loyal and efficient servant with the highest honors, and she visits the obstinate with excommunication and degradation. Her ritual is charming, her ceremonial is grand, and her services dazzle the mind of the untutored with reverential awe. With these marvelous gifts, using every weapon, appealing to every sentiment and every emotion in the human heart, adapting herself to every phase of human society, and to the temperament and peculiarities of every individual, anticipating every danger, ready at all times for sedition and revolt, enlisting in her service the highest talent—men and women taken from all ranks of life, she has outlived feudalism, which is her natural environment; she has flourished with modern democracy, and although declining, still controls the thoughts of millions. Her authority and her institutions have been the secret of her power and the means of her long domination.

Protestantism has never been clothed with the circean charms of Romanism. Luther rebelled against the domination of the Vatican, repudiated Papal authority, and established the principle of private interpretation. Ecclesiastical infallibility vanished. The laic was endowed with the privilege of seeking his inspirations from the sacred books. The ceremonial was simplified, the services were performed in the vernacular, the charm of mystery faded from the temple, and the majesty of God no longer reigned in the silence of the sanctuary. The clergyman lost his superiority. The Church sacrificed her supremacy in the spiritual world and the pulpit can no longer dictate to the pews. The parson is the hired servant of the congregation and his position depends on the will of the people. Clerical aristocracy —

abolished and spiritual democracy was enthroned. Hence when the question of slavery was agitating the American nation, the parson presiding over a slave-holding congregation, was compelled to defend the masters from the charge of infamy. He had no choice in the matter. He must be consistent. If slavery was wrong it was his duty to denounce the crime and reprimand the master. As the slave was property, the clergyman could not interfere with that sacred right and hold his position as pastor of the Church. His material interest inspired him to sanctify the servitude of the Ethiopian with biblical quotations and consecrate the use of the lash with divine authority.

The priest is appointed by the bishop and the bishop is created by the Pope, and the entire hierarchy is independent of the laity. The Catholic has not the courage to rebel against the authority of the Church, for rebellion signifies excommunication and eternal damnation. Only a complete religious revolution could break the dominion of the clergy. Owing to the iron-clad authority of Rome, and the appalling results of excommunication to the loyal Catholic, revolutions are rare in the Papal empire, and only occur after centuries of abuse and oppression. Revolt was brewing in the Church for three hundred years before it took definite form in the Protestant Reformation. The monarch of the Tiber still reigns in the City of the Twins, and royal principles still govern the Catholic Church throughout the world.

In attacking socialism the Roman hierarchy eliminates economic discussion and evades the cesure of dabbling in politics by removing the question from the material to the spiritual plane, basing the condemnation of the Marxian philosophy on dogmatic and ethical principles. This method of warfare terminates all controversy. The Catholic can not repudiate Papal authority and remain within the pale of the Church. Her decision is final. He bows in sub-

mission to the voice of the Church, for she has charge of the fountain of grace and holds the keys to the eternal mansions.

Even when the Catholic has lost faith in the divine mission of the Church it is a long time before he can escape her psychological influence. I shall never forget my personal experience. I dreaded to take the final step. It meant the sacrifice of my dearest friends, and associates. I turned from the fondest memories of my childhood, and I tried to forget the sweetest recollections of my ministerial career. But they have lingered in my mind like charming dreams with visions of pleasures that were forever dead. With the memory of my anguish still fresh and green, I can sympathize with the devout Catholic who must choose between the Church and socialism. In my case it was a battle between head and heart. My reason led me forth from the sanctuary, but sentiment and affection cried out for me to remain at the altar. In the case of the simple and untutored laic, heart and mind combine their powers in claiming his fidelity to the ancient creed.

A few priests in Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany have accepted the doctrines of socialism, but they are not as a rule active in the work. They observe silence and their influence is not widely felt. Moreover those countries are not dominated by Catholic thought. Holland is Protestant. In Belgium Catholic sentiment is wielded in defense of the throne and the castle, and its influence is confined to women and children. In France republicanism is identified with atheism and the royalists, in coöperation with the Church, have utilized the superstitions of the ignorant peasantry to overthrow democratic government and reinstate the Bourbons, though both the clergy and the nobility are permeated with unbelief. Ninety per cent. of Frenchmen are avowed agnostics. In Italy religion is practically dead. The temples are de-

serted, the priests are called beggars, and the Pope is treated with contempt. I have witnessed services in St. Peter's on Sunday, and there were not two score worshipers in that vast edifice, the largest and grandest in the world. There are four hundred churches in Rome and the total number of attendants at a Sunday service will not aggregate twenty thousand people.

Christianity is rapidly decaying in the kingdoms of its early birth, its prolonged career and its magnificent triumphs. Wherever Protestantism established its empire and became the dominant creed, the ancient church revived and grew and flourished with the new faith. Catholic and Reformer met on the arena, and the contending armies of the Nazarene crimsoned land and wave with human blood. Bigotry was engendered; religious fanaticism was inflamed; hatred and vilification, criminations and recrimination followed; and the best energies of the Christian mind were expended in disputes over the versions of the Bible and the authenticity and inspirations of the sacred books. The mutual animosity of the embattled hosts eventuated in the obscuration of the mental horizon, the prevention of scientific investigation, the intensification of religious fanaticism, and the perpetuation of ignorance and superstition.

The countries that were not invaded by the evangelists of the new creed, escaped the reign of spiritual frenzy, and the laity were preserved from mental perturbation, which is the greatest obstruction to accurate observation. The hierarchy was subjected to close scrutiny and fearless criticism; the conduct of Pope and priest was weighed; the people thought and observed, and observation led to investigation and the ascertainment of truth. Hence Italy and France have repudiated the Church. Catholic sentiment has lost its influence over the Belgian population, and religious reverence is rapidly vanishing in Spain and Austria. Protestant supremacy was

established in Germany, but the Germans are thinkers and philosophers, and ecclesiastical domination has perished in the land of Luther.

For these reasons no comparison can be inferred from Catholic defection in Europe to substantiate the claim that the Church will not be able to control her population in America. In the foreign countries cited, Catholic influence is destroyed and Catholic faith is dead. The priests, like the people, are generally free-thinkers, and have no sympathy with the pretensions of the Papacy. Economic pressure is far more acute than it is in America and it is felt by the clergy as well as the laity. Catholic Europe has been burdened by convents and monasteries and religious fraternities, besides the ever-increasing army of secular priests. The congregations are diminishing and the revenues are dwindling. The ecclesiastical funds in Italy are mainly derived from offerings presented by the faithful in other lands, from foreign collections and from money expended by tourists who come from all parts of the world to visit the cradle of Western civilization and the home of infant Christianity. There is a plethora of clerical force, and the surplus army of spiritual toilers enables the bishops, the employing class, to reduce wages and exercise despotism. It is these conditions that make the clergy of Catholic Europe revolutionists. Their constant defection from the ranks of the priesthood excites no wonder among the people and fails to intimidate the dominant element in the Church.

Again, the Socialist Party in Catholic Europe is distinguished by the magnificent array of talent which it has enlisted in its cause. Learning, culture and refinement of the highest type have been consecrated to the work of the new civilization. There genius finds a magnificent stage for the display of its powers. The scholar, the orator and the thinker become national characters, and meet with men of the highest aspirations and w

excelling in all the charming graces of their sex. The priest makes no social sacrifice in casting his lot with the toilers of Catholic Europe. There is every incentive to inspire the lover of liberty, and when the revolutionary blood of the ecclesiastic has been stirred by the oppression which he has endured, and the despotism that he beholds in the land, he abandons the altar and ascends the rostrum.

It will be a long time before similar conditions prevail in America, and it will be a long time before the Catholic Church loses her power in this country. Religious intolerance and fanaticism still exist in the north of Europe, and in the British Isles, where the hostile camps of the Christian empire have long fought for their sacred rights; and although it is not manifested on the surface, that bigotry has been transplanted on the shores of the Western world, and Catholics and Protestants contend for supremacy in the land of Columbia. This is a Protestant nation. It was populated by immigrants and exiles and colonists from lands where Protestant supremacy had been established. The Catholic, fleeing from persecution in his native land, met here the enemy of old. The battle was renewed, hatred for the heretic and Catholic was transmitted, and jealousy still survives and keeps alive the flaming billows of religious zeal. Here the Catholic is loyal and devout, and ready to suffer for his faith. Although this is a Protestant realm, Rome is stronger in America than in any other land beneath the sun, and it is on the shores of the Western world that she is determined to make her last grand fight for universal domination. She is mighty in the loyalty of her people, and that devotion of her children enables her to play a magnificent rôle on the stage of American politics.

There are three million Catholic voters in this republic. Although the Church claims that she does not interfere with the politics of her subjects, nevertheless, she controls their votes. She denounces

neither of the old parties, for both stand for the established order. It is immaterial to her whether the Democratic or the Republican is elected. But whenever the candidate takes a position against the Church or advocates a measure that would be detrimental to the pretensions of the Papacy, or the interests of the hierarchy, he is destined to meet his Waterloo. This spirit of solidarity of the Catholic population was manifested in California when Judge Maguire was nominated for governor. San Francisco had always gone Democratic by a large majority, but in that campaign, owing to the influence of the Church, San Francisco went Republican by an equally large majority, and Maguire was defeated. Maguire was called a renegade, because he had deserted the creed of his fathers. On the morning of the election, Father Yorke's speech, delivered the previous night, in which he excoriated Maguire and called upon Catholic fidelity throughout the state to preserve the commonwealth from the pollution of the apostate was printed in all the Republican dailies in California. As a result of that diplomatic stroke the Republican nominee was elected.

Through the ballot the Catholic Church is the mistress of the situation. She can defeat any candidate, blight the career of the politician and control the action of the statesman. She forced the government of the United States to send its representative to the Vatican armed with plenipotentiary powers to grant all her claims in the Philippine Islands. She affiliates with no political party, and yet she dominates the two great parties of this country. She compels the Democrats and the Republicans to court her patronage and seek her influence. When the Know-Nothings of America affiliated with the Republican Party, the Democrats denounced the narrow-minded policy of the bigots, and they gained the votes of the Catholics throughout the land and the sanction of the Roman Church.

In the coming conflict between the old order and the new, the Papacy must by its inherent constitution, take its stand with the conservative element. Progress means its death-knell. The dogmas of the Roman Church will not endure the test of scientific analysis. Therefore she seeks refuge in the shadows of ignorance. The inauguration of socialism is the triumph of democracy, and the Catholic Church is a relic of feudalism. The establishment of socialism is the death of aristocracy and the Church has ever maintained the divine right of kings and the divine institution of castes. Socialism stands for justice to all, special privileges to none. It stands for economic equality, which would enable the toiling millions to enjoy all the blessings of civilization which glorify the dawn of the twentieth century. Under its *régime* the child would be redeemed from the bondage of toil, and spend its youthful years in the acquisition of knowledge, and fortified with the advantages of the highest education it would spend its leisure hours in thought and study. Ignorance would ultimately disappear from the land. The political and economic tenets of socialism can never be reconciled with the aristocratic pretensions of Rome. Self-preservation, the first law of nature, will inspire the Church to cast her lot with the capitalists, and she will ever use her influence in the perpetuation of class-rule and the domination of wealth.

The commercial magnates realize the potency of the Catholic Church in directing the minds and governing the thoughts of her subjects. They know that she is their most redoubtable ally, and therefore they woo her favors and cringe at her throne. Edward the Seventh made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Apostles. The Kaiser followed his example. The President of the American Republic sent handsome gifts to the throne of St. Peter, and Morgan redeemed costly vestments and presented them as tokens of respect to the Fisherman on the shores of the Tiber.

The press will publish no communication of a derogatory character against the interest of the hierarchy, and the Protestant pulpit has ceased to hurl anathemas at the Vatican. Presidents, politicians, statesmen, financial kings and industrial magnates, journalists and publishers, realize that Rome is a mighty potentiality on the American continent and they court her smiles and fear her frowns. Rome uses the boycott with terrific results. With this weapon of coercion she dominates the political and the commercial sphere from the ruler of the nation to the humblest merchant.

The Socialists in this country are lacking in every qualification that would enable them to meet the onslaughts of their spiritual foe. Learning, eloquence, diplomacy, are all on the side of Rome. Hero-worship controls every rank of society, and its baneful influence has always been wielded to aid the rich and the powerful in crushing and exploiting the poor and the weak. The toilers are especially victims of this form of idolatry. They have been oppressed by the ruling class and have been deprived of the higher gifts of civilization. It is quite natural for them to offer their adoration at the shrine of those who are distinguished by the magnitude of their wealth and the profundity of their erudition, especially when the press and the pulpit, the school and the university, hold these men before the world as examples for imitation and public homage. The Catholic Church is the nursery of hero worship, and the Catholic workingman is more servile in his veneration at the altar of the human god than his fellow toilers. Every institution of his creed is permeated with this potential cult. The Socialists spurn hero-worship. They are familiar with the law of development, and know that the great and the mighty are the creatures of environment. They are students of anthropology, biology, criminology and sociology, and they realize that the poor and the weak have been victimized for the exalt

and glorification of the wealthy and the powerful. They know that the intelligence and culture of the dominant class have been created by the sacrifices of the serving class. The ignorance and poverty of the one represents the wealth and splendor of the other. With the establishment of economic quality hero-worship will vanish as there will be no down-trodden millions to offer their vows at the shrine of human deities. The Socialists are familiar with the methods by which the dominant element has exploited the serving element, and they know that exploitation has resulted in driving the helpless poor into the slums which breed ignorance and vice and crime. They realize that hero-worship has been utilized by the exploiters to command obedience and submission from their victims. It is quite natural that they should spurn the cult practiced in the temple where sycophants and hypocrites join the cringing multitude in presenting their oblations to human gods who are frequently canonized scoundrels and sanctified criminals. Many Socialists in the discussion of the economic problem with Catholics, recognizing the pernicious influence of hero-worship indulge in bitter tirades against the Church and her institutions. They denounce religion as the embodiment of iniquity, and rudely tell their fellow-toilers who are adherents of Rome that their Church is the most potent instrument of crime that has ever cursed humanity. The Socialist falsely and stupidly imagines that the insulting diatribes hurled at the Pope and the institutions of Catholicism will eventuate in the destruction of religious influence, and in the conversion of the Catholic. But he defeats his purpose. He has succeeded admirably in fanning the flame of religious fanaticism in the heart of his fellow-toiler, who is now fortified in his faith, and is ready to don the panoply to battle for his Church and the destruction of her enemies. There are very few Socialists who are qualified to address Catholic

workingmen, owing to their dense ignorance of the Church and the thoughts, sentiments and inspirations she creates in the hearts of her disciples. Hero-worship is the concentrated heritage of a thousand generations, and it will survive the industrial revolution by at least a century.

There is yet a vast field in this country for the Catholic clergy. In all the Middle, Western and Southern states there is a deficiency of priests. The Church offers them economic security, a life of ease, comfort and study, social influence and ecclesiastical honors. The Socialists, in this country, are deficient in the culture and refinement which characterize the movement in Catholic Europe and there is no compensation for the sacrifices which the priest makes in the renunciation of his ecclesiastical affiliations. Capitalism and Catholicism glorify their heroes to augment their power and magnify their influence. American Socialists sacrifice their heroes in the flaming fires of jealousy. The movement is yet too small and insignificant to attract the genius of the land, and the party is directed by the paltry and sordid conceptions of small men.

In the present stage of the movement the Church partially ignores the blatant utterances of the boorish propagandist. She realizes that his ruthless methods will never appeal to the Catholic. The ignorant invective will fortify the faith of Catholics, strengthen the position of the Church and confirm her claim that socialism and atheism are identical. Dr. Buckle says, in his *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England*, that you can never destroy superstition by direct attack. Opposition merely inflames the fanaticism of the religious devotee and increases his loyalty to the Church. The A. P. A. movement in America resulted to the advantage of Catholicism. Its bitter denunciations recalled thousands of former members who had renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome to the creed of their childhood and the altar of their sires.

Rome never sleeps. She is silently observing the growth of the socialist party in America, and is preparing herself for the coming conflict. She takes the side of the capitalist as well as the laborer and thus she escapes the accusation of partiality. She preaches justice to all. She defends the right of private property in the instruments of production and distribution, and thus strives to earn the title of the savior of society. At the same time she denounces the trusts and the illegitimate acquisition of wealth and sanctions the unions, and thereby gains the confidence and esteem of the middle class and the army of toilers. She will continue this method of defense, and assume the attitude of mediator between the rich and the poor, till the wealth of the nation has been absorbed by a few billionaires. When all reform parties and reform measures are swept from the arena, when all thinking men realize that reformation is an impossibility, when economic revolution becomes the shibboleth of the workers and the middle and professional class, who will eventually be compelled to combine with the toiling hosts in the preservation of society from the domination of wealth, then the prophecy attributed to Mark Hanna will be accomplished, when he said that the day was not far distant when the conflict would be a battle royal between socialism on one side and the Republican party allied with the Catholic Church on the other. She has the education, the eloquence and the influence, and the capitalists will place millions at her disposal to send forth her apostles to extirpate the socialist movement from the land, to demolish the temple of atheism and the altar of iniquity, and to preserve our glorious civilization and our beloved country, the grandest and the mightiest that ever lay beneath the heavens, and basked in the splendor of the noon-tide sun, where any laborer can become president of the Republic.

But there are dangers ahead. Rome is never satisfied. She thirsts for abso-

lute supremacy. She insists on the monopoly of education. She knows that she can form the plastic mind of the child and inflame the heart of the youth with her spirit by having charge of its early training. This ambition was the origin of her conflict with the French government. The monastic institutions wanted to control the education of the realm, and the teachers in those institutions sought to inflame the students with hatred for the republican form of government, with the hope of utilizing the coming generation in the restoration of the royalty. Rome has denounced the free schools of this country for a generation. She now hopes that the government will ultimately commit the education of the children of the republic to her charge as a reward for her services in espousing the cause of law and order, and as an essential means of her final victory over the legions of atheism. She contends that godless education engenders socialism. Archbishop Quigley of Chicago said that socialism must be crushed in this land and the public schools must be abolished, as a means of preserving the American Republic, and this sentiment has been repeated by Catholic divines from shore to shore.

The triumph of monopoly will swell the ranks of socialism by the accession of the toilers and the middle professional class. Catholics will gradually break their allegiance with Rome for necessity will compel them to join the army of revolutionists which the Church condemns. The political character of the Church will be revealed by her open defense of commercial and industrial despotism, for when there are only two classes she will be driven to the necessity of committing herself and taking the side of the exploiters, the sacred charm of her mysterious influence will fade, religious rebellion will follow, and Rome will ultimately go down in ignominious defeat with her capitalistic allies.

T. McGRADY.

San Francisco, Calif.

"WHAT IS TRUTH?"*

BY REV. WILLIAM R. BUSHEY, LL.M.

OVER 1900 years ago a very memorable trial took place at Jerusalem. The central figure of the group that stood in the Judgment Hall of the Roman Procurator was accused of blasphemy in that being a man He called Himself God.

Around the Victim stood a motley crowd: Roman soldiers, big, hard-hearted fellows, inured to all kinds of cruelty; members of the once famous Jewish Sanhedrin; and on the outskirts of the crowd, the Jewish mob clamoring for blood.

And gazing upon the Victim and His accusers stands or sits the representative of the great power of Rome—then Mistress of the World.

Listen! The great Roman Governor, who is to decide the Victim's fate, asks this helpless Victim a question—"What is Truth?"

Study the picture awhile and note the great contrast between the Victim and the mob. And what a question to ask of one accused of teaching blasphemous doctrines and charged with perverting the people.

The question of Pilate was asked many years ago, and while the speaker is ancient, the subject is not. The Truth doubted then is the same which is doubted now. The question which the Roman Procurator asked over 1900 years ago is a question which agitates the world to-day: "What is Truth?"

The skepticism of Pilate was not as to matter, or motion, or force. We may infer that he was a firm believer in everything he saw. He did not doubt his senses, or his reason, or the reality of plain, palpable, everyday experience. Although he was unable no doubt to explain many of the things which he saw,

*St. John, 18: 38.

yet that was not the kind of truth he suspected. It was the truth that Jesus had come to bear witness to, which caused Pilate's question. It was the truth in regard to the permanent realities of life, the truth about God and eternity, and duty and destiny,—the truth which "underlies all changes and overarches all experiences"—the Truth for which the Christian Creeds to-day stand.

Pilate had just asked the question—"What is Truth?" when he almost immediately says, "Behold, the Man." And again in the course of that memorable trial Pilate asks another question, "What shall I do unto this Jesus which is called Christ?" and out of his own mouth a few moments later comes the answer, "Behold your King."

This may be all sentiment, as some would say, but that same sentiment is responsible for all that has been produced for the betterment of the race and for the promotion of man's highest physical, moral, and spiritual welfare. It is the same sentiment which has fought and won all the great battles of the world.

We hear a great deal in these days about Science and its relation to life, but life is something more than flesh, and bones and blood. Are all thought, and feeling simply modifications of matter? Are conscience and character, faith and hope, love and righteousness nothing but so many fluctuations or changes of this matter? Are all that remain of this faith and hope, this love and righteousness nothing but dust and ashes, water, and carbonic acid gas?

No. The more we rightly study the person of Jesus of Nazareth the more are we impressed with the fact that the

real truth of His Person is not to be found in the matter of Its flesh, but in the magnificent, glorious Divine Spirit which shines out of that tabernacle of clay.

But don't tell us that Jesus Christ was simply a man and nothing more. The results of His life disprove it. If you study His life it will grow upon you even as it grew upon His first disciples, to whose early questioning about him, the wise and simple answer was "Come and see."

Let us cast away our skepticism and our prejudice and "Behold the Man"—"Behold your King." Gaze upon the God-man, and we will find that He stands not only for the perfect type of humanity, but He is a mirror of Divinity. Nay, not a mirror simply, but the very reality—"Very God of Very God."

This age is no different in many respects from those which have preceded it. The history of the Christian Church shows that there have always been some who have seen in Jesus Christ only the carpenter's son, only the son of Joseph, only a good man and nothing more.

Modern skepticism following in the footsteps of its earliest development lays much stress upon the fact that the New Testament contains no other reference to the stupendous event of the Virgin Birth than those in the early narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke. A careful study of the matter will, however, convince an unprejudiced mind that each one of the four Evangelists understood the doctrine of the Incarnation when writing his narrative. (See this question fully treated in E. Griffith Jones' *The Ascent Through Christ*, Book II.)

The Child that is born of the Virgin Mary is the Son of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost, and agreement on this point is not confined to St. Matthew and to St. Luke, but the doctrine pervades the whole New Testament. It is true that the full details of the Virgin Birth are to be found in the First and Third Gospels, yet throughout the other

books of the New Testament allusions are repeatedly made to the real and ideal elements in the birth of Jesus; for instance, St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians (4: 4) says: "But when the fullness of the time came God sent forth his Son, born of a woman," etc. (See this fully discussed in Dr. Fairbairns' *Studies in the Life of Christ*.)

There are two sources of *original* evidence concerning the Virgin Birth, viz., the Blessed Virgin herself and Joseph, her espoused husband, and the question may be asked if in the narratives of St. Luke and St. Matthew we have been given respectively the true record of the event as told to the two Evangelists by these two witnesses. A careful examination of the narrative of St. Matthew shows us the side of Joseph, while in the narrative of St. Luke we have set before us the story as told by the Blessed Virgin herself.

Now whatever may be the sources of information of the two narratives, whether dependent upon the same source or independent, they agree in presenting to us the same incontestable fact—the Virgin Birth at Bethlehem. This great event holds also a firm place in the earliest traditions of the East and West. (For full discussion see Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, 1891, Lecture III.)

It has been held that the Gospel of Luke was a mere compilation, but this has been proven time and again to be an unwarranted theory. Whatever may have been the materials accessible to Luke at the time his Gospel and the Acts were written, it is certain that neither of his works is a simple compilation. In fact the very prologue of the Third Gospel is chiefly valuable as a testimony of its genuineness and credibility. More or less full accounts of the life and works of Jesus had been written, but Luke carefully follows down the history of the life of Jesus from the *beginning*. Luke says, "*having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first.*"

But the question may be asked, "How did Luke and 'the many' to whom he refers ascertain the facts 'most surely believed among us'?" Luke himself answers the question that "*they* delivered them unto us which *from the beginning were eye witnesses* and ministers of the Word."

Bear in mind, then, that Luke's knowledge came from reliable and trustworthy sources, *viz.*, the Apostles and other immediate disciples of Jesus who were eye witnesses, and also note that the facts were related by these eye witnesses (companions of Jesus) directly to Luke and not through any intermediate channel of communication.

Do n't you candidly and honestly think that the Blessed Virgin Mary was one of those eye witnesses from whom Luke must have obtained quite a fund of information?

Many persons arbitrarily credit and discredit parts of the Gospel narrative for the purpose of bolstering up some pet theory, but in our humble judgment these narratives are, in their entirety, either true or false. There is no ground upon which we can rest the results of Christ's influences as seen in the world to-day except that the narratives are true.

The attack upon the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel was met and disposed of years ago, so that it should not enter into this question. If the Fourth Gospel does not emanate from the Apostle John it is the greatest of enigmas.

In regard to the beautiful song, the "Magnificat," which St. Luke puts into the mouth of the Blessed Virgin, the following statement is taken from Mrs. Anna Brownell Jameson's charming book, *Legends of the Madonnas* (see p. 21): "The commentators are not agreed as to whether this effusion was poured forth by immediate inspiration or composed and written down, because the same words, 'and Mary said,' may be interpreted in either sense; *but we can no more doubt her being the authoress*

than we can doubt of any other particulars recorded in the same Gospel."

The *Magnificat* with the *Benedictus* and the *Nunc Dimittis* are beautiful examples of the "Hope of Israel," which was cherished by faithful souls through the teaching of the Scriptures, and the Spirit of the Living God, with whom all things are possible, put these Psalms into the mouths of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Priest Zacharias, and the Prophet Simeon for the use of the faithful for all time.

Why do we stand so appalled at the dicta of Science?

What is Science? Science is simply man's knowledge gained through his own research. It has to do with length, breadth, and thickness, and things which can be measured by instruments of man's own devising. As a writer has said: "It is always moving, always changing, always correcting past errors and making new mistakes for the future to rectify." The plane of scientific inquiry is on a level with the things which can be seen and heard and felt; it is out of its element when it seeks to enter the realm of the spiritual.

Science has never made a discovery; it has never projected an invention; it has never formulated a law which has enabled man to *fully* discern what lies *beyond* the horizon of this mass we call the earth.

But do n't misunderstand us. There is no conflict between Science and Faith, except that which is the result of a "faithless science and an unscientific faith."

When the Scientific man can control the principle of life, and tell us about its origin and development, yea, even the life principle in a tiny blade of grass, then we will allow Science to enter the realm of spiritual things and map out the whole territory of life here and *hereafter* on the basis of some mathematical formula. (See *Religion and Science*, Archbishop Temple.)

But until then, "Stand ye in the ways and see and ask for the old paths, where

is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." Jeremiah, 6: 16.

This is the vital question in religious circles to-day. Shall we keep in the old paths or try to discover some new way? Shall we follow Jesus Christ, the Apostles, the Early Fathers, a long line of saintly men and women who gave their lives for the truth, or shall we turn aside and follow some ecclesiastical Jack o' Lantern?

It is a melancholy fact that there is abroad a spirit of rationalism which advocates a rejection of the Christian creeds, and while those who hold to the primitive faith may feel alarmed at the effort made to overthrow the structures founded by Jesus of Nazareth and nurtured by the blood of the martyrs, yet there is no occasion to despair, for the promise of the Master still stands that the "gates of hell shall not prevail" against his Church. The believer may rest secure in the confidence of a sound faith, a "faith once for all delivered to the Saints."

The proclaimed skepticism of these later days is neither more general nor more outspoken than that which during the earlier years of the Church, and especially in the middle ages, affected the intellect of Europe. (See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, VI., 444.)

And yet the Church lives to-day and its life is one of the strongest evidences of the truth of the Christian Creed—and despite all opposition the Church with its Creeds will continue to the end of time.

These discussions of the Gospel narratives and their relation to the teachings of the Church are based upon widely different phases of the question. A great many persons find in the two genealogies recorded in the First and Third Gospels reason for considering the records unreliable; but are they? St. Matthew is writing for the Jews and traces the human descent from David up to Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation, thus representing Jesus as the Jewish

Messiah. St. Luke is writing primarily for the Greeks and for the Gentiles generally, and he traces the line to Adam, the common ancestor of both Jew and Gentile, and he represents Jesus as the Saviour of the whole world.

In connection with the genealogies it is worthy of note that while neither St. Mark nor St. John gives us any such record, yet in each of their Gospels there is a reference to the origin of Jesus. Thus St. Mark in the opening verse says: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, *the Son of God*," and St. John in the first chapter of his Gospel declares Christ to be God, who was "made flesh and dwelt among us."

We ask, What is the right faith concerning the Incarnation? And the Church gives us the answer: "The Second Person of the ever Blessed Trinity, God the Son, out of Love to mankind, took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary of her substance. This was accomplished by a miracle, for the Blessed Mother was a Virgin both before and after the birth of Jesus."

"Jesus was conceived by the Holy Ghost Who overshadowed the Blessed Virgin Mary. The agency of a human father being thus superseded, Jesus Christ alone of all the human race, was born of one human parent. By this miraculous conception Our Lord escaped the defects of original sin and was born Perfect Man."

As Christ came to reveal to us the Ideal Man, it was incompatible with His mission that He should adopt any of the conditions which the world might expect. He must, from the very nature of the case, come by a new form of birth and live a life different in every way from the world's highest standards, and this necessity translated into fact is "His Miraculous Conception without sin in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary through the agency of the Holy Ghost."

Neither the Bible nor either of the Creeds states that Jesus was made "a man." It was not "a man," but "man-

hood" that the Son of God united to Himself in the Incarnation. It was not a human person, but Human Nature that our Lord assumed at the Miraculous Conception. Jesus Christ is not a "man made God, but God made man." As our Lord had no earthly father He had no human personality, but to His own Person He assumed a man's nature. (See Hooker, V., 52-53.)

The Virgin Birth is the guarantee to us "that no entail of birth-sin was passed on to Him who was to save us from our sins." And let it be carefully noted that our Lord Himself makes precisely that claim. He says (John, 8:46): "Which of you convicteth me of sin? If I say the truth why do ye not believe me?" In what a dilemma He places us. Convict Him of sin either original or actual and then reject Him, but if we can find no fault in Him, then why stand out against His claim to be "Very God of Very God." (See *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, Bishop Henry Y. Satterlee.)

Truth is essentially a thing received; it was received by the Apostles from Him who was the Truth. The Apostles taught it orally to the Church, and the Church formulated that Truth into its Creeds.

It has been said that "Christianity is indeed essentially a matter not of the intellect, but of the will; a personal relation of trust in a personal God."

Christianity at the very first might have resented intellectual analysis and dogmatic definition, but it soon became necessary for the Church to be the guide to all Truth, and to fulfill her mission by being a witness to the Truth. When that time came, which happily was in the lifetime of the Apostles, there were not wanting those who could give accurate testimony to the facts concerning the life and ministry of the Divine Head of the Church. Thus we find in the Gospel of St. John, and in the Epistle to the Ephesians and that to the Colossians, instances in which statements are made

to controvert rising error, and later on, as the result of the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, we find, in the so-called Nicene Creed, the expression of the desire of the Church to be the witness to the Truth as understood by the "Early Fathers."

While this question has to do with Christianity generally, it is concerned just now especially with what has been termed "Heresy in the Episcopal Church." All human experience testifies to the fact that there is a growth in faith, and the Episcopal Church, recognizing such a growth, makes a distinction in spiritual matters between the "babe" and the "man."

The Lambeth (Episcopal) Conference defined the teaching of the Episcopal Church on this subject, and set forth the Apostle's Creed as the "baptismal symbol," and the Nicene Creed as the "sufficient statement of the Christian Faith." Of course it is conceded that there are many truths taught by dogmatic theology which are not essential to the life of the Church, but the two Creeds are statements of vital facts which the Church is bound by her high commission to teach as fundamental articles of the faith, and in both these Creeds we find the doctrine of the Virgin Birth.

The Church might get along without "The Thirty-nine Articles" or even without the Book of Common Prayer, but the *Episcopal Church*, at least, stands or falls with the Creeds. Mutilate these Creeds, or take them away entirely, and the Church would soon become a mass of "dry bones."

The more the subject is studied the more difficult it becomes to understand how some theologians (?) are willing to accept a sinless Christ and yet reject the doctrine of the Virgin Birth.

If we accept the moral miracle of a sinless Christ we must in simple consistency with the Truth too accept the physical miracle of the Virgin Birth, for one presupposes the other. They are

correlative. It is true that the histories of the infancy which we find at the beginning of the first and the third Gospels do not belong, so we are told by the best commentators, to the original synoptical tradition, but are additions of a later date, yet they owe their very presence in these narratives to the desire of the disciples, the primitive Church, to know as far as possible all about their Divine Lord from the very beginning of His earthly life.

When we talk of the "Spirit of Truth," the "Spirit of Christ," we must not forget that before the Spirit could come it was necessary that the manifestation of God in the flesh should take place; it was necessary that there should be a long time of preparation; it was necessary that there should be an Incarnation, a Mission, a Crucifixion, a Burial, a Resurrection, an Ascension, a Session, and an Intercession; it was necessary that the Atonement be made and accepted. Then "after God manifest in the flesh had by Himself purged our sins and sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high," then, and not until then, was the promise fulfilled, and the Spirit of the Living God came down to earth as it had never come before and entered into relations with men as a guide to lead us unto all Truth and to comfort us on the way, and to testify especially of the great work of Redemption.

Those who would change the Creeds of the Church must bear in mind that the choice, as Dr. Liddon says, "does not lie between a Creed with one dogma more or a Creed with one dogma less, nor yet between a medieval or a modern rendering of the Gospel Story. It is really a choice between a phantom and a reality, between the implied falsehood and the *Eternal Truth* of Christianity, between the interest which may cling to a discredited evanescent memory of the past, and the worship of a living, ever-present and immaculate Redeemer."

When we fail to believe in our hearts what we profess with our lips then a

decent regard for *consistency* should compel us to frankly acknowledge our skepticism, and, withdrawing from the Church, join some secular society which has neither Creed nor Christ.

There are, however, some who will still continue to affirm that the whole truth of the Gospel Story is embodied in the Creeds. Now these Creeds are not simply words upon which is based a system of ethical instruction, but they contain statements of historical facts.

If the Creeds present to us simply a system of ethics, a course of lessons on moral conduct based upon the teaching of a good man, then we are no better off than the heathen.

We may say that such a man as Jesus of Nazareth actually lived and was crucified at Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate, but if we do not firmly believe, without mental reservation, that Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary and that He *actually* rose from the dead, then the Christian religion, so far as we are concerned, might as well be surrendered for something in which no element of the supernatural appears; for if Christ were only a teacher and ended his lectures when He died like Plato and Zeno did, what becomes of the truth concerning this "Spirit of Christ," which we are told is the "true faith." If Jesus Christ was a good man, and only that, then as a result of His teaching there remains for us at His death only the spirit of a man, the best man perhaps that ever lived, but still only a man, and there is no way to explain the innumerable passages in the Scriptures which refer to the subject than by representing it as an "impersonal influence," just as we might say that the spirits of Shakespeare and of Milton live in their works. But this does not fit in with other parts of the story, nor does it satisfy all the conditions of the Truth we are seeking.

Let us for a moment contrast the life of Jesus with that of His forerunner, John the Baptist, who, by the way, was no ordinary man, for Jesus Himself said

of him, "Among men that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist."

Both Jesus and John the Baptist began their work with the call to repentance, and the warning that "the Kingdom of heaven is at hand"; but Jesus claimed an entirely different relation to that Kingdom than did John. John was a "voice crying in the wilderness"; John was personally nothing. He kept himself in the background, hiding behind his message as every true minister of the Gospel should endeavor to do. But Jesus identifies Himself with the message. He preached Himself: He was the Great Object to which he invited attention. He did not say, "Thus saith the Lord," according to the old form used by the Jewish prophets; but He said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you." And when He called His disciples, He did not tell them to obey the laws of their fathers, but He said, "Follow Me."

Now all this can be explained logically and reasonably upon but one hypothesis, namely, that Jesus Christ was not simply a teacher sent from God, not simply one of the messengers sent to prepare the way of God, *but He was God Himself in the form of our humanity.*

What do you suppose Peter meant when he said, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the Living God"? Do you think Peter intended to say that Jesus was the reincarnation of John the Baptist, or Elias, or Jeremias, or one of the prophets? Surely not, no candid person would say so. The questions Jesus asked were, "Who do men say that I am? Who do ye (my disciples) say that I am?" There is a difference in the answers. The words "*Son of the Living God*" could not under any construction of language refer to the fact that Jesus was a son of God in the same sense in which any man might be so called, but the relation of Jesus, the Son, to God, the Father, was distinct and unique and could be shared with no other.

"With God all things are possible,"

therefore the Divine Word might have become flesh through the ordinary processes of human generation, but any *true* doctrine of the Incarnation *must* take into consideration the *preexistence* which Jesus on several occasions distinctly claimed for Himself. He said, "Before Abraham was I am."

This claim did not mean that Christ came into existence before Abraham did, as the Arians contended was the meaning, but it can only mean that he never came into being at all, but existed before Abraham had a being; in other words, Jesus put forth the claim that he had existed eternally. It was certainly in that sense that the Jews understood Him as they then took up stones to cast at Him, just as they had done on a previous occasion when they claimed that He made Himself equal with God.

It is perfectly true that man cannot by "searching find out God," and that is why God "sent forth His Son born of a woman" to search for and to find us and thus to bring God within the range of our comprehension and our life, and when the Lord Jesus said, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," he was presenting to our burdened consciences, to our finite understanding, and to our disordered lives the knowledge of God which otherwise it would have been impossible for us to grasp.

The reason why so many persons become perplexed in the study of this subject is that they *perversely* seek a *separate* knowledge of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. In their search after God the Father they "gaze into the infinite unknown" instead of at the face of Jesus, and when they attempt to discover the Holy Spirit they look away from Jesus into the "unfathomable." Many good Christians would have practically three Gods instead of one. Now this is certainly not consonant with the teachings of Scripture. If we would know the Truth, if we would realize to ourselves the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, we must not stand dazed

before the mathematical formula "Three in One and One in Three," but sit at the feet of Jesus Christ, look up into His face, study His life and be content with the simple statements of Scripture. (See *Christianity According to Christ*, Dr. John Munro Gibson.)

If the finite mind of man could fully comprehend all the great mysteries of the universe, *physical as well as spiritual*, then men would in very truth be God, but no one better knows the limitations of the human intellect than the earnest seeker after Truth. The statement which Jesus made, "I am the Truth" is simple and practical, yet as a writer has said, "Therein lies all the mystery of the divine Sonship." "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father He hath declared it." But in order to see this objective revelation clearly we need a power of spiritual discernment.

It is certainly true that Jesus said, "It is the spirit that quickeneth," but he also said, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." He did not say, "I am the Way and the Truth, *but the Holy Spirit alone is the Life—the Life-Giver.*"

Now whether we think of God the Father, Creator, or God the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier, proceeding from the Father through the Son, in either case, *we gain*

all we know from Jesus Christ. "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness hath shined in our *hearts* to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God *in the face of Jesus Christ.*"

The Truth, the Way, the Life, represent the three-fold relation which Jesus Christ bears to God and to man. His Incarnation, which *must of necessity include the Virgin Birth*, opens to us the Truth; His Cross and Passion open to us the Way; and His glorious Resurrection and Ascension open unto us the Life.

And unless the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection and the Ascension are actual facts then is our preaching vain and our faith is also vain.

In the atmosphere of intellectual speculation it is not possible to solve the great mystery, but to the really sincere seeker after Truth there need be neither perplexity nor confusion.

If you are in doubt about God the Father you will find in Jesus Christ the Truth; if you feel the need of salvation you will find in Jesus Christ the Way; if you are oppressed with the burden of this transitory existence with its misunderstandings and its vanities you will find in Jesus Christ the power of the Life Everlasting.

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THE SEASON'S SOCIAL DRAMA.

BY WILLIAM MAILLY.

IF EVIDENCE were needed that a change is taking place in the character of the drama being presented on the American stage, the record of the New York season just closed furnishes it. Never have so many plays dealing with subjects of social interest and significance been seen in this city during any one season, and since New York is

the theatrical center of the United States, it is safe to say that this indicates a general condition. "The serious drama," said a man associated with national theatrical journalism for many years, "is forging to the front rapidly, and it is the most hopeful sign in the dramatic world to-day."

We can all echo that; but the change

is coming none too soon, though it had to come sooner or later. The theater had to reflect the changing social conditions and respond to the quickening social conscience of the time. The economic revolution that has internationalized industry, popularized education, and brought humanity into closer relationship, is working a revolution in the thought and outlook of the great masses of the people. As science, literature, music and art are being impregnated with the spirit of change and advance, so the theater also, "that compound of all the arts," is at last thrilling with the impulse of the new era of social unity and consciousness.

The time has already passed when literature, art and the drama can be reserved for the enjoyment of the elect. They are now coming within the experience of the mass. "Culture" no longer refers solely to the fads, caprices and pleasures of the few; that word now embraces the intellectual activity

and aspirations of the many. And this activity and aspiration cannot be ignored or side-tracked. New forces are welling up and seeking for an outlet. The same spirit of unrest and investigation and criticism which permeates the whole of modern society, and which has expressed itself to some degree in the current literature of the time, must also find expression in the drama, if the drama is to fulfill its true function as the interpreter and illuminator of its age. Those who lament the passing of Romanticism and the oncoming of Realism as degrading to the stage are setting their faces against the forces of progress at work in every phase of human activity.

The English-speaking stage has remained the most conservative, and, therefore, the most backward, of any in the world, until its adherence to conventional forms has become a humiliation to those who realize that the drama, to be vital and significant, must deal with the concrete things which concern humanity. The complex and cosmopolitan life of to-day presents ever new problems to the people, problems which they cannot escape from, try as they will. The notion that the chief function of the theater is to provide such an avenue of escape is being dissipated. The enjoyment of farce and musical comedy or resplendent scenic productions is but temporary, and is quickly followed by a rude return to the harsh realities of life—besides leaving the mind nothing but husks to feed upon.

Problems are not settled or evaded in that way. Gradually it is becoming recognized that the theater has a higher mission than merely that of amusement-purveyor to the thoughtless or frivolous. Men and women who are tired and jaded with the merciless commercial struggle are turning to the theater for intellectual stimulus and spiritual satisfaction, and are looking for plays treating with the questions which beset them daily and for which their mind and souls are yearning for a solution.



Photo. by Sarony, New York.

MME. ALLA NAZIMOVA

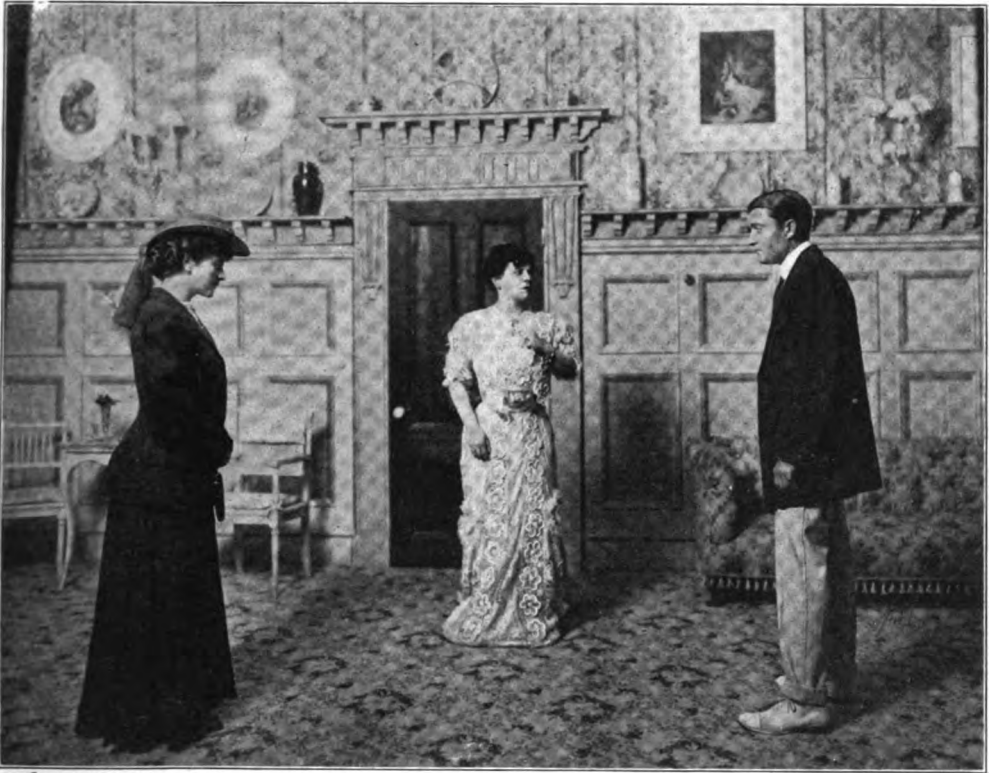


Photo. by Hall, New York.

ACT I.—"THE HYPOCRITES."

(Doris Keane, Jessie Millward and Richard Bennett).

It is now apparent that the American stage is beginning to give promise of catching up with that of Europe, which, in this direction, years ago left the entire English-speaking stage far behind, as attested by the fact that neither England nor America can show an Ibsen, a Sudermann, a Hauptmann or a Maeterlinck. England, especially, clinging steadfastly to its hoary stage traditions, has rejected much of the best in modern drama, to which the United States has begun to provide an audience and to give encouragement to the new school of authors and interpreters.

A few years ago the actor who essayed Ibsen was a rarity in New York. Today the ambitious actor is known by his or her desire to interpret the Norwegian genius. Ibsen *premieres* and revivals

are becoming the vogue. And coincident with this, other dramatists, as earnest if not as great, are receiving their share of attention. Recognizing the trend of things, producers are displaying a willingness to risk their money and actors their reputations to win the dollars and approbation of the public. The modern drama is gaining both in adherents and exponents because that is the drama which appeals to the modern intellect and offers the choicest rewards to its daring and faithful disciples.

All this is making for another salutary reform in the methods of conducting the modern theater. There are signs that the "star" system has had its day and that the play must henceforth be regarded as the thing. As a result, it is doubtful if so many all-round sterling



Photo. by Schloss, New York.

KATHERINE GREY.

companies have ever appeared in New York in one season as during this last one. It is still true that one individual in a company may be "featured," but we have progressed to the point where the whole cast must be more than merely efficient in order to meet critical approval. To give "A Doll's House," for instance, with its few characters and one setting, every actor must be proficient in the highest degree or the representation may be spoiled. Mrs. Fiske was one of the first to establish this principle and it is now coming to be generally accepted, thanks mainly to her persistent example. Managers are careful to stage their plays correctly to the minutest detail. For if the theater-goers are developing a new dramatic psychology, they are also becoming more exacting and critical of the productions themselves. This in turn calls forth the very best abilities of the conscientious and far-seeing manager and the earnest, ambitious actor.

This change in methods is best ap-

preciated when, in reviewing the season of 1906-7, one finds it difficult to name any single production as better staged than any other. The average never was so high, the competition to excel never so great. I refer now especially to the plays of a social character, or with a social view-point. The thoroughness displayed in almost every case was a sign of general advance for the American stage. That this advance is in some degree due to the great influx of English actors during the past few years cannot be disputed. Almost every company on Broadway this year has contained one or more English actors of ripe experience and sound ability. There is more than the question of larger recompense responsible for this; it is undoubtedly the increased opportunity which the sluggish condition of the stage in England denies to the intelligent and aspiring actor.

As life is varied in its many phases and aspects so the modern drama to reflect life must also reflect its variations. Thus it is that morality, divorce, capital and labor, politics, social environment, poverty, business, love—all the things that are part of the people's daily existence, have been interpreted to us during the winter just past, not always satisfactorily, perhaps, but mainly with sincerity, and that is a prime requisite to start with.

Probably from an artistic point of view the *début* of Madame Alla Nazimova, the actress who came to this country with the Russian players over a year ago, was the most interesting event of the season. Madame Nazimova remained here after her associates had returned to Europe, and set herself to the task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language so that she could appear on the American stage. Her success has been the sensation of the New York season. She is a wonderful actress and her Nora and Hedda Gabler were a keen delight, though her interpretation of these difficult rôles was very

different from what we have been accustomed to.

It may be pointed out right here that the test of great acting is not now alone reposed in the 'depiction of Shakespeare or of the historical and classic drama, but that it rests also upon the exposition of modern types, of the men and women of the present day. The characters of Ibsen require histrionic ability and technical skill of a high order and the actor who attempts them is subjected to the most exacting test.

Madame Nazimova met this test admirably and succeeded in establishing at the same time a record for the greatest number of consecutive performances of any of Ibsen's plays in New York, a remarkable thing in itself, considering all the circumstances. At this writing the announcement is made that she will produce "Little Eyolf" next season.

Of Richard Mansfield's production of "Peer Gynt," Ibsen's study in individualism, it is not necessary for me to say anything, since it has already caused such widespread discussion and controversy. If in nothing else, it has assisted in drawing renewed attention to the dram-



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT II.—"THE GREAT DIVIDE."

(Henry Miller and Margaret Anglin.)

atist whose work constitutes a new epoch in the history of the stage.

What is claimed to be Henry Arthur Jones' masterpiece, "The Hypocrites," came first in order of production, and probably in exhibition of trained and skilled workmanship. "The Hypo-

crites" made a profound impression. As its name implies, it deals with hypocrisy, the sort of hypocrisy peculiar to the *bourgeoisie* when it is called upon to live up to its own high-sounding moral precepts. Mr. and Mrs. Willmore are respectable, title-hunting people who prescribe a severe moral discipline for the tenants on their estate but when they are confronted by the evidences of their own son's conduct toward a helpless young girl, they strive to escape responsibility by lies and evasions which only entangle them in a serious and humiliating predicament. The distinction between the moral standard intended to be imposed upon the poor in one case and that observed by the rich in the other, is sharply drawn. Mr. Jones slashes away with right good will at the stupid complacency and stultifying unmorality that caste culture and class privilege give rise to. Of a splendid cast of American and English actors, Misses Jessie Millward and Doris Keane, and Richard Bennett, W. H. Denny and Arthur Lewis especially distinguished themselves.

Quite as effective in another way in handling the same question of morals in polite society was Langdon Mitchell's comedy of manners, "The New York Idea," produced by Mrs. Fiske's company at the Lyric. The particular idea referred to is the one prevailing among the "smart set" of New York on the question of divorce. The cynicism with which marriage has come to be regarded by this element of society was brilliantly revealed. We see how the most sacred of human relations is loosely thrown on and off and its purpose degraded by those whose lives are spent in absorbing from society and giving nothing in return except bad examples. Such a scathing satire upon the parasitic class comes but seldom. The dialogue fairly bristled with sparkling epigrams and the satire was electrified by the rendering given by the excellent company which Mrs. Fiske had selected. Her own powers as

a comedienne were finely shown, and George Arliss as a worldly-wise, cynical, adventurous, but not impecunious, English lord was delightful.

Early in the season, Blanche Walsh and Bertha Kalich appeared in separate translations of Jacob Gordin's Yiddish drama, "The Kreutzer Sonata." Mr. Gordin is the pioneer Yiddish dramatist, having been singularly prolific and successful in the quantity and quality of his plays. To no other man, perhaps, can more credit be given for the establishment of a serious drama in the Yiddish theater. "The Kreutzer Sonata," which has no relation whatever to Tolstoi's book of that name, is a powerful study of the influence of a change in environment upon a family group transplanted from Russia to this country. The disintegration of family traditions and ideals under the stress of the feverish commercial life of a great city like New York, coincident with the inexorable penalty attached to a forced mar-



Photo. by Sarony, New York.

ETHEL BARRYMORE.



Photo. by Hall, New York.

ACT II.—"THE SILVER BOX."

Bruce McRae, Ethel Barrymore and James Kearney.)

riage between two people who do not love each other, a marriage which followed upon the suicide of a Russian too weak to withstand the social disgrace which a marriage with a Jewess in Russia would have brought him—these are the principal motives interwoven with each other into a somber but vital drama, which ends in a terrible and consistent climax.

Miss Walsh had already played the leading rôle in this play two seasons ago, but gave it for the first time in New York last fall, and Miss Kalich's followed shortly after. This provoked comparisons, and while both productions were good, yet Miss Kalich had the advantage of having created the principal part in the original Yiddish, and her impersonation was considered

the more distinguished of the two. Miss Kalich, it will be remembered, was introduced to the American stage by Harrison Grey Fiske in 1905 and she has justified his selection of her as an exceptional actress.

The most important contribution of an American dramatist to our stage this year was "The Great Divide," which, in a way, marks the dividing line between the past and the future of our stage. Illustrating the eternal struggle between the elemental and the conventional, represented by the civilized woman and the half-civilized man, one the product of refined and highly cultured New England, the other of the crude, uncultured and open West; projecting the question whether a woman who proffers herself in marriage to

strange man, whose whole training and associations have been entirely different from her own, and doing this only to save herself from what she at the moment considers a worse fate, should observe that marriage, even when she doubts her love for him as the father of her child, this play evoked much discussion and was hailed by some as the "great American play."

That William Vaughn Moody in this, his first drama, has turned out a striking piece of work, there can be no question. As to whether he has done all he might have done with his theme, it is not my purpose to argue here, though I consider the question warranted. It appeared to me as if Mr. Moody was himself hampered by convention in working out his thesis, as well as by a desire to bring about the traditional happy ending which our theater-going public have so long been educated to expect. But that Mr. Moody was bold enough to undertake the theme at all is a matter for congratulation. It is a long-hoped-for departure from the well-worn rut of American dramatic authorship, and a very welcome one. Mr. Moody was fortunate in having his play produced by that conscientious and able actor-manager, Henry Miller, who mounted it with fine taste and with Margaret Anglin, gave sympathetic and sincere portrayals of the two leading characters.

As if to mock New York in its engrossing pursuit of the details of the Thaw case, and as if to protest against that orgy of perverted passion, there was produced in February at the Berkeley Lyceum Theater, an adaptation by Grace Isabel Colbron of Arthur Schnitzler's play of Viennese student life, "The Reckoning," which told the story of the unrequited and, finally, thwarted love of a sensitive young girl, a poor musician's daughter, for a reckless student who is killed in a duel over an affair with another man's wife. Natural, simple and direct, "The Reckoning" revealed a phase of the common life with keen

fidelity, showing clearly the cost of trifling with human love. The beauty and pathos of this delicate little drama was admirably expressed by a well selected company, headed by Katherine Grey, whose Christine was a gem of subtle emotional acting. This performance definitely set Miss Grey apart as one of the most promising of the growing group of serious American actors.

Four plays dealt directly and indirectly with the social conditions arising from the existing industrial system. Two of these were "Widowers' Houses" and "Mrs. Warren's Profession," by George Bernard Shaw. The latter play achieved some notoriety throughout the country as being "indecent and immoral" when Arnold Daly ventured to produce it in spite of Anthony Comstock and the New York Commissioner of Police in the fall of 1905. One performance was then given, and afterwards the courts declared the play not to be indecent, which, according to the alleged infallibility of our courts, should have settled the question for all time, but it did n't. For the charge was repeated this year by those supposed to hold court decisions most in reverence when Mrs. Warren made her second appearance in New York. Of course, there is nothing indecent in Shaw's play. It merely tells how women are driven into prostitution by low wages and impoverishment, and how conventional society, acting through Mrs. Warren's daughter, spurns the woman who makes vice a business, while welcoming and condoning those whose conduct of business makes vice a necessary condition of livelihood for thousands of overworked and desperate women. As such, "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is a terrible indictment of modern society, and as such also was it dubbed a disagreeable and unwholesome play by those who are not concerned with the how or the wherefore of money-getting so long as those who have money are left in un questioning possession.



Photo. by Hall, New York.

IN "THE GOOD HOPE."

(Ellen Terry, James Carew and Suzanne Sheldon.)

Mary Shaw brought to the part of Mrs. Warren the resources of an experienced and accomplished actress and gave a performance as powerful as it was artistic. Miss Shaw has long been recognized within the theatrical profes-

sion as a faithful exponent, even under great difficulties, of the modern drama, and she deserves the reward which devotion to an ideal now promises to bring her.

In a different vein but just as illumi-

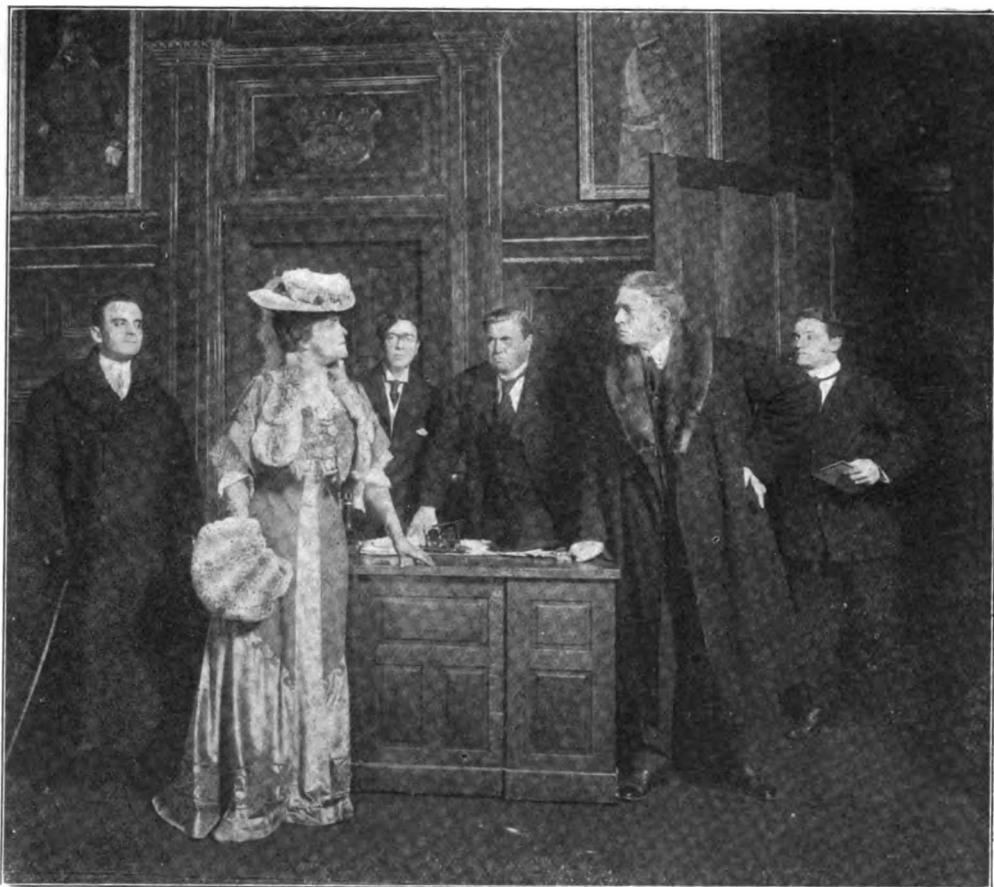


Photo. by White, New York.

ACT IV.—"THE MAN OF THE HOUR."

nating was Shaw's satirical comedy, "Widowers' Houses," for the first time produced in America at Field's Herald Square Theater in February. This was indeed an intellectual treat, both because Shaw is at his wittiest in this comedy, and also because it was presented by a company of exceptional merit. Mr. Shaw introduces us to the type of selfish rent-drawing bourgeois, who are always ready to justify to themselves and to everybody else the absolute inviolability of their material resources and the general immutability of all things, so far as their class is concerned. As victims of his keen satire, Shaw never gave us anything better than the smug Sartorius, the truckling, sponging, conceited Co-

kane, the versatile and vulgar Lickcheese and the hot-tempered, wilful, self-centered Blanche. There is no getting away from the truthfulness of the portraiture, unsympathetic as the characters are. Herbert Kelcey as Cokane, Effie Shannon as Blanche, William F. Hawtrey as Sartorius and Ferdinand Gottschalk as Lickcheese, were wonderfully good and made the production a brilliant success.

Another English play, but pitched in an entirely different key from Shaw's two pieces, was "The Silver Box," by long odds one of the most remarkable dramas on the modern stage. Originally produced at the Court Theater, London, last autumn, it caused a sensa-

tion, and it has recently been revived, with great success, at the same theater. Those who had the privilege of seeing Ethel Barrymore and her very efficient company in "The Silver Box" during its too short run at the Empire Theater in March are not likely soon to forget it. John Galsworthy, the author, ignored all stage precedents, and the dramatists' usual box of tricks, and with rare intuition presented a series of incidents in the lives of people who are to be seen every hour of the day in any large city in this country or in England.

There is no hero or heroine as in the ordinary drama. The story is a social tragedy and revolves around the misfortunes of an unemployed workman, Jones, and his patient and exhausted wife. They get into trouble through Jones taking a silver cigarette-box from the house of the Barthwicks, wealthy, self-sufficient people, where Mrs. Jones works as charwoman. How this culminates in disaster for them both, and how unequal administration of the law hounds and crushes the poor, and ignores, when it does not actually protect, the rich, is graphically outlined in scenes full of intense human interest. The whole thing is so true and was so admirably played by Miss Barrymore's company, that the effect produced was one of deep and poignant emotion. It was impossible to witness this revelation of the poverty-stricken working-class, contrasted as it was with the comfortable luxury and assurance of the wealthy classes, without being overwhelmed with a sense of the horror and brutality of the social conditions which make such things possible. Although the scene is laid in London, we know similar conditions producing the same effects, and the same inequality in the administration of justice, exist in New York and Chicago and every large city in this country. Widely divergent as were the views expressed about "The Silver Box" as a play, its bitter truth was unquestioned.

Miss Barrymore gave a painfully lifelike performance as the poor charwoman,

but she received little encouragement from the critics for departing from her customary rôles of sweet, charming young women in meaningless, innocuous comedies. That Miss Barrymore is anxious to undertake parts which will provide her with greater opportunities for artistic work, than have yet been offered her, is well known. "The Silver Box" was her own selection, and she played Mrs. Jones with a great deal of personal satisfaction, as indeed did all the members of the company play their parts. That the drama ran only a short time was disappointing to all concerned, but Miss Barrymore need have no regrets, for the time is near at hand when such plays and such acting as she put into the part of Mrs. Jones will be appreciated at their true worth. Bruce McRae, one of the most intelligent actors now on the American stage, was a flawless and convincing Jones.

To show how the lives of the Holland fishermen are sacrificed to profits was the motive of Hermann Heijermans in writing "The Good Hope." Notwithstanding its tragic theme, this play was greeted with some ridicule, mingled with protestations, from the critics who prefer to see fisher-folk as they are daintily displayed in musical comedy, artistically clothed and doing nothing for a living except singing and dancing as a background for the favorite comedians or the prima donna. Just as Galsworthy revealed the depths to which the poor in the cities are driven in their struggle to survive, so does Heijermans show how the need for bread drives the fishermen to embark in rotten ships sent to sea by unscrupulous owners. In the words of another:

"Heijermans knows his fisher-folk and shows them to us with great truth and skill—their ignorance and their fears, their dumb courage and loyalty, their crude humor and their sodden despair. The atmosphere is all there. More than this he has fixed a point-of-view with regard to their relation to

society in general and he makes us see them from that point-of-view. There is an idea in his play as well as in the atmosphere."*

It was an innovation for Ellen Terry to produce such a play as this, and the distinguished actress gave the notable performance as an old fishwife that was to be expected of her. Of the remainder of the cast, Suzanne Sheldon merited special mention for her delineation of the part of the sweetheart of a young fisherman who is drowned before they can be married and legitimize their unborn child.

Politics came in for its share of attention through "The Man of the Hour," a drama by George Broadhurst, which made a popular hit, perhaps because well-known local political figures furnished the types for the principal characters. The play depends too much upon trite melodramatic devices to carry it along, but it struck a popular chord and a long run is assured. It is far from the great realistic political play for which there is much material ready to hand.

The one play which sought to grapple with the most important, because the all-pervading issue of the struggle between capital and labor, Charles Klein's "The Daughters of Men," was disappointing because it lacked verity in its depiction of character and offered a theory of the author's for the solution of the problem which was wholly inconceivable under existing conditions. I have had occasion elsewhere to criticize Mr. Klein's types of working people as he reveals them to us in this play, and especially the young daughter of a German Socialist or Anarchist, whichever Mr. Klein intended him to be, for the vocabulary of this character was badly jumbled. The girl was a caricature of the mass of intelligent working girls who are active in the labor movement and of whom Mr. Klein has little, if any, knowledge. To make matters worse,

Dorothy Donnelly's acting carried the author's exaggerations very close to the point of vulgarity. With all due respect to Mr. Klein's intentions, it is evident that he does not know the working people, and particularly those engaged in the trades-union and Socialist movement. A study of "The Silver Box," where the workers are by no means idealized, might show him the difference between the real kind and his conception of them.

There were other noteworthy features in this season, but the limits prescribed by the title of this review will not permit extended notice of them. It has been estimated that, "the productions of drama, taking the word in its largest sense to include comedy and farce, have outnumbered those of musical comedy three to one. A year or two ago the proposition was reversed." Apart from what I have somewhat arbitrarily designated as the social drama, there were a number of sound, clean, well-constructed American plays produced.

There was also apparent a higher note struck in the character of the lighter forms of entertainment, most of it being better than at any previous time.

Taken all in all, therefore, the season has been a most notable and encouraging one. But it is the marked progress that the social drama has made within a short period that will probably make the season distinctive and historical. The effort to promote that special form of drama has been so apparent, whether its promoters realized it or not, that it can be accepted as the forerunner of even greater things in the immediate future. It undoubtedly means that the modern drama is beginning to find itself as one of the most potent factors in social progress, and what this may result in, and to what extent the influence of the theater as such a factor will be augmented thereby, the most sanguine and enthusiastic of us cannot begin to estimate or prophesy.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

New York City. Digitized by Google

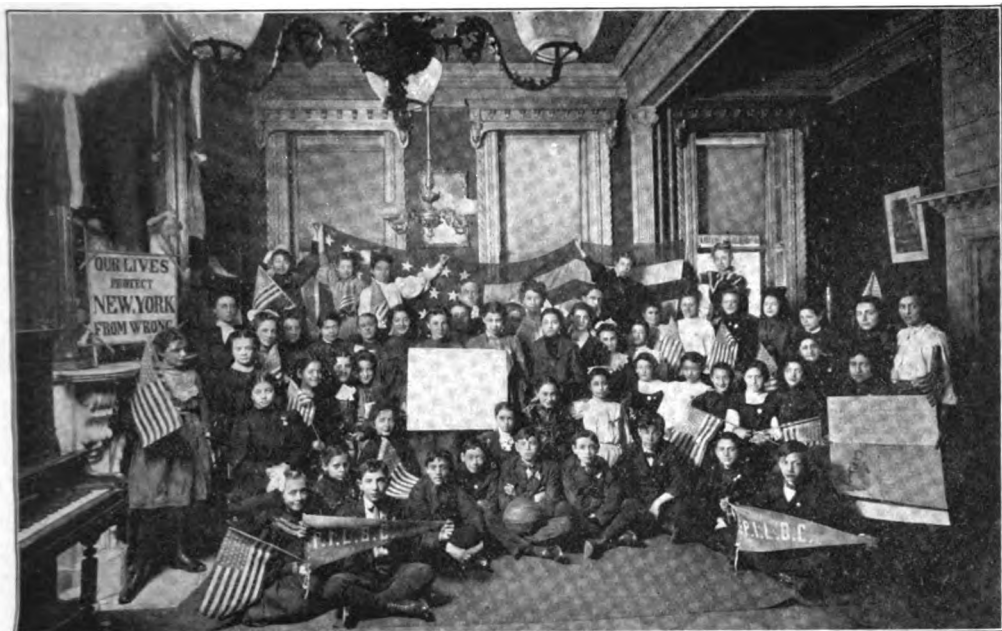


Photo. by Byron, New York.

SOME OF "THE PEOPLES' INSTITUTE" CHILDREN.

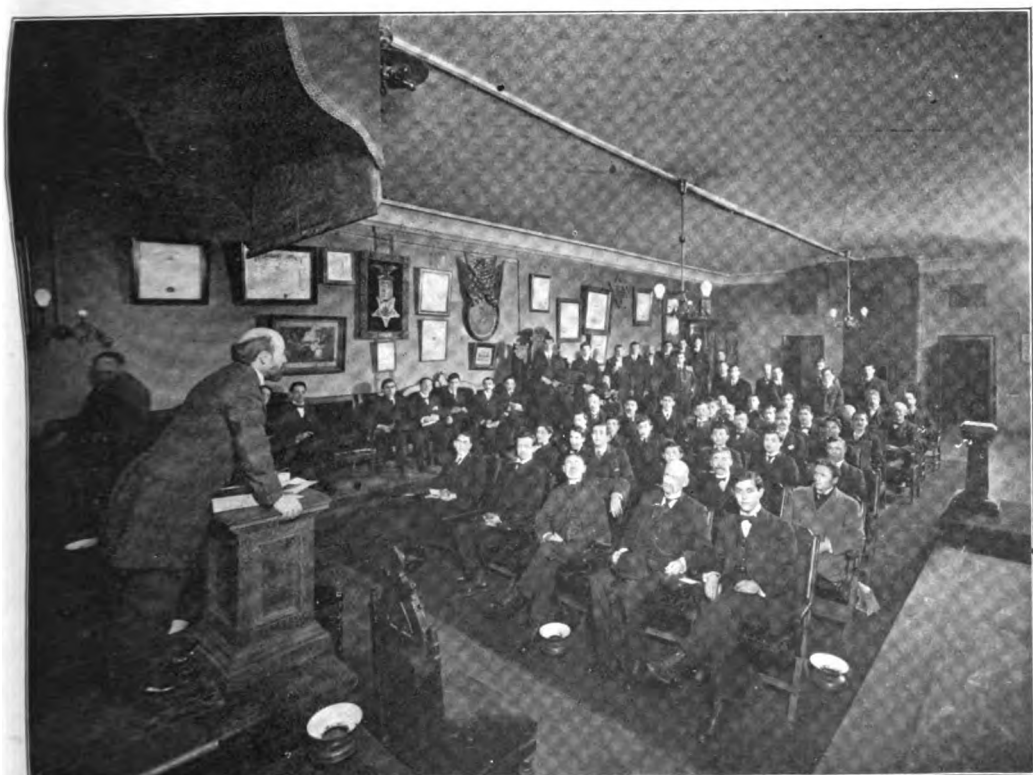


Photo. by Byron, New York.

A "FIRST-VOTERS'" COURSE.

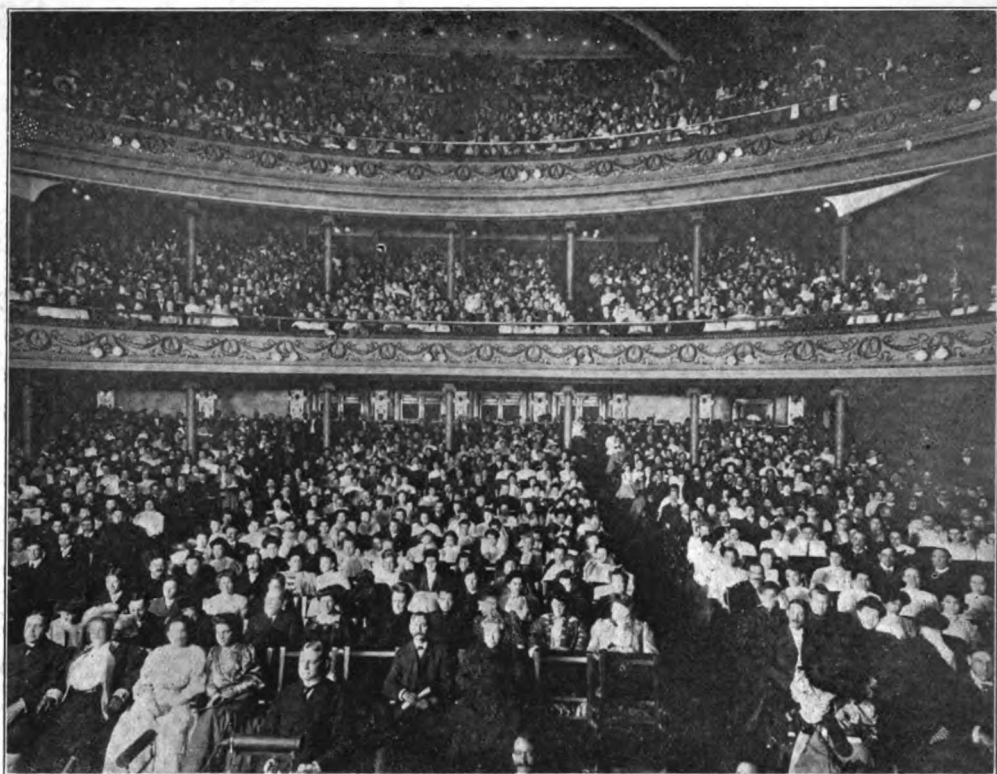
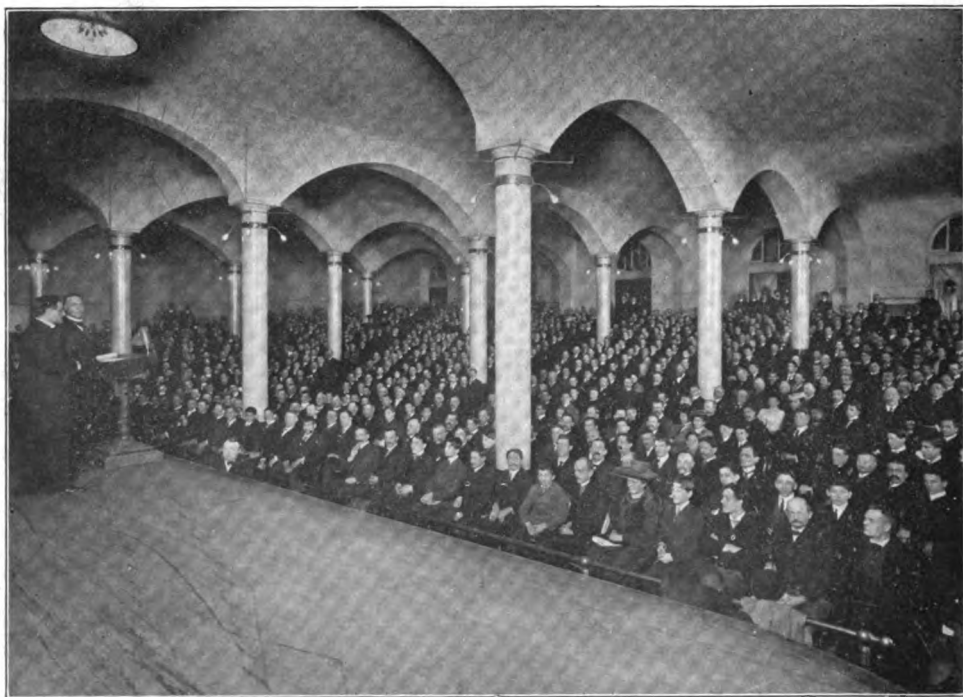


Photo. by Byron, New York.

A PEOPLES' INSTITUTE AUDIENCE AT "THE MERCHANT OF VENICE."



A SUNDAY EVENING IN COOPER UNION.

THE PEOPLES' INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK AND ITS WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZEN- SHIP ALONG DEMOCRATIC LINES.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES SPRAGUE SMITH.

THE PEOPLES' Institute of New York was organized in 1897 by a group of men and women representing all sections of society. The purpose of its foundation was to provide a platform where the important questions of the day could be discussed in entire freedom, and where, if possible, the means could be provided for stimulating a better mutual understanding between differing sections and thus promoting peaceful social evolution. It was felt at the time that unless some such method were followed, the growing distrust and separation between classes might result in harmful collision. Certain principles were accepted at the outset as fundamental, and there have furnished the body of principles by which all the various lines of work have been directed. The founders of The Institute, looking abroad upon the existing social unrest, and considering the various methods that were proposed for the correction of the evils perceived that within all these various schemes the essential thought was to realize a new order of society in which the interdependence of its various members should be recognized. In other words, that all schools of social thought had in view the incorporation in a new social order of the principle of human brotherhood. It was also perceived that beneath all the various social and religious creeds there was a common ground of affirmation. In sum, the three principles which have guided the entire development of The Peoples' Institute are formulated in the opening articles of the Constitution of one of its branches. They are as follows:

fraternity as the fundamental social truth, democracy as the highest known form of human government, and national worth as dependent upon individual worth, seeks to promote, through education and the coöperation of good men of all conditions and occupations, the peaceful evolution of a society based upon the recognition of the interdependence of man with man."

Every phase of The Institutes' development has been simply a new formulation of this triune creed. The work falls to-day into the following departments.

I. A Peoples' Church. On every Sunday evening from November until May there gathers in the large hall of the Cooper Union, seating 1600, an audience that during the winter months over-fills the large hall, some 50 to 200 persons usually standing, and in the warmer months fills or nearly fills it. This audience is composed 95 per cent. of men, chiefly wage-earners, and assembles from all parts of the greater city and from the suburbs. All speakers who have addressed it unite in declaring it to be the most intelligent and interesting body of hearers they have ever faced. The speakers are usually clergymen, representing all creeds, save the Catholic, which has not as yet accepted our invitation. Prominent laymen, especially college presidents, also take part. The subjects of the addresses are ethical or broadly religious, but creedal affirmation is expected to be absent. The services consist of an address, with music, followed by question and discussion, the whole occupying two hours. Leading

"The Peoples' Institute, recognizing

clergymen and rabbis have pronounced this work the most interesting religious work now carried on in New York city, and one that is exercising a very great influence, especially upon the young men of the East Side. An important extension of this work, looking toward a closer relation and better understanding between the churches and the masses of the people, is now under consideration.

II. A School of Training for American Citizenship. For three evenings a week, during the same period, November to May, addresses on live topics of the day, also on various departments of history and social science, are given in the large hall of the Cooper Union to audiences ranging from 600 to the capacity of the hall and above. The subjects chosen are chiefly those which most vitally engage present attention, the purpose being to qualify the hearers for sane, intelligent thought and action upon live questions. The audience, as before, is gathered from a wide area. Beside the work done in the large hall of the Cooper Union extension courses of a similar character are offered in various centers. The lecturers in both cases are selected, but especially those for the large hall, from the men most eminent in the special fields of study considered. Question and discussion, as in the case of the ethical address, are allowed with entire freedom. Beside the above work in social education, courses for first voters are given in various parts of the city.

III. Forum Work. The social-educational work of The Institute developed in its second year into active participation in public, especially legislative questions. During the entire season the office of The Institute is kept in close touch with all legislative measures proposed in Albany; with measures similarly affecting the interests of the people advocated before the Board of Aldermen or through civic bodies; also, though in a less degree, with what is going on in Washington. All proposed legislation in

the interest of the people is approved and supported, sometimes with, sometimes without a mass meeting; all that is opposed to the people's interest attacked in similar fashion. The influence of this department of The Institute's work, which has come to be universally accepted as *the* tribunate of the masses of the people of New York city, has been of far-reaching effect. Grab legislation has been repeatedly defeated by the united protests of the people gathered under the auspices of the Peoples' Institute, and similarly worthy measures assisted in their enactment into law. In outlying towns, in imitation of The Institute's work in this field, various Peoples' Forums have in recent years been established.

IV. The Theater. A body of some fifty eminent citizens representing the public-school system, organized labor, the clergy, settlements, department stores, literature, music, art, etc., has charge of this work. The control is vested in the hands of a sub-committee of 20, similarly representative. Arrangements are made with the leading theaters for the offering of plays that have been carefully examined before acceptance for those whom our work reaches. Although the department was only finally organized six months ago, the number of institutions now upon our list passes 1,100; the number of individuals reached a million. Additions to the list are being made constantly, the last being that of the Bell Telephone Company with 5,000 young women employes. Suburban towns are asking and receiving from us similar privileges. The whole is so carefully ordered that the danger of the reduced-price tickets falling into hands that should not receive them is obviated.

V. Music. On the musical side The Institute coöperates with a sister organization which came into being through its support, namely, The People's Symphony Concert Association. Thereby symphony and chamber music concerts are provided at nominal prices. More re-

cently The Institute has established a Music Committee composed of experts. This committee plans during the ensuing year to secure from musical organizations facilities similar to those which the Dramatic Committee has secured from the theaters.

VI. Social Clubs. The problem of providing social homes for those of limited means was early undertaken by The Institute. Its solution was one of the most difficult tasks attempted. At present The Institute owns a club-house charmingly situated at 318 East 15th street, facing Stuyvesant Square. Two and a half floors of the club-house are occupied every evening by The Institute's social Club A. It has a membership of 350, one-third women, and carries on a varied and helpful educational and social work. It furnishes a happy home for its membership, drawn almost entirely from the East Side. Being composed of both sexes, marriages between the members are not infrequent. Recently a large dramatic and operatic section has been formed. This group gave lately two Italian operas, "I Pagliacci" and "La Cavalleria Rusticana," in a manner that was considered quite remarkable for amateurs. A similar group to the one meeting on East 15th street has within a year been organized in Brooklyn and is growing rapidly. It numbers now some seventy-five members.

VII. Civic Clubs. The Institute is establishing with some rapidity clubs for young men for the purpose of interesting them and engaging them actively in civic betterment. Lectures upon civics, discussions of civic problems, investigation of civic conditions and energetic effort for their betterment characterize all these clubs. The membership is limited, ranging usually from 15 to 25. Some of them have done important work.

VIII. Children's Clubs. During the daytime a number of children's clubs of boys and girls gather for the study of city history and simple civics in the club rooms. The number of these clubs is

limited only by the number of volunteer workers. Each club member is made to feel herself or himself a part of The Institute's great family of brothers and sisters, and is thus trained from the start in love for American ideals and consecration to work for others. Beside the above clubs a club of young women meets at regular intervals in the club-house for social and educational purposes.

IX. Beside the clubs, a group of the active members of The Peoples' Institute audience has been formed called The Peoples' Institute League. Its work distinguishes itself from that of the clubs in having a more general character. Each civic club is made responsible for the civic conditions in its section of the city. The League is assumed to have a general outlook upon the entire field. Although only established a year, it has already done important work.

X. The various groups of The Institute are federated through delegates in a Civic Council, thus enabling each group to inform itself as to what the others are doing and all to render mutual assistance.

XI. During the season The Institute publishes a small weekly paper with leading articles upon living questions, and reports upon the activities of the various branches of The Institute.

XII. The most recent development of The Institute is in the direction of organizing various agencies that have to do with the protection of life and property afloat. Under the auspices of The Institute there is now being organized The People's Institute Marine League, composed of groups of pilots, engineers, etc., numbering some 38,000. These separate groups have exact knowledge with regard to the conditions of our steamers and other vessels, but hitherto have not had the medium through which such knowledge could be made public and effective for the reform of existing conditions. There was danger to the individual of losing his position in case publicity were attempted. Already through conferences held prior to the

organization, important work has been done, and it is believed that this department of The Institute will prove of equal value with the other.

In sum, it may be said of The Institute that its field of action is as varied as the interests of that section of the people which frequents its halls. It might affirm with a slight variation of the old

Latin dictum, "Nothing that concerns the interests of the people is foreign to me." Thus its field of activity is likely to broaden ever, but this will be only a natural growth out of the confidence which the people repose in the sincerity and effectiveness of its effort.

CHARLES SPRAGUE SMITH.

New York City.

THE FALLACIES OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

IN THE preface to *Science and Health* Mary Baker Eddy states that the first school of Christian Science Mind-healing was begun by the author in Lynn, Massachusetts, about the year 1867, with only one student.

Like Mahomet, she began with one disciple, and, like the religion of Islam, her teachings have spread with a rapidity mightily contrasting with the growth of Christianity prior to the conversion of Constantine. Numerical and financial prosperity marks the fortieth year of Christian Science. The Mother Church of Boston, with an enrolled membership of over forty-one thousand, has erected, at a cost of two million dollars, a temple worthy of any cathedral town of Europe.

Christian Science has lived serenely through the period of crass and ignorant criticism, and when from misapprehension, men of note and attainment have written and spoken adversely, it has remained untroubled, knowing that error is its own refutation. That the uninitiated fail to grasp the meaning of Christian Science is no wonder when we consider its inception, a birth of idealism, a religio-philosophical system appearing amidst an unphilosophical people of materialistic tendencies. This failure to grasp is, indeed, no wonder for among those trained to reason in the realms of the

abstract, differences of opinion arise in regard to the meaning of beliefs held in common; thus Nirvana is to some Indian thinkers but absorption, annihilation of self in the Divine Essence; to others it is unlimited enlarging of Individuality; therefore Buddha, in the moment of enlightenment, exclaimed, "The Universe grows I!"

To the student of philosophies, especially those belonging to the idealistic succession from Plato to the Neo-Platonists, and from Descartes to Spinoza and Berkeley, and from these to Schopenhauer, the reviver of Indian metaphysics, much in *Science and Health* has a familiar look. Philosophy, since its origin among the Ionian Greeks, and the authors of the Upanashads, has covered pretty much the whole sphere of speculative thought; hence the present impossibility of devising a system not encroaching upon the domain of another.

Before the days of Socrates, the Eleatics, postulating one pure and unconditioned Being, regarded the phenomenal world as nullity. Two hundred and fifty years ago, Spinoza, holding to the conception of a single, self-sustaining Substance, comprehending all Reality, called it God, and also Infinite, but feared further to define, deeming that definition materializes and minimizes

God. Mrs. Eddy thus defines the Infinite of Spinoza: "God is Immortal, Mind, Life, Truth, Love." Reality and illusion are thus defined: "The universe is filled with spiritual ideas which God evolves, and they are obedient to the Mind which makes them. Mortal mind transforms the Spiritual into the material." Mortal mind is thus defined: "Nothing claiming to be something; error creating other error; the belief that sensation is in matter; the belief in sickness, sin, death." Spiritual identity is thus asserted: "The Divine Mind maintains all individualities as distinct and eternal from a blade of grass to a star." Of *Mankind* she says: "Man is the infinite idea of Infinite Spirit. Man is the manifest reflection of God. Perfect and Immortal Mind. He is the likeness of God."

In support of this last is quoted the declaration in the first chapter of Genesis: "And God said Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Mrs. Eddy says: "The fundamental propositions of Christian Science are summarized in the four following to me, self-evident propositions: 1, God is All. 2, God is Good. God is Mind. 3, God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter. 4, Life, Good, God, omnipresent, deny death, evil, sin, disease—Disease, sin, evil, death, deny omnipresent God, Good, Life."

In Christian Science man is the reflection of God. If so he be, then something is that holds and gives permanence to the reflection. To illustrate, physical light is transmitted through the glass to the layer of quicksilver which arrests and turns back the sun's rays. Spiritual light, like physical light, requires for its reflection something on which to shine. Evidently it is not man's material body for Christian Science, like certain other philosophies, relegates the physical to the realm of mere appearance. For reflection some impenetrable substance is necessary and as God is All, that substance must be God himself. Man is, therefore, reflection of God on God.

So we have on the one hand Immortal Mind, Life, Truth Love, on the other hand a pure reflection of these, upheld and sustained by God. Whence then the origin of mortal mind? Whence the falsities of mortal mind, to wit, sin, sickness, death? To make apparent the enigma, let the sun, and that which holds its reflection, be representative of God; and let man be the light of the sun. If clouds darken the sun the rays are absorbed and lost. If impurities defile the glass or the quicksilver, again they are absorbed and lost. But Christian Science rightly teaches that no cloud can arise before God's all-seeing eye. Nor can *impurity tarnish his substance on which man is reflected. Neither can his light, which is man, be less pure than himself.* Therefore is emphasized the query, Why and whence the notion of mortal mind? Why does mortal mind imagine a material body and all infirmities of the flesh arisen between man and his Maker? Mrs. Eddy ignores the question, and yet into this unbridgable chasm philosophers and philosophies have fallen.

Though defining man to be reflection of the Divine, Mrs. Eddy adds that "the Divine is no more in him than man is in the mirror which reflects his image."

To say that God is All and then to assert that he is not in man, is contradiction because the All must be in everything; one cannot imagine a container in which nothing is. Mrs. Eddy's definition of man necessarily denies to him any individuality and so destroys every vestige of his free will. He cannot look other than Godward. He cannot think otherwise than of God, for his thought is God's thought, he being reflection of God; and yet the world to-day is full of ungodly thinking and doing. Because devoid of individuality no I am I inheres in man. He must abnegate selfhood and think thus, I am God's reflection in which he is not! But this thought is illogical because it implies something other than God, to wit, a vacuum in which he is not. In a universe where

God is All he is both thinker and thought, both original and reflection; therefore, a better definition of man would be, he is part of God! But even this definition is illogical because God is One and indivisible, so we are driven to the conclusion that man is God.

It is impossible that the Christian Scientist, who examines critically the fundamentals of his belief, should account for the real or imaginary existence of evil except through extraneous means, for instance, the beguiling of the serpent; but such admission is suicidal, as it contradicts his chief tenet, God is All.

Mrs. Eddy has not involved herself in a pantheism of which Hegel and Spinoza are foremost exponents; a pantheism which argues that subjectivity is but a hemisphere of God's being and, therefore himself in matter.

Holding that to God no dualism is in the essential nature of things, Mrs. Eddy, from a stand one side as that of pantheism, limits God's knowledge to the Real, so denying to him knowledge of the attitude of mortal mind toward those errors which hold it in servile bondage. If illusion have no lesson for man, surely our pilgrimage here is meaningless, a waste of time and energy abhorrent to the Divine Economy. Man's rounded, completed knowledge must include that of Being, and non-being; the Real and what results from misconception of the Real.

Thus only is man, the warrior, invincible in every part, no heel of Achilles shall prove his bane. Having completed its mental and moral evolution, having fought its way upward; having won the Real, humanity will there forever hold against all attack the fastness of Wisdom. A wiser than God it becomes if God know not the nature of unreality.

Should we soar to the broadest view of the human problem, we would perceive that in the Divine Economy sin itself is made minister to the ends of Wisdom. Sin is deadly and disintegrating, the antithesis of all to be attained.

"The soul that sinneth—remaineth in sin—it shall die." Therefore the more must the inexperienced soul, even by the harshest means, be turned from sin.

A characterless uniter of boundless but latent possibilities; a dweller in God, and upheld by God. The soul of man, free because individual, unfree because dependent upon God, begins its pilgrimage to perfection. Ignorant, it must at all hazards, even to the eating of the fruit of the tree, attain unto knowledge, and finally unto wisdom. Negatively good, it must, at all hazards, attain unto positive good, and that Divine Compassion for the erring which is the crown of the Christ Spirit. Healthful and deathless, not yet having transgressed, it must, even by expulsion from Paradise; it must, even though the gates of mortal pain and death, attain that Eden of health and deathlessness from which, because a knower of the results of violated law, it shall never again be driven forth.

Had primal man been endowed with faculty of right seeing and right choice, there had been no apparent fall. Realizing that man retains of the Divine bounty nothing he has not conquered for himself, Swedenborg gave to his angels mortal experience, all were once men.

Denying the purpose and reality of every evil afflicting the world, Christian Science cannot sorrow over Jerusalem and weep at the grave of Lazarus because sorrow is delusion and joy alone is real. Such attitude of sympathy is affirmation of error. He who sorrows over Jerusalem, confirms conditions which bring about its fall. He who weeps at the tomb, asserts the triumph of the grave.

Sympathetic sorrow or weeping is but a high phase of mortal mind. That Jesus sorrowed or wept at the delusion of those who sorrowed or wept, proved him not yet devoid of error. Christ the Knower cannot sorrow, neither can he weep. That Jesus did both was of Mary the mortal mother of the mortal man. It was of an uneliminated error betraying him into the weakness of tears.

Giving of other than spiritual food to the starving beggar is concession to his error of belief; still the Christian Scientist must give, for otherwise the beggar would die. The dispenser of the bread of life accentuated by the miracle of the loaves and fishes, the notion of physical hunger. Mrs. Eddy admits of the Master that "He left no definite rule for demonstrating His Principle of healing. This remained to be discovered through Christian Science." Acceptance or rejection of the second statement will depend upon individual estimate of Mrs. Eddy's mission.

Although she condemns every method of cure not her own, the present writer holds that a subtle danger lurks in Mrs. Eddy's manner of healing. To prove this let us first examine the operation of reward and punishment in those mental and material states of consciousness known in Christian Science nomenclature as the world of mortal mind.

Assigning whatever attributes to the Highest, we, descending, encounter their apparent opposites, distorted reflections of the Highest. The invariable effect of any violation of Eternal Law is proportionate reaction hurling the perception of the offender into a distorted idea of Reality. If, to the Highest, we attribute health, then every violator of the laws of health is by reaction plunged into the delusion of disease. That this is so is not of mortal mind, as the Christian Scientist asserts, but of God through mortal mind, and for the final vindication of Law. When one hurls himself against the impregnable wall of Divine Law, rebound is inevitable, but the punishment is mental because material consciousness is reducible to mental consciousness. Mrs. Eddy says: "I have discerned disease in the human mind many weeks before the so-called disease made its appearance in the body."

The Christian Science healer has discovered disease to be a mental delusion; hence its denial is a suggestion arousing mortal mind to combat and force back

the delusion, and the result is apparently a cure accomplished. To assert that here "there is no transfer of mental pictures from one mortal mind to another because there is but one Mind" is a mischievous fallacy.

In the Eddy mode of healing, and in all methods which heal by negation, the danger is a vital one because these methods are denial of God's Law of reaction by which alone the harmony of the universe is maintained. These methods would thwart the means by which, in the providence of the All-Wise, mankind will attain to everlasting health. Nevertheless, the Law is not thwarted. Never until the penalty is fully paid, is disease destroyed; then by permission of the Law, it ceases of itself, or, for some purpose of God, who works ever with manifold object, for instance, the inculcation of active human sympathy, the ministrations of man become necessary to recovery. But to check the mid-course of retributive Law by calling it a lie, is to incur an added penalty. Man is eternal and even should disease be forced back for the term of mortal life; three score and ten years are but an infinitesimal curve in the mighty orbit of his being. The case is, in result, like that of the hardened sinner whose unbelief in retribution holds it at bay until its gathered power suddenly overwhelms him.

The tenets of Christian Science had origin in an inadequate philosophy of life. Mrs. Eddy, perceiving God to be the fount of Life, Wisdom, Love, Bliss and all else beatific, and knowing also that sin, misery and death are on every side, deemed their reality incompatible with God's overruling. To make him consistent King she circumscribes his knowledge. She holds him ignorant of human conditions, arguing that if aware he would not permit.

Defining God to be Love and Wisdom, let us attempt the largest view of these, a view devoid of sentimentality.

The purest human love has a taint of partiality. Far above the sublime

selfishness of the mother's heart towers Divine Love. All wise, it knows not partiality because over-gift to one is robbery of all others. Necessarily it is Love-Wisdom; it is rigid Justice ruling the world.

Grasping this idea, one is not misled by appearances, but is convinced that somehow Justice is dispensed when seemingly most travestied; and that even unjust men are, without excusing, its instruments. Innumerable judgments of Justice, in their executions appear not to the eye, nor will they ever to any human eyes, for who can read the book of human life and so unriddle man's hidden doings since the beginning of mortal mind in the eons of the past? Who can read the balancing of action with reaction accomplished and now being accomplished? Could we unravel those finer than spider films of cause and effect which girdle and cover the globe, we should see Love as remedial Justice triumphant still, and the world despite every hindrance, steadily attaining; daily nearer that "One far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves." Then, as Mrs. Eddy declares, every object in the material world will be resolved into spiritual ideas.

Mrs. Eddy says: "God, without the image or likeness of himself, would be a nonentity, a Mind unexpressed. God would be without a proof of his own nature. Spiritual man is the idea of God."

Mind being the *Esse* of God, it is evident that Mind unexpressed, an unthinking God, is a nonentity; but after thinking from eternity, God is All; his thought has created nothing new on which to think. Spiritual man, "the idea of God," is consequently God's thought concerning himself. We have shown that if God is All, he is both Thinker and Thought; so God is without proof of his own nature. Mrs. Eddy says that God is Love, but as God is All, his Love must be self-love, the very apotheosis of selfishness, that against which every true teacher has declared.

Another quotation from *Science and Health*: "Through false estimate of soul as dwelling in sense, and Mind as dwelling in matter, belief strays into sense of temporary loss or absence of Soul. This state of error is the mortal dream of life." This, supplemented by Mrs. Eddy's assertion that mere mortal death does not bring knowledge, expresses some chief reasons from which the Hindu metaphysicians deduce the theory of reincarnation.

We read in *Science and Health*, that "man exists in God's idea, even the infinite expression of infinite Mind, and coëxistent and coëternal with that Mind." Evidently man existed anterior to the mortal dream. If mortal mind, having imagined the mortal death, should, in *post mortem* state, fail of enlightenment—and Mrs. Eddy asserts that possibility—what inhibits its repeated fall to earth? "Mortal mind creates its own physical conditions," therefore, carnal thoughts are debarring it from "chemicalization" to the heavenly man; and may not their accumulation, overcoming that other earthward thought, "the belief of having died and left a material body," build around mortal mind our world of the five senses? This would result in what Mrs. Eddy calls, "Death on the next plane of existence." Here interpreted to be inability of mortal mind to hold itself in its *post mortem* condition of error because of growing preponderance of the old error of earth life. Shifting from error to error is not progress. Mrs. Eddy, without reason, assumes the shifting to be in one direction only. Mortals living erroneous lives often lapse into old errors. One lost in a forest usually wanders in a circle, never in a straight line.

Although ages have elapsed since the first Adam, who we are told represents error, mortals every minute are born into the mortal dream. Is each human birth a new sense of loss of Soul? Or did the race thus err *en masse*? If altogether, then this present mortal

dream is but one of a series undergone by every Adam. If mortals thus err one by one, then we, who erred not until to-day, are the wisest and purest of the race; yet who, not excepting the discoverer of Christian Science, is wiser than Plato, or purer than Enoch who walked with God?

Science and Health teaches "that generation rests on no sexual basis." The meaning is that if mortal belief had not made necessary the male, then conception would occur from the fecundation of thought alone. It is absurd to contend that the error of procreation causes the pure, wise, and sexless man to fall into the dream of pre-natal condition and physical birth, for "man is as perfect as the Mind which formed him."

Because the Christian Scientist denies that the heavenly man could so fall, the question arises, What dreamer did fall into mortal mind and its dream? Evidently a denial of all relation, illusionary or real, between the earthly and the heavenly man is the dooming of that earthly man. If a self-existing error, he cannot emerge from matter into spirit because in that case no bridge exists between these two. For the individual both the most materialistic philosophy and the Absolute Idealism of Hegel, result in no more complete extinction.

Mrs. Eddy says: "There never was, is not now, and never can be but one Jesus of Nazareth." Mrs. Eddy's explanation of the immaculate birth is a bit of transcendentalism worthy of the pen of Madame Blavatsky. In the unity of Immortal Mind, the Father-Mother God, dwells from eternity the Christ Principle, Truth, Life, Love. In a moment of exaltation Mary, rising above all error of mortal mind, conceived the Christ as a pure idea to which her woman's purest love, that of the mother for her babe, gave the form of the infant Jesus within the womb. Therefore, Jesus, The Christ, is both human and divine.

In this teaching of Christian Science

the old belief is reversed. Christ descended not to Mary, but Mary, ascending to Christ, brought Jesus to earth, and Christ into relation with the flesh. As an explanation—not necessarily a solution—of a mystery of Orthodox Christianity, this theory is ingenious as any devisable; but in a world of one God and many Marys, the question might with no irreverence be asked, Why can there never be but one Jesus of Nazareth? Let us discover the Christian Science answer.

It was woman, because of her greater spirituality, that, in the person of Mary, rose to the conception of Life, Truth, Love. Again it was woman, a later Mary, that attained to the perfect vision, the which she gave to the world, not as in any wise the fruit of her body, but as the fruit of her enlightened mind because Jesus, having passed the gates of mortal birth and death, destroyed forever the error of his mortal body. This is the second coming of Christ himself foretold; the incorporeal presence of Christ Jesus as Judge of sin by means of the Word, the Holy Ghost, Divine Science, condemning it to the abyss of nothingness.

The above, though not formulated in *Science and Health*, is there between the lines, and gives the true status of Mother Mary with the enlightened of her cult.

A century and a half before the discovery of Divine Science, the seer Emanuel Swedenborg proclaimed the second coming as the Word of which John writes: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Swedenborg interpreted the Word to mean Divine Truth as found in the teachings of the New Church. He says: "It is evident that the Lord will now appear in the Word. The reason he will not appear in person is, because since his ascension he is in his glorified humanity, and so cannot appear to any man unless the eyes of his spirit be first opened."

In a brief work, *Unity of Good*, Mrs. Eddy says: "Man is the generic term for

all humanity. Woman is the highest species of Man." In *Science and Health* we read: "The ideal man corresponds to creation, to Intelligence and Truth. The ideal woman corresponds to Life and Love. We have not as much authority, in Divine Science, for considering God masculine, as we have for considering him feminine, for Love imparts the highest idea of Deity." *Science and Health* thus defines intelligence, "Substance; self-existent and Eternal Mind."

Having assigned to Love a place higher than that of Eternal Mind, and also Truth, Mrs. Eddy says that because woman corresponds to Love, Eve was the first to confess her fault, "The belief in the material origin of man." She was first "to discern spiritual creation. This hereafter enabled woman to be the mother of Jesus, and to behold at the sepulchre the risen Saviour. This enabled woman to be first to interpret the Scriptures in their true sense, which reveals the idea of God as Love."

Evidently the argument that Love is the highest attribute of God contains the personal plea of the discoverer of Divine Science; but will the argument hold water? God is perfect, therefore his attributes are those of perfection, to wit, perfect attributes. To maintain that Love is higher than Truth is to limit Truth and to limit God through his Truth. Hence God being perfect his attributes admit of no gradation; each is the equal of the others. Thus man is the equal of woman, a conclusion in accord with common sense if not with Christian Science which is itself a religion of Love divorced from Truth; a one-sided religion, a solution of life's enigma wholly from the stand-point of a woman. It is a religion inadequate as those hard, cruel creeds wherein men, seeking for Truth, divorced it from Love and so gave to the world man's reading of the riddle; a one-sided religion from which the inmost heart of woman shrank, however much she stultified her mind and bowed her head in meek submission.

Mrs. Eddy sometimes dwarfs and even perverts a spiritual conception by conforming it to a physical illustration; for example: "Life is the Creator reflected in his creation. If he dwell within what he creates God would not be reflected but absorbed, and the science of Being would be forever lost." In this antithesis of Swedenborg's doctrine of Divine influx, the conception of a mental reflection is taken from the physical law of optics. Physical light is reflected from the exterior of such bodies as there intercept and turn back the rays of the sun. Physical light entering opaque bodies is therein quenched and lost. The originator of Christian Science should know that the laws of spiritual light transcend those of physical light. Spiritual light is reflected from the interior rather than the exterior of God-encompassed man.

Mrs. Eddy has given to the world an interpretation of the Scriptures. Necessarily that interpretation is Christian Science, for which Christianity has waited these nineteen hundred years.

More than a century earlier than Mrs. Eddy, Swedenborg, speaking as the mouthpiece of the Lord, attributed to the Bible texts a meaning quite at variance with this latest religion of Truth. Choosing from the writings of these two, let us place side by side a few examples of their exposition of both Genesis and the Apocalypse.

Swedenborg assures the world that "the spiritual sense of the Word was never discovered until now." "Adam and his wife mean the most ancient church." "Eden means the wisdom of the men of that church." Mrs. Eddy's definition of Adam is "Error; a falsity; the belief in 'original sin,' sickness and death." Eve means "a beginning; mortality; finite belief." "Eden stands for the mortal material body." The mighty descending angel of the first and second verse of the tenth chapter of Revelation is, to Mrs. Eddy, Divine Science; the little book in his hand is of course, *Science*

and Health. Swedenborg explains that the angel signifies the Lord in Divine Majesty and Power, and the little book contains the teachings of the church of the New Jerusalem.

Mrs. Eddy's *Key to the Scriptures* would square them with Christian Science philosophy, but if that philosophy prove self-contradictory, if its logical outcome be at variance with its premises, then the whole system, like a house of cards, falls flat bringing with it the edifice of interpretation.

Christian Science, standing for Subjective Idealism, drops upon investigation into a Dualism because its utter inability to account for mortal mind, and that error of mortal mind the inharmonious, phenomenal world of sense, argues the existence of an evil principle at war with God. A system holding that God is All, denies the creative act and must conclude that God's every reflection, or idea, is part of himself, or, more strictly, it is himself for the Unity of Being is indivisible. Because of this outcome, Christian Science contradicts its declaration that God is not in man. Circumscribing God's knowing to a knowledge of his own perfection, Christian Science insults the Divine Providence by denying the purpose of this mortal life. Christian Science has no tears of sympathy like those which Jesus wept. Christian Science denies the lesson taught through the punishment of sin. Though announcing that "To remit the penalty due for evil would be for Truth to pardon error," Christian Science does in fact oppose retributive justice by denying away pain its penalty; and by so doing augments the final penalty. Holding that God requires a witness of his Being, and an object of his Love, Christian Science fails to produce either witness or object. Christian Science fallacy perverts God's Love of his creatures to self-love. Holding to a belief in but one illusionary earth-life for the individual, Christian Science teaching really argues for a succession of

earth lives for every man and every creature of God. Christian Science makes the earthly man an error procreated by an error self-existent because without parentage. In these days of numerous Elijahs, Christian Science has rendered possible a new and greater Mary, and hails her as the mother of the Second Coming. By assuming one attribute of Deity to be higher than all others, Christian Science would prove woman the highest human expression of the Divine. Christian Science opinion that if God dwell in what he creates he would be absorbed and the science of Being lost, makes the creature omnipotent, and the Creator finite. Finally, from the standpoint of illogical metaphysics, Christian Science undertakes an interior interpretation of Scripture. Against the above summary we have this assertion: "If one statement in this book is true, every one must be true for not one departs from its system and rule."

Leaving unnoticed the counter-claim of Dr. Quimby's representatives, the present writer assents to Mrs. Eddy's claim to originality that he may accord to her a doubtful honor, that of sole discoverer of Christian Science.

The far and wide spread of a belief that denies the veracity of physical sense, and therefore the existence of matter *per se*, is at first thought strange in a so-called practical age, but inasmuch as Christian Science offers more glittering prizes than any other system, ancient or modern, to wit, escape from the penalty of violated law, health instead of sickness, and, eventually, the overcoming of the grave; one sees why the old, tortuous climbing is abandoned for a short and easy ascent to human happiness. And yet true to the disciple, the way of Christian Science is one of peculiar reunciation, for his goal is the sexless condition of the real man. Because "masculine, feminine and neuter genders are human concepts," sexual impulse must be eradicated. As a beginning, marriage should be but one remove from celibacy.

The error of the marriage relation is permissible if its only object be the production of a higher race, a race of celibates reuniting, each in himself, the male and female principles of Truth and Love. Here is translated to our Western world the doctrine of the Eastern ascetic. This renunciation is the antithesis of the teaching of Swedenborg; it is offense and folly to the ordinary man, it is the crucial test of the disciple who will, except in individual instances, doubtless fail and just here because of the vast preponderance of the sexual impulse which, from the Christian Science standpoint, is of all beliefs the most obstinate because upon it seems to depend the perpetuation of life on our globe.

To Mrs. Eddy may be accorded pure desire of benefiting mankind; probably her mistakes are those of the head and not of the heart. That she speaks from conviction these words would indicate; "No human pen or tongue taught me the Science contained in *Science and Health* and neither tongue or pen can ever overthrow it." "The true Logos is demonstrably Christian Science." "This Science has come already, and come through the one whom God called." Despite these assumptions it is imperative that before constructing an all-comprehensive system, a philosophy, one examine critically other systems. Had this been done, Mrs. Eddy would have known, for instance, that Spinoza failed because his postulation of one pure, homogenous substance—the totality of Being—rendered inexplicable the conditioned, the diverse, the illusionary many. She would have known both how and where thinkers of note have made shipwreck, and so she would have escaped those dangers of rock and shoal awaiting the chartless voyager on the sea of speculative thought. Despite every objection urgeable against Christian Science, it has been promoter of much good. In the presence of an enthroned materialistic philosophy like that of Locke and his followers down to Herbert Spencer, it asserts the claims of

Idealism. In the hearts of multitudes it is dethroning matter by proving the kingship of Mind. It emphasizes the need of cheerfulness and the optimistic outlook, and, as one result, the thoughts of many a spleeny imaginer have been turned from self. As a novel and militant heterodoxy against a narrow and inadequate orthodoxy, it is forcing men from the old ruts. It stands for the man that was before the moment of human generation. It holds him and every other creature of God to be, *in noumenon*, a dweller of Eternity, that which the earthly man has divided into past, present and future. It utters a wise warning against the materialistic tendencies and general harmfulness of much in modern Spiritualism. Its ethical requirements are the highest attainable, and to blind belief in ancient dogma, it imparts that desire for sight which may yet result in the perfect vision.

Although Christian Science fails to answer the question of questions, "What is Truth?" let no one doubt that to the final solution of that question the universe is pledged. A gradual revelation, Truth bursts and blazes not on any seeker, no, not on any prophet or seer. One by one the evils are torn from its inmost shrine. Rung by rung, up the ladder of life, man emerges into the light, leaving in the ever-deepening dark of error those old truths which once did seem to satisfy.

The Divine Architect wills that men behold his creation with no falsifying eye. Therefore, Truth, the Archetypal, has been the searched for, the desired of highest moments, the fulfillable dream, since sages and prophets first drew mortal breath. And unto Truth mankind upbuilds a temple lofty-domed that those afar may see, and, seeing, gather nigh to worship. But weakness, error, is grained in the corner-stone, and in the joining of every arch, and in the foundation of every pillar. Upon the fall of that temple, men, wiser with purchased wisdom, build anew, and on the ruin of that building, rear again. Surely it shall be that the temple of Truth some day doth stand

based upon adamant, its walls unshakable and crumbling not. It fronts the rising east; the sun of Truth illumines with morn its dome of drossless gold. Beheld afar 't is as a voice of wooing to the world; "Come ye up to Jerusalem ye tribes of Men! Haste ye to gather at the shrine of Truth! Let the nations

tarry not, and let the uttermost isles of the sea make journey to the City of the Light. There evil entereth not, nor any sickness or sorrow, neither hath death dominion over man, for all reward of righteousness is with the sons of God."

EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

Portland, Maine.

THE TRUTHS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE—A REPLY.*

BY JOHN B. WILLIS, A.M.

CHRISTIAN Scientists who read Mr. Farnsworth's article will be pleased with his comparatively kind attitude, despite a few altogether unargumentative and uncalled for lapses into ridicule, and with his frank recognition of much of the good which Christian Science is accomplishing. They will be more surprised, however, to find that one who has felt impelled to call attention to the misunderstanding and consequent misjudgment of the many who have assailed Christian Science, should proceed to give such abundant evidence of misapprehension of the subject and fall into errors from which truth-seeking study and honest inquiry of intelligent Christian Scientists would certainly have saved him. He avers the need of a broad, philosophical view and attitude upon the part of critics, and yet treats some of the most important and most easily verified data of Christian Science with indifference.

To illustrate: he declares that it presents an exalted ethical ideal, and emphasizes the great practical value of many of its fundamental teachings. Nevertheless, he overlooks the very significant fact that it stands for the con-

tinuity and availability of the divine law which Christ Jesus declared he came to fulfill, and through the apprehension of which he performed his works of healing, and that the great body of the adherents of Christian Science have been led to accept its teachings, despite their bitter prejudices, through the healing of sickness and sin in themselves or others whom they have personally known. The astonishing growth of the Christian Science movement to which the critic refers would never have been chronicled except for its espousal of the faith and practice of the early Christian church, and the unnumbered demonstrations over all manner of diseases, which have been so definite as to convince even the most unbelieving. And yet, to these salient facts of Christian Science—its insistent loyalty to the teaching and spiritual demonstrations of Christ Jesus, and its redoing in large measure of the works which he said would attend "them that believe"—the critic makes no reference whatever! It is a case of reading Shakespeare without finding Hamlet.

Mr. Farnsworth's foremost and oft-repeated criticism of Mrs. Eddy is that she does not explain for him the origin of evil, or mortal mind, with which evil is identified in Christian Science; and respecting this matter his dissatisfaction

*The quotations from *Science and Health* which appear in this article are from the 1907 edition, and are made by the special permission of Mrs. Eddy.

with Christ Jesus must be equally pronounced, since he also failed to strangle this *bête noire* of past religious theorists, save as He did so by dispelling evil, and thus removing the occasion of the question. He said: "If I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you."

In reply to the critic's strictures it must be said that whatever else Christian Science may be, it certainly is not a philosophy of the origin of evil. It has very much to say respecting the nature of evil; namely, that it is without substance, intelligence or true being (since God, good, is *all*, infinite), and also respecting the way of escape from human bondage to the illusion thereof. But, following the example of the great Nazarene, it treats the question of evil's origin as one which is best answered by proving the nothingness of evil; and therefore that it has no origin. The results attending Mrs. Eddy's course in this matter, as compared with that of the unnumbered philosophers who, according to the critic, have found only confusion and defeat in their attempt to solve the problem, must certainly commend it to all who are interested in the betterment of mankind and the advance of philosophy and of religion.

It is manifest folly to try to find the principle and logical development of that which is unreal or supposititious. Moreover in the nature of the case, this endeavor is prohibited to him who attains to a realization of the allness of God, good. Jesus declared the omnipresence and omni-action of the infinite Life that is Truth and Love. "I can of mine own self do nothing," said he. "My Father doeth the works." He also said that evil (the devil) "has no truth in him." If Jesus was right, and if, as would be generally conceded, there is no reality in untruth, then the question of evil's origin may be fittingly relegated to the consideration of such sage schoolmen as in the past were wont to discuss the question of the total number of devils that at the same instant could disport

themselves upon a needle's point. The only practical question respecting a schoolboy's false notion is the question of its disposal, and all untruth, evil, is but the declaration and effect of false sense. "The Lord he is God; there is none else beside him" (Deut. 4 : 35); hence evil has no real existence, entity or power.

Systems of philosophy, whether Christian or pagan, which begin with material sense experience, and reason inductively therefrom, are necessarily compelled to consider this question, since in mortal belief and experience evil is a mighty actuality. The divine idealism of Jesus and of Christian Science begins, however, with the revelation of God as infinite good, the only Cause and creator; and reasoning deductively therefrom, it pronounces unreal, of the nature of falsity, and hence unrelated to being, all that does not consistently spring from and articulate with this infinite good; hence its one endeavor with respect to evil is to eliminate false belief, just as all educational systems aim to dispel ignorance by proving that in an intelligent and logical universe it cannot be. If in passing by the question of the "origin of evil" Mrs. Eddy has disregarded the demands of materialistic critics, she certainly has not neglected the needs of such critics and of all mankind, for in showing them the falsity of the belief in the reality and power of evil, she has disclosed and demonstrated the way of escape from evil, which is the one matter of practical import.

Next to its failure to satisfy our critic respecting the origin of evil, Christian Science most offends him, it would seem, because of its denial that there is any good or gain in evil,—that it is serviceable in the making of God's man. Mr. Chesterson tells us that Mr. Browning "believed in the utility of error." So does the Higher Critic and New Theologist, who declares that "the imperfection of the world to-day is due to God's will"; and yet, if these be right, how could evil

ever have been pronounced "an abomination unto the Lord"? Surely "there can be no defense of the indefensible"! Nevertheless, with all who hold to the reality of evil, that it has its place in a divinely planned and appointed order, our critic is forced to the logical conclusion that evil must serve a good purpose, and if he adheres to his logic he must also conclude that evil is not evil, but good, i. e., all moral discrimination must go by the board. No one can question the legitimacy of this order of thought if he believe in a good God who has provided for the appearance of evil. The critic's conclusion follows his premises all right, but it gets him into a serious fix, for the reason that the Bible everywhere represents evil to be an offense unto God; that it is of no use whatever to Him or His, and that He cannot look upon it with the least degree of allowance. In keeping with this estimate of evil, Jesus declared that men should resist it at all times, and in its every form; and this is the teaching of Christian Science.

Mr. Farnsworth, however, seems to stand for an entirely different view. He says: "Man's rounded, completed knowledge must include that of being and non-being; the Real and what results from misconception of the Real. Thus only is man, the warrior, invincible in every part. . . . Having completed its mental and moral evolution, . . . having won the Real, humanity will there forever hold against all attack the fastness of wisdom. . . . Healthful and deathless, not yet having transgressed, it (the soul of man) must . . . even through the gates of mortal pain and death, attain that Eden of health and deathlessness from which, because a knower of the results of violated law, it shall never again be driven forth."

This phrasing is new and interesting, but the thought has a very "familiar" flavor. It is in fact but a replica of the argument of the serpent, as narrated in Gen. 3: 1-5, which reads as follows:

"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the

Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

"And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

"And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."

Respecting this argument, Mrs. Eddy once said: "One can never win the real through or via the unreal."

The materialistic "good God and good devil" theology, which claims that the product of material evolution and mortal experience is less susceptible to temptation and fall than the original "ignorant" and "characterless" (!) image and likeness of God, and hence that the conditions which involve sin and suffering are beneficent and of divine appointment—this is repudiated *in toto* in the teaching of Christian Science, and for the sufficient reason that it is in direct contradiction and denial of the perfect spiritual nature of God and "every thing that he made" (and "he made all that was made," including "man in his image"), and pronounced it "very good." This statement of the Elohist narrative of the first chapter of Genesis is reaffirmed in the teaching of Christ Jesus. The opposing Jahvistic story of Genesis makes Him, who is declared by all Christian faiths to be omnipresent Spirit, infinitely wise, powerful and good, and who, as James taught, "tempteth no man," the author and supporter of a system of which evil is a legitimate outcome, and in which the knowledge of evil is made essential to the production of a man who is, and is able to remain, "God's image and likeness."

Anticipating this statement of human philosophy, Mrs. Eddy has said: "God

creates and governs the universe, including man. The universe is filled with spiritual ideas, God's images, likenesses, which he evolves, and they are obedient to the Mind that makes them. Mortal mind would transform the spiritual into the material, and then recover man's original self, idea, in order to escape from the mortality of this error." (*Science and Health*, p. 295.)

In his zeal for the educational value of sickness and suffering, Mr. Farnsworth, after the manner of many, has quite unwarrantedly accused Christian Science of interfering with the administration of the divine law of retributive justice, by removing the curse of sickness and suffering, thus offering "a more glittering prize than any other system." He says: "Christian Science insults the divine providence by denying the purpose of this mortal life. Christian Science denies the lesson taught through the punishment of sin." It opposes "retributive justice" by "denying away pain, its penalty."

In this charge the critic both begs the question and discloses a pitiful failure to understand Christian Science. The question as to whether this mortal life, with its horrors of sickness, suffering and death, which rest upon the good no less than the bad, the innocent no less than the guilty, is a providential provision, is the question at issue, and when he assumes that which he is called upon to prove, he rules himself out of the lists. He fails to perceive the discrimination made in Christian Science between the authority of divine law, which is always honored in Christian Science, and those impositions of the so-called laws of false, unjust and supremely cruel mortal sense, respecting which George Eliot has said, "Consequences are un pitying."

Christian Science teaches that so long as men transgress divine law their suffering is inevitable and legitimate: that "the sentence of the moral law will be executed upon mortal mind and body.

Both will be manacled until the last farthing is paid, until you have balanced your account with God. (*Science and Health*, p. 405.) It further teaches, however, that the fundamental error, or sin, is belief in materiality and its asserted laws, that there is substance and power apart from Spirit, God, and that the sickness and suffering incident to this sin of false belief disappear with the awakening to the spiritual facts of being. It seeks, as did Christ Jesus, to lift men above the plane of sickness and suffering, by freeing them from bondage to false belief. If this work of relief from suffering violates a law of God to-day, it certainly violated the same law when Jesus denied "away pain, its penalty"; and here as elsewhere the criticism of Christian Science is a criticism of Christ Jesus, who in his beneficent works gave no hint of hesitation, lest in healing the sick he might rob them of a needful educational experience. Truth alone truly educates, and thus makes free, and in banishing the error of false belief, truth banishes the suffering which false belief entails. In a sense it may be said that the ills attending the false belief that two times three are seven result from the fact that two times three are six; but in removing the false belief, with its sequent disadvantage and suffering, one is certainly doing no offense to the truth, but rather honoring it.

Moreover, the critic's philosophy of the providential provision of mortal ills is condemned and resisted by the moral sense and practice of all sane people. If Mr. Farnsworth were to fall sick he would no doubt send for a physician of some kind, and make energetic efforts to escape from his suffering; and, if his neighbor were found to be afflicting an innocent child to one-tenth the degree that unnumbered little ones are being tortured by the asserted "providential" law of heredity, he would no doubt swell the outcry of swift condemnation which such inhuman conduct awakens; and yet in both these acts he would repudiate

his own philosophy no less certainly than does the teaching of Christian Science.

Regardless of the dictum of long-honored dogma, thoughtful people of every Christian faith are asserting as never before their right to insist that "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" does not think or do evil, and is incapable of consenting to those things which are pronounced atrocious by the moral sense of mankind. The asserted laws of heredity, of animal impulse, and of contagion, which, with utter indifference to justice, mercy and right, have ever made human history a chronicle of terror and of agony,—that these are a divine provision, or that they have reality or power, apart from false human belief, Christian Science unequivocally denies; and, regardless of its inherited opinions, the heart of the world can but hope that Christian Science is right in so doing.

The claim of the critic that to deny God's consciousness of evil is to limit His intelligence, is parallel with the claim that to deny the possibility of God's doing iniquity is to limit His power. It indicates the critic's unhappy failure to perceive that the integrity and consistency of the Divine nature interdicts His being, thinking, or doing anything which is out of keeping with that nature. In his insistence upon the necessity of a struggle with error, that there may be scope for the play of human sympathy, the critic seems to have forgotten the fact that Christ Jesus constantly denied such a necessity by healing the sick and sorrowing. The sympathy which does not deny and destroy the evil which brings distress and sorrow is not only valueless, but its enervating sentimentalism constantly tends to augment the ills and self-justifications of those upon whom it is bestowed.

Mr. Farnsworth has much to say in criticism of Mrs. Eddy's use of the word "reflection" in her statement of the relation of the spiritual man to God, and his objections are the outgrowth primar-

ily of his wholly unwarranted trespass upon the limitations of literary privilege. Mrs. Eddy illustrates the *unvarying likeness* between God and the true man by referring to the relation of the image in a mirror to the object before it, and the illustration well serves this specific purpose. The critic, however, insists on emphasizing aspects of the illustration which are not germane to the purpose in view, and presses a logical sequence so as to reach a conclusion which is a manifest *reductio ad absurdum*. His exaction of such a parallelism is entirely unauthorized and it would distort and render ridiculous any illustration whatever. Even the parable of the prodigal son, that "jewel of literature," would be made an offense were it treated in the same way.

Mrs. Eddy says: "Man reflects and expresses the divine substance or Mind; and God is seen in His reflection, much the same as man is seen in the mirror which reflects his image, or the sun is seen in the ray of light which goes out from it." "As is . . . a ray of light one with the sun, even so God and man, Father and son, are one in being. The Scripture reads: 'For in Him we live, and move, and have our being.'" (*Science and Health*, pp. 300, 361.) This is simple, intelligible and stimulating to thought, and yet Mrs. Eddy has said that many will fail to comprehend the meaning which is conveyed in Christian Science by her use of the word "reflection."

The critic further precipitates multiplied misstatements of the teaching of Christian Science by failing to grasp its clear and oft-repeated discrimination between spiritual man, the perennial going forth of the divine nature, and the human sense of man, or mankind, the expression of a belief in both good and evil. For instance, Mr. Farnsworth says: "It is absurd to contend that the error of procreation causes the pure, wise and sexless man to fall into the dream of prenatal condition and physical birth." Instead

of maintaining this "absurd" contention Mrs. Eddy expressly denies the possibility of the spiritual man's "fall" into this material sense dream when she says: "A mortal sinner is not God's man, for the offspring of God cannot be evil." Mortals "never had a perfect state of being, which may subsequently be regained." (*Science and Health*, pp. 475, 476.) So, too, in the claim that Christian Science teaches the extinction of "individual" man. As well say that in his escape from ignorance the right thinking boy becomes extinct. All of human consciousness which is erroneous, the false-sense man, must certainly disappear as we awaken to Truth; but spiritual man, the continuous manifestation of the divine nature, Truth, Life and Love, having no error in consciousness, is of course unaffected by the passing of error. All this is made clear in *Science and Health* and, unless men desire to perpetuate falsity, the true man is the only man whom they could wish to have survive.

Yet again, in his reference to the freedom of will, the critic fails to perceive that Christian Science does not deny such a belief of freedom to human sense. What it does deny is that spiritual man has the capacity and is sure to do that which, as all concede, it is morally impossible for God, the source and Principle of man's being, to do. For the spiritual man to choose evil he must first look upon evil as more desirable than good,—that is, he must have a false carnal sense while yet the likeness and image of God,—in order that the way may be open for him to take his first step in that fall which is to rob him of the image and likeness of God!

Christian Science teaches that the individuality of spiritual man is the only individuality, and that it is forever preserved in the consciousness of God; that God is manifested in man, but not absorbed in him, that all of God does not appear in the individual manifestation, though His allness does thus appear. Man is not God, he is the expression of

God, even as the radiance is not the sun, but a manifestation of the sun. There could be no sun without radiance as there could be no radiance without the sun. They are one in essence, but clearly distinguishable in thought, and all this is made to illustrate the teaching of Christian Science that God is not in man, even as the thinker is not in his thought, though expressed by it and inseparable from it.

Mr. Farnsworth avers that the statements "God is All," and God is not in man, involve a contradiction; and that the declaration "God is All" inevitably leads to the conclusion that man is God! This is another instance in which, though Mrs. Eddy makes herself perfectly intelligible to the sympathetic student, the critic, not having attained to a right concept of man, has no difficulty in attributing to the author a confusion which is entirely his own.

The teaching of Christian Science respecting marriage is said by the critic to be "an offense and folly to the ordinary man." It is conceivable that this statement might be true and the teaching still remain of the highest possible significance to mankind. The following excerpts respecting the subject are taken from the chapter on Marriage in *Science and Health* (p. 56 et seq.):

"Marriage is the legal and moral provision for generation among human kind."

"Chastity is the cement of civilization and progress. Without it there is no stability in society, and without it one cannot attain the Science of Life."

"Marriage should improve the human species, becoming a barrier against vice, a protection to woman, strength to man, and a center for the affections."

"The good in human affections must have ascendancy over the evil and the spiritual over the animal, or happiness will never be won. . . . The scientific *morale* of marriage is spiritual unity. If the propagation of a higher human species is requisite to reach this goal, then its material conditions can only be

permitted for the purpose of generating. The foetus must be kept mentally pure and the period of gestation have the sanctity of virginity."

"The higher nature of man is not governed by the lower; if it were, the order of wisdom would be reversed."

"In Science, man is the offspring of Spirit. The beautiful, good, and pure constitute his ancestry. His origin is not, like that of mortals, in brute instinct, nor does he pass through material conditions prior to reaching intelligence. Spirit is his primitive and ultimate source of being."

"Husbands and wives should never separate if there is no Christian demand for it."

"Jesus said, 'The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage.'"

This is indeed an exalted ideal. It emphasizes the saying that "virtue consists not in abstaining from vice, but in not desiring it." It points definitely to a spiritual goal, and it certainly is an "offense" to many men. But it is for the practical significance of the ideal that Christian Science stands, even as did Christ Jesus when he said: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," and can those who are loyal to the inculcations of the Master question the propriety of Mrs. Eddy's reiteration and application of his teaching? A late writer has said that the fact of the transcendence of moral principles is the explanation of their strength and significance, since, whatever the effort to apply them, they are always in advance. "The attraction of an unattainable ideal is the world's moral motor, and the attempt to reach it is the thing that transforms the race. 'Be ye perfect,' is impossible and yet our duty. This inherent contradiction explains the paradoxical character of all great teach-

ing, and it is the guarantee of the world's redemption."*

Mrs. Eddy hews to the line when she says: "To the physical senses, the strict demands of Christian Science seem peremptory." "The licentious disposition is discouraged over its slight spiritual prospects. When all men are bidden to the feast, the excuses come." (*Science and Health*, pp. 327, 130.) These are hard sayings for the unaspiring, but is she therefore to be condemned?

Christian Science gives no ground for the assumption that consciousness is ever disembodied, and the effort to make it appear that it teaches the Buddhistic idea of reincarnation is wholly speculative and unauthorized. It does teach, however, that the experience of physical death does not transform character, and that hereafter, if not here, "suffering or Science must destroy all illusions regarding life and mind, and regenerate material sense and self. . . . Mortal belief must lose all satisfaction in error and sin in order to part with them." "As death findeth mortal man, so shall he be after death, until probation and growth shall effect the needed change." (*Science and Health*, pp. 296, 291.) "Flesh was never incarnated; God made manifest in the flesh is the divine outer action upon the inner vile affections of mortals. The influence from without cometh from Spirit." (Mrs. Eddy, *Christian Science Journal*, Oct., 1886, p. 161.)

Mr. Farnsworth quite misunderstands the teaching of Christian Science when he declares that "it is a method of healing by negation." It follows, "as the night the day," that the realization of the allness of God, good, must lead to the realization of the nothingness of evil, since every positive declaration necessarily includes the denial of all its negatives. The merest tyro in mathematics who understands the statements that the sum of equals is equal, and that the shortest

*Garrison the Non-Resistant, by Ernest Crosby, pp. 74 et seq.

distance between two points is a straight line, knows that they deny all that is contradictory thereto. The apprehension of this fundamental point is essential to all clear thinking, and Mrs. Eddy has directed attention to it in her epigrammatic statement that "Life, God, omnipotent good, deny death, evil, sin, disease." (*Science and Health*, p. 113.)

In denying mortal beliefs, which are at war with the positive, fundamental truths of Christianity, Christian Science is evidencing its loyalty to these truths, and is logically consistent therewith. It is apparent that to deny a falsity amounts to nothing if the positive truth which renders the denial logically necessary is not understood and adhered to; and the habit of such mere verbal denial is strongly condemned in Christian Science. The scientific denial of the reality of sin, sickness and death does not signify that they are not to be reckoned with as very real to human sense. The thought that evil is to be overcome by ignoring it is diametrically opposed to the teaching of Christian Science. The denial of the reality of evil must be a fruit of the recognition of infinite being, and it can be effective only as we enter into the understanding of the eternal verities of Spirit.

The claim that God's love to man, His manifestation and likeness, is self-love, and therefore unideal, is quite in keeping with the claim, often made, that there is and can be no such thing as an unselfish motive! The nature of the thought of infinite Mind regarding the "sons and daughters of God" can never be apprehended by those who attempt to measure it in the vessels of human sense. The statement that Mrs. Eddy's reference to Love as the highest synonym of God relegates His nature as Truth to a secondary place, indicates a misunderstanding of her thought; and the further intimation, that this has been done by Mrs. Eddy in order to foist woman in general, and herself in particular, into presumptuous prominence, is entirely at variance with her own teaching when she says of

Rev. 12: 1, "The Revelator saw . . . the spiritual ideal as a woman clothed in light, . . . In divine revelation, material and corporeal selfhood disappear, and the spiritual idea is understood." (*Science and Health*, p. 561.) To discredit the motive of one whose thought we have failed to divine, and that through no fault of theirs, is neither logical nor chivalrous. Mrs. Eddy has said of herself: "To-day, though rejoicing in some progress, she still finds herself a willing disciple at the heavenly gate, waiting for the Mind of Christ." (*Science and Health*, pref. ix.) "The good that a man does is the one thing needful and the sole proof of rightness." (Mrs. Eddy, in *The Independent*, Nov. 22, 1906.) He who perceives and proves beyond question a law of Life, and who is true to the revelation thus received, must maintain an attitude of assertion which is necessarily open to misjudgment; and yet the greatness and the worthiness of the discoverer is always measured by just this fealty to truth. Bruno was thus loyal, so was John Knox, and so, too, is Mrs. Eddy, but she has claimed no distinction other than that of having been called of God to witness to men of His saving truth. Thus ministering with a heroism and devotion rare in all history, she has wrought for humanity that which has led unnumbered thousands who were once bound by sickness and sin to rejoice in health and freedom, and from the ends of the earth they rise up to call her blessed.

The critic ventures the suggestion that Mrs. Eddy should have had respect to the philosophies of the past, should have absorbed the subtle lore of the Orient, as, it would seem, he has done; but the men and women for whom she has opened the door to physical and spiritual freedom, by giving them a nobler concept of God and of man,—these give thanks that she was so "wisely philosophical" as to turn away from the "profitless paths of decadent metaphysics," and fix her thought upon the Word of

God as revealed in the life and teaching of Christ Jesus. Instead of accepting physical sense testimony as to the reality of evil, and thus being compelled to argue for its educational value and necessity in human experience, as does that great body of Christian materialists who are so far separated from the practice of Christ Jesus as to have forgotten that he sent forth his disciples to heal as well as to preach; instead of thus tramping with the unsatisfied thousands the creaking treadmills of human belief, she turned from matter to Mind, and with quickened vision saw that in the recognition of the infinity of Spirit, the omnipresence of good, there is, and can be, no rational place for evil, and that spiritual sense and demonstration are humanity's only safe guides. Following these she escaped the Sahara of agnosticism and infidelity into which material philosophy has ever led its votaries, attained to a sense of saving truth which replaces the world's sigh with a song, and inaugurated a movement that is recalling the Christian's gladdening assurance of humanity's redemption.

Strangely enough this suggestion that Mrs. Eddy should have familiarized herself with the philosophies of the past follows the contradictory intimation that she has borrowed her ideas largely from these philosophies! Respecting this matter Mrs. Eddy says: "Throughout all generations both before and after the Christian era, the Christ, as the spiritual idea,—the reflection of God,—has come with some measure of power and grace to all prepared to receive Christ, Truth." (*Science and Health*, p. 333.) Speaking further of her experience, she says: "I knew the Principle of all harmonious Mind-action to be God, and that cures were produced in primitive Christian healing by holy, uplifting faith; but I must know the Science of this healing, and I won my way to absolute conclusions through divine revelation, reason, and demonstration." "In following these leadings of scientific revelation, the Bible

was my only textbook. The Scriptures were illumined; reason and revelation were reconciled, and afterwards the truth of Christian Science was demonstrated." (*Science and Health*, pp. 109, 110).

In a public address, a fair-minded Universalist clergyman recently delivered a deserved rebuke when he said: "Some of the clergy are prone to deal with Christian Science by attempting to trace its elements back to some ancient source, and by attaching to it, as a whole, the name of some old and discountenanced system. But one thing should be recalled, there is a 'Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' 'Broken lights of God' shine to the ends of the earth, in all systems, especially in all great lives. It was an old infidel argument against Christianity that it was 'not original.' The Golden Rule was said to have been taught by Confucius, the incarnation by Buddha. Some of the gems of the Master's thought were traced to the Rabbi Hallel. But this only showed the dissemination of a universal truth, its appeal to universal need. . . . Electricity existed, and some slight knowledge of it was possessed, long before it was truly discovered and utilized, but does this give Franklin and Morse less honor? Mrs. Eddy possessed a spiritual responsiveness which enabled her to rediscover the saving truth of the Master's teaching after it had long been obscured in human consciousness. . . . She had the capacity to understand and state its Principle, to awaken confidence through practical demonstration, and to send the Word on its mission of healing. She is none the less its Discoverer though its scattered beams were shining, and as such she merits humanity's gratitude."

The value of a philosophical or religious system does not depend upon its novelty, but upon the success with which it brings concepts of Truth into saving relation with human need, and the bane of materialistic philosophy is seen in the passing from Christian consciousness of

practically all the pristine dependence of the followers of Christ Jesus upon Truth to overcome human ills. Some sense of the allness of good and the nothingness of evil has been entertained by many aspiring souls in the past, but it was given the Leader of this movement so to apprehend these truths, their relation to the demonstrations of Christ Jesus and to the problems of human life, as to be able to verify the correctness of her conclusions, and thus formulate and establish the Science of Christianity. Without disparagement of what others have done, this *she* has achieved for humanity, through untold struggle and prayer. Is it not natural that she should be honored and her service appreciated, not only by those who have entered into their inheritance of health and peace through Christian Science, but by every lover of mankind to whom the facts have become known?

To the earnest truth-seeker the evidence is overwhelming that those who through pain or heart-hunger are impelled to study Christian Science find in it great illumination, spiritual stimulus, freedom and joy. Christian Science has effected the healing and redemption of thousands in every walk of life. Every issue of its publications includes pages of testimonies which have been carefully verified, and the weight of this evidence is cumulative and convincing. Men and women are everywhere witnessing that it has brought them surcease of pain, the healing of all kinds of functional and organic disease, and a new and inspiring sense of the divine nearness, love and power; that it has opened the Scriptures, and led to their daily study as never before; that it has enabled them to lead a nobler, purer life, to love God and their fellow-men more truly, to overcome life's ills, and to bear those not yet es-

caped from with less irritation and complaint,—in a word, that it has brought them the fulfilment of their prayers and the prayers of Christian people in all the years; and the many beautiful temples dedicated to this new-old religion are simple thank-offerings from those who have been thus benefited.

Our critic passes by all these "fruits of the Spirit," by which the Master has said we should both judge and be judged, and declares that Christian Science "does not produce a witness"; that a subtle danger lurks in its teaching! He cannot gainsay the ideal of faith and love and purity which Christian Science has set before him, nor can he deny the significance of the great body of human testimony in support of its healing efficacy, the practical good that it is accomplishing. Wherein, then, is the danger, the menace to the public weal, against which he feels called to warn an unsuspecting public? Suppose that those who are rejoicing in health, after long years of hopeless invalidism, who have become for the first time earnest students of the Bible, who unequivocally and in a single voice declare that they have been uplifted and helped in every way through the teaching of Christian Science,—suppose this ever-increasing number were to be doubled, multiplied ten, a thousand, ten thousand-fold, until their "glad faces" and enthusiastic faith might be found in every home: would this mean retrogression or advance, injury or betterment for mankind?

To all who are seeking for Truth, a bit of suggestive counsel, attributed to Mr. Huxley, may be commended. It reads as follows: "Sit down before all the facts as a little child."

JOHN B. WILLIS.

Boston, Mass.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PROFESSOR WYCKOFF'S OBJECTIONS TO DIRECT- LEGISLATION CONSIDERED.

Honest Objectors Who Distrust Democracy.

IN A RECENT communication to the publisher of *THE ARENA* Professor W. A. Wyckoff of the department of History, Politics and Economics of Princeton University, thus summarizes his three objections to Direct-Legislation:

"In the first place, this policy is contrary to the principle of our present form of government. Ours is a representative form of government; the policy in question is an attempt at reversion to direct government and as such is an attack upon our present system.

"In the second place, it is a piece of machinery which would be seized upon by the machine politicians and operated to bad ends far more effectively than private citizens could operate it to good ends. Private citizens have little time for and little skill in the operation of political machinery. Professional politicians of the worst type have both abundance of time and skill for such operation.

"In the third place, the policy, in so far as it could be used by private citizens, would result in atomistic instead of organic legislation.

"We stand in need of simplification that will increase responsibility, not added complexity that will diffuse it."

As these objections epitomize three of the strongest reasons that have been urged against guarded representative government, they call for more than passing notice.

There seems to be much misapprehension among a few of our academic thinkers in our more conservative educational centers, in regard to the great practical and fundamental measures which have been successfully introduced to meet the exigencies of the changed conditions of the present and preserve to us a popular representative government so hedged about by provisions to make it *truly* representative of the people's wishes as to be actually as well as theoretically a government of the

people, by the people and for the people. Professor Wyckoff is we believe thoroughly honest and conscientious in his objections to the initiative and referendum. He stands as a representative of a number of honest and sincere citizens in certain of our great municipal centers and in some of our more conservative and reactionary educational institutions, who move in an atmosphere that is largely dominated by privileged interests and classes, until they have, doubtless quite unconsciously, come to accept ideals that are as fundamentally antagonistic to the basic requirements of a democratic republican government as they are favorable to class-rule or the rule of the privileged few through the ingenious and effective modern devices for nullifying in fact popular rule and substituting for it the actual rule of the interests of privileged classes. These men seem to be unconscious of the fact that the corrupt boss and the money-controlled political machine that have degraded and debauched politics and time and again circumvented the wishes and interests of the people in city, state and nation, have become all-powerful and retained their influence only because of vast campaign contributions and other forms of subsidizing practiced by large corporate interests,—the feudalism of privileged wealth through its alliance with the money-controlled political machine has become at once the real master of government and the master of the bread of the millions.

These honest men, who have imbibed reactionary and undemocratic ideals through having been long accustomed to hearing the arguments of the special-pleaders for the interests, are to-day in a position very analogous to that of certain conscientious and high-minded old Tories prior to our Revolutionary War, who honestly opposed Otis, Adams, Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson and Henry, and who long gave aid and comfort to the British after the war for freedom had been

inaugurated. They were honest in their stand. They distrusted the people and popular rule. They believed in the divine right of kings or the right of a hereditary aristocracy or some other classes or privileged ones to rule over the people. They were sincere and honest in their views, swayed by inbred conservative thought and prejudice rather than by any special thought of personal advantage or loss, and thus in actuating motives they stood quite apart from those Tories who were seeking official positions or advantages presumably to be gained by aligning themselves on the side of the throne and the aristocracy. Their views, therefore, were entitled to far more consideration than the sophistry of their sordid and self-seeking companions.

So, we take it, Professor Wyckoff belongs to the class of conservatives who to-day honestly oppose direct-legislation from pure motives; and as a representative of this class, his views call for careful and serious examination.

The Master Objections Examined.

Professor Wyckoff's first objection is the chief claim upon which the upholders of a government which is as representative in form as it is misrepresentative in character depend in attacking any practical measures that so safeguard representative government that it shall be truly representative of the interests and wishes of the electorate, whom the people's servants are supposed to represent instead of becoming the servile tools of selfish special interests laboring to circumvent and nullify the wishes and interests of the people.

The contention is made that Direct-Legislation is contrary to our representative system of government, and thus should be opposed. Now we shall presently examine this contention and find, we think, that it is unsound. But before doing so, let us see whether the contention itself is tenable.

We assume that Professor Wyckoff believes in the fundamental demands of the Declaration of Independence and the basic principles that differentiate a popular government from class-rule; in a word, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Now if a government established with this object in view, as certainly was our Republic, in the course of time should fall into hands who subtly yet effectively transformed it from a government of, by and for the people, into a government of politicians acting for special classes through a money-controlled

machine, so as to defeat the interests and wishes of the people, would the true friends of popular rule oppose any practical changes that would defeat the class-rule that had overthrown popular rule and reinstate a government of the people?

We take it that Professor Wyckoff will not claim that conditions have not obtained in our Republic where real popular rule has time and again been systematically defeated in the interests of powerful classes and political bosses. We do not suppose that he will argue that had it not been for the political contributions, courtesies, special favors, bribery by passes and other favors of great corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad, the steel and coal interests and other special interests, Boss Quay would have been able to set up and cast down whomsoever he desired and long rule Pennsylvania as effectively as an Oriental potentate. No, it was the united action of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt boss and money-controlled machine that destroyed all really popular government and corrupted a state's representatives and officials until they rode rough-shod over the interests of the people.

Again, we do not imagine that Professor Wyckoff would hold that Senators Platt and Depew are the men to-day who would represent New York state in the national Senate, if those gentlemen had not been the servants of great express and railway corporations. If the people instead of the corporations were being represented, other men, who would recognize their position as being that of agents or servants of the people and not the agents and servants of public-service corporations and privileged interests, would represent the Empire State.

And these are but two typical instances of misrepresentation of the people since the virtual destruction of a government representative of the people, by class representation and rule, through the boss and the money-controlled machine. As a student of history, Professor Wyckoff must know that republics, to remain truly representative of the electorate, must be eternally vigilant against the tendency of official classes to become a ruling instead of a representative class, and the equally grave danger of persons and classes outside of the actual government of the Republic becoming the real masters of government for selfish interests, enrichment or aggrandizement. The Republic of Florence is a striking example of

the latter peril, as was that of Venice an illustration of the danger of autocratic rule by an ever-narrowing political group. Of Florence and the subversive influence of the di Medici family of bankers, the well-known historian, Professor Vallari, of the Royal Institute of Florence observes, when speaking of the baleful machinations of Cosimo di Medici:

"He succeeded in solving the strange problem of becoming absolute ruler of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberty, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government and always preserving the appearance and form of a private citizen."

Now the changed conditions in American politics since the rise of the great public-service corporations and other privileged classes that work in harmony with the public utility monopolies, have rendered possible the corrupt political boss and the money-controlled machine, that without interfering with the outward form or semblance of a genuine representative government such as was the Republic in its infant days, have changed the actual character of representative government in so positive and startling a manner that in many instances the rule of privileged corporations and classes through the boss and the machine is so glaring that no intelligent or conscientious man will deny the virtual destruction of a government truly representative of the people or responsive to their wishes.

Now we hold that even if the contention of Professor Wyckoff were sound—something which we do not for a moment admit—the presence of the changed condition which is destroying the essentials of a truly representative popular government should lead every believer in a government of, for and by the people or in the fundamental principles that differentiate a democratic or popular government from class-rule, to unremittingly battle for changes that would make the government honestly representative of the wishes and interests of all the people.

We do not, however, hold that Direct-Legislation is contrary to our present form of government. The large majority of the master-spirits as well as the people who founded and moulded into form our government believed in a democratic republic or a government responsive at all times to the will of the people, and in which the officials should be the agents

or servants of the people. This is a fact too well established to admit of controversy. The representatives were elected, not to represent a political boss, a money-controlled machine, or powerful interests and great monopolies who were seeking enrichment through special privileges and monopoly rights. They were chosen to represent the wishes and desires of the electorate. They were the people's servants and agents, appointed to represent and not to misrepresent them. Now the initiative and referendum are merely practical measures that have been found necessary in order to preserve a truly representative or a democratic republican government under the changed conditions of the present.

The people's agents are assumed to be honest men who desire to represent and not misrepresent their principals,—the electors. They are supposed to be persons who will faithfully represent those who have placed them in a position of trust, and not scoundrels that are seeking personal wealth, power or position by betraying their trust. But these agents may sometimes be ignorant of the wishes of the people, and Direct-Legislation provides effective means for making the people's rule supreme, for making the representatives of the people truly representative of their principals, and not representatives of interests inimical to the people's wishes and interests. Is that contrary to the genius of our government? We do not imagine that the master-spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth or the astute attorneys and special-pleaders who have succeeded in misleading many sincere and thoroughly honest men, believe in their hearts for one moment that this contention is sound or based on fact or reason. Their cry is a dishonest cry. It reminds one of the thief who, after seizing a large roll of bills in a bank, rushed into the crowded street and began lustily joining in the cry, "Stop thief!" in order to divert attention from himself and enable him to escape with his stolen wealth. The great corporations which are the backbone of the opposition to Direct-Legislation, as they are the backbone of the money-controlled machine and the corruption in present-day politics, know full well that they have destroyed popular representative government while preserving its outward form and semblance, as effectively as did the di Medici family destroy the Republic of Florence without holding office or

interfering with the machinery of popular government.

The Supreme Court of Oregon on The Constitutionality of Direct-Legislation.

On this point much higher legal authorities than Professor Wyckoff have spoken. The highest legal tribunals of both Oregon and California have spoken, and they have upheld the contentions of the friends of Direct-Legislation.

The Supreme Court of Oregon was appealed to, after the people had embedded Direct-Legislation in their constitution, to nullify the expressed wish of the people voiced by more than two-thirds of the voting electorate, on the ground that it was a provision contrary to the form of government guaranteed by the Constitution; and in one of the ablest decisions that has in recent years come from a high tribunal, the Supreme Court of Oregon upheld the constitutionality of the Direct-Legislation amendment, accompanying its ruling with the following opinion:

"Nor do we think the amendment void because in conflict with section 4, article 4, of the Constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government. The purpose of this provision of the Constitution is to protect the people of the several states against aristocratic and monarchical invasions, and against insurrections and domestic violence, and to prevent them from abolishing a republican form of government. Cooley, *Const. Lim.* (7th Ed.), 45; 2 Story, *Const.* (5th Ed.), Sec. 1815. But it does not forbid them from amending or changing their Constitution in any way they may see fit, so long as none of these results is accomplished. No particular style of government is designated in the Constitution as republican, nor is its exact form in any way prescribed. A republican form of government is a government administered by representatives chosen or appointed by the people or by their authority. Mr. Madison says it is 'a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.' *The Federalist*, 302. And in discussing the section of the Constitution of the United States now under consideration, he says: 'But the authority extends no further than to a guaranty

of a republican form of government, which supposes a preëxisting government of the form which is to be guaranteed. As long, therefore, as the existing, republican forms are continued by the states, they are guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Whenever the states may choose to substitute other republican forms, they have a right to do so, and to claim the Federal guaranty for the latter. The only restriction imposed on them is that they shall not exchange republican for anti-republican constitutions.' *Id.*, 324. Now, the Initiative and Referendum amendment does not abolish or destroy the republican form of government. The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of the government, or substituted another in its place. The government is still divided into the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, the duties of which are discharged by representatives selected by the people. Under this amendment it is true, the people may exercise a legislative power, and may, in effect, veto or defeat bills passed and approved by the Legislature and the Governor; but the legislative and executive departments are not destroyed, nor are their powers or authority materially curtailed. Laws proposed and enacted by the people under the initiative clause of the amendment are subject to the same constitutional limitations as other statutes and may be amended or repealed by the Legislature at will. The veto-power of the Governor is not abridged in any way, except as to such laws as the Legislature may refer to the people. The provision of the amendment that 'the veto-power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people,' must necessarily be confined to the measures which the Legislature may refer, and cannot apply to acts upon which the referendum may be invoked by petition. The Governor is required, under the Constitution, to exercise his veto-power, if at all, within five days after the act shall have been presented to him, unless the general adjournment of the Legislature shall prevent its return within that time, in which case he shall exercise his right within five days after the adjournment. He must necessarily act, therefore before the time expires within which a referendum by petition on any act of the Legislature may be invoked, and before it can be known whether it will be invoked

or not. Unless, therefore, he has a right to veto any act submitted to him, except such as the Legislature may specially refer to the people, one of the safeguards against hasty or ill-advised legislation which is everywhere regarded as essential is removed—a result manifestly not contemplated by the amendment."

The Supreme Court of California recently rendered a notable decision with but one dissenting opinion, in which the constitutionality of Direct-Legislation was upheld, the court finding that the initiative and referendum are not opposed to a republican form of government. The corporations and the corrupt enemies of the Republic have been so in the habit of relying on their hired attorneys to read meanings which they desire into the Constitution, or to distort the Constitution so as to make it defeat the ends its framers had in view, that they have come to imagine that whenever their avarice and wishes are opposed, some means must be found for defeating the people. The Supreme Courts of Oregon and California refused to allow those who wished to defeat the fundamental essentials of a truly representative government to find a refuge in their decisions. Direct-Legislation safeguards republican government, which is supposed to be a government of, by and for the people, by making it effectively representative of the electorate. It simply guards against its perversion by corrupt and faithless legislators who betray the people, trample on their wishes and sacrifice their interests for the benefit of privilege-seeking and exploiting classes. It is as inconceivable that an honest legislator would refuse to take his orders from the people he pretends to represent and on whose votes he must rely if he is to appear as their agent in the halls of legislation, as it is that an agent of his principal in a business enterprise should refuse to take orders from his employer. Direct-Legislation, instead of destroying a truly popular representative government, provides against such actual destruction as recent decades have shown in numerous instances to have been accomplished by the feudalism of privileged wealth.

Majority Rule and Corrupt Politics.

We now come to consider Professor Wyckoff's second objection to popular rule through Direct-Legislation. It embodies his fear that this practical measure for enabling the people

to veto corrupt legislation or laws inimical to their interests, or for permitting them to compel the passage of measures which the majority of the people desire to be enacted, would enable the machine politician to dominate legislation to the injury of the people.

It is surprising to find such an objection as the above coming from a professor in the department of "history, politics and economics" in a leading American college. All persons familiar with American political conditions of the present time know full well that the Direct-Legislation movement is a pronounced protest against the machine politicians who during the recent decades have so perfected the political machine by the aid of privileged interests and the great public-service corporations, that they are enabled to nominate their own tools or faith servitors, and in this way and this way alone are enabled each session to engineer through the legislatures of the various states laws that give unjust monopoly rights and privileges to favored classes or interests, or to prevent legislation that would correct abuses against which the people are vainly protesting. If Professor Wyckoff has ever seriously considered this question, he must have been impressed with the fact—quite inexplicable if his contention is sound—that the machine politicians everywhere to-day are fighting Direct-Legislation with all the power at their command. Everything that even looks toward permitting the people to express to their agents and servants their wishes is fought with all the resources at the command of the boss and the machine, no less than by the corrupt corporations and the "black" journals that serve the feudalism of privileged wealth.

We in Massachusetts have recently had a striking illustration of this fact,—an illustration so marked and palpable that if Professor Wyckoff lived in this commonwealth he would, unless we are mistaken in the man, have thought twice before he would have advanced the above as an objection. The facts in the Massachusetts situation are briefly as follows:

The friends of a measure known as the Public-Opinion Bill last autumn interrogated the would-be legislators in regard to their position touching the proposed measure. A majority of the candidates before election pledged themselves to support the bill which it was proposed to introduce. The measure merely proposed that on the petition of 5,000 qualified voters, not more than four questions

might be placed on the ballot at a general election, in order that the people might express their wishes for or against measures which clearly concerned them. In this way, it was pointed out, the legislators could know the wishes of the electorate. The expression of the people's will was not to be binding on the legislators, though of course if the people's representative knew the unequivocal desire of his principals in a transaction, it might be embarrassing for him to deny the popular wish in behalf of secret interests or the real masters of the money-controlled machine. For a time it appeared that only the public-service corporations, predatory wealth and the most officious champions of the interests were opposed to this bill, but the moment the popularity of the measure became apparent, the Republican machine, under the autocratic management of Senator Lodge and ever responsive to the wishes of privileged wealth, engaged in an active attempt to defeat the measure. Speaker Cole, the most typical corporation politician in the Legislature, referred the bill, not to the committee he had properly referred it to the year before, the committee to which his predecessor had also referred a similar measure, but to a hostile committee. The demand for the measure, however, was such that it was impossible to kill it in the committee. Then Senator Lodge came to the front and pleaded with the legislators to kill the bill. He did not propose to permit the principals to instruct their agents or to suggest to them what they desired. The whole power of the machine was exerted to destroy the bill.

In this action we had merely a typical illustration of the attitude of the corrupt machines and the campaign-contributing monopolies in the presence of any attempt to secure for the people a genuine representative government. Again, if a political machine which can count on vast sums, of ten-times running into hundreds of thousands of dollars, contributed by special interests to secure special grants, privileges and monopoly rights that will divert millions of dollars annually into the pockets of the few, is less to be feared than a machine robbed of the power of corrupt wealth, then there may be some force in our Professor's contention, but not otherwise. No fact has been more clearly or frequently established than the tap-root of the power of the corrupt boss and the "practical" politicians who man the party machine is found in the enormous

campaign contributions, courtesies, etc., given by corporations who make corrupt bargains for the enormously rich monopoly privileges that place the public at the mercy of the few.

It is the failure to so safeguard popular representative government as to make it truly representative of the people that has more than all things else rendered possible and inevitable the reign of graft and corruption that has prevailed since the corporations and political machines united to dominate government. But the old and homely saying that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating" is applicable here. Opinions and theories are valuable in proportion as they are based on facts and sound deductions. But the actual results that follow an experiment are the criteria that are most valuable and which make opinions, when contrary to experience, of little value.

Now what is the result—the practical result—in the case of Direct-Legislation? Has the introduction of the initiative and referendum, as Professor Wyckoff assumes it would, strengthened the arms of unscrupulous and corrupt politicians? According to the unanimous testimony of the great statesmen of Switzerland, no such result has followed in that republic, but quite the contrary. The New England town-meeting government is admitted on all hands to have been and to be the purest government that has been known to New England.

But if it is argued that Switzerland is not the United States and that the town-meeting, though excellent for small communities, does not furnish a fair test because the initiative and referendum would apply to cities and states, we turn to Oregon. Has the initiative and referendum increased or diminished the power of the corrupt politicians? According to the testimony of the leading statesmen, publicists and journals of Oregon, the result has been precisely the reverse. Direct-Legislation and the legislation which has been rendered possible through this innovation have resulted in precisely what the friends of free government claimed would result from its introduction. It has destroyed the power of the corrupt politician and the money-controlled machine. Elsewhere in this issue will be found the testimony on this point of leading citizens of Oregon, including United States Senator Bourne and leading journals.

There are to-day in Oregon only two influential sections of society that can be found opposing Direct-Legislation. One is made up

of the professional politicians and the other of the privilege-seeking corporations.

President Eliot of Harvard University, in his recent Faneuil Hall address in support of the Public-Opinion Bill, showed that the great evil of American politics was not found in the people, but in the money power and the secret influence which it exerted in the legislatures, in the communities and in the nominations of candidates.

The Initiative and Referendum and Organic Legislation.

We now come to Professor Wyckoff's final objection. We are not clear as to what the educator means by "atomistic legislation," but we infer from its contrasting term, "organic," that he means functional in contradistinction to organic or constitutional legislation; legislation that is trivial, partial in character, which relates to a few individuals rather than to the whole, and which does not affect any great basic, organic or constitutional principles, or legislation that would benefit comparatively few people. If this is his meaning, and we can conceive of no other possible intent, his objection is most unfortunate for his cause; for practice no less than theory and reason are against its verity.

One of the chief curses of our present-day legislative order is found in the annual multiplication of laws and enactments granting special favors and privileges to small groups or classes and abridging the rights of the many for the enrichment of the few. These bills are due to the secret influences brought to bear on legislators. Men or groups of men desiring special privileges are actively in evidence at every session of our legislatures. They not only consume a vast amount of time which the legislators ought to be giving to vital measures and enactments, but their presence and influence is one of the chief sources of the corruption of legislators. The more powerful groups, such as the public-service corporations, have their own lobbies and frequently retain attorneys who are the law partners of legislators, as well as leading politicians of both parties. Money is furnished freely for suppers to legislators and by various other means influences are secretly brought to bear upon the people's representatives to make them misrepresent the people in the interests of the few. And thus it is that year by year our statute books are burdened with special legislation,—functional, class or

special in character, pernicious in its essence and frequently opposed to the spirit of just government and the fundamental principles of constitutional law. The bills which thus become laws would never, in a vast number of cases, be so much as introduced if the people had the power which the initiative and referendum confers on them, of compelling the legislators to represent and not misrepresent their principals, the electors. It is largely because of this special legislation, which is foreign to the spirit of and often totally out of harmony with organic or constitutional principles and legislation, that the people have resorted to practical measures which will compel their representatives to legislate for them instead of against them.

To make our meaning thoroughly clear, let us cite a case which if extreme in its baldness is nevertheless thoroughly typical of a large number of laws that are passed every session and that are making the legislatures of many states the hotbeds of popular misrepresentation, of scandal and corruption. The case we cite is used for the double purpose of showing the kind of so-called "atomistic" or special legislation that to-day marks our prevailing misrepresentative government in such a way as to curse and oppress the people, and also of showing one reason why the initiative and referendum is so urgently demanded by friends of free institutions and why it is so resolutely attacked by all the grafters and corruptionists, from the great political bosses and leaders among the criminal rich in the corporation world, down to the ward politicians.

The Legislature of Maine, being absolutely responsive to the Republican machine, passed the following special law relating to the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Company, and later passed identically similar laws relating to the Washington County Railroad Company and the Somerset Railroad Company, formerly the Kennebec Valley Railroad Company:

"Said Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Company is hereby authorized to enter into an agreement with the State of Maine for the transportation over its railroad, so far as constructed, and over the lines of railroad which it may lease or purchase in accordance with section two of this act, or in which it may acquire the interest of the city of Bangor in accordance with section three of this act, of troops and munitions of war, in times of war,

insurrection or civil commotion, free of charge, other than as herein provided, for a period of twenty years from and after the passage of this act, and to receive therefor from said State, annually, for the term of said contract, an amount which shall equal ninety-five per cent. of the taxes collected in the corresponding year by said state from said corporation, upon its road and other real and personal property, including its stock and franchises, and also including that purchased or leased or in which it may acquire an interest under either of the two preceding sections of this act. Whenever such a contract shall be executed by said corporation and approved by a majority vote of its stockholders at a meeting duly called for that purpose, and shall be presented to the treasurer of said State, it shall be the duty of said treasurer to execute said contract in behalf of said State and thereafter said treasurer shall pay over to said corporation, each year during the term of said contract, the amount provided in this section."

A leading attorney of Maine writes of these roads as follows:

"The Bangor & Aroostook Railroad is a very successful enterprise and has been from the start. It extends from the seaboard, Searsport, below Bangor, into Aroostook County. The second extends from Ellsworth to Calais and was deemed sufficiently important for the Maine Central to purchase it. The Somerset Railroad is also a very prosperous road."

Here we have measures enacted, providing for a contract on the part of the State,—a contract that, unlike a statute, cannot be repealed, which relieves certain railroads practically of all taxation.

In the year 1906 the taxes levied against the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad amounted to \$55,680.39. Of this amount \$52,896.37 was remitted to the company by virtue of the infamous special legislation above referred to; and of the \$6,136.53 levied against the other two roads, \$5,829.69 was remitted.

Here every tax-paying citizen of Maine was robbed by the legislatures by being compelled to pay a portion of the taxes that this special legislation permitted to be dodged by three favored companies. Under the initiative and referendum no such laws could be enacted. The corporations that are the masters of the

practical politicians and bosses know this; hence their opposition.

Furthermore, not only is it true that through the activity of the lobbies and the secret agents of privilege-seeking wealth, a vast number of special laws are constantly being passed that are inimical to the public interest and oppressive to the people, but the sinister corporate interests are equally vigilant in preventing any vital legislation, organic or constitutional in spirit and character, from being enacted. But under Direct-Legislation the people are able to secure the needed reforms. Let us illustrate.

The citizens of Oregon tried vainly for years to secure an honest and effective direct-primary law that would break the power of the machine and enable the people to nominate real representatives instead of machine and corporation representatives. They signally failed in all their pleas to the corporation and machine-governed legislatures; but when Direct-Legislation gave the electorate a "big stick," what did it accomplish? Let us quote United States Senator Bourne on this point:

"In Oregon the people have made many improvements by reason of enjoying this power. They have adopted a primary nominating elections law by which they have destroyed the power of the political boss and his machine, thus securing for the people the best efficiency of public servants, on account of their responsibility to the electorate only."

Last year the people voted on eleven propositions initiated by the electorate. They accepted seven and rejected four. Only one of these measures could be regarded as "atomistic," if we are right in our understanding of what Professor Wyckoff means by his term, and that was a proposition to sell a toll-road to the state. The people rejected the proposition because they felt the owners were trying to obtain an extortionate price for the road.

There is a reason why class-legislation or legislation that does not interest all the people is in little danger of passing where Direct-Legislation obtains. In the first place, it is no easy matter to secure a petition signed by eight per cent. of the registered voters of a state, and when this list is secured the question is thoroughly threshed over in the press, in clubs, halls and on the stump, so as to render absolutely impossible any impulsive or hasty judgment or inconsidered action. Senator

Bourne, in speaking of the practical results in Oregon, well observes:

"It is the safest and most conservative plan of government ever invented. There is no possibility of any sudden overturn of policies or principle by change of parties in office—no great change can be made without the consent of a majority voting on that particular question separate from all others. I am confident that a majority can never be had for a measure without there is good reason to believe it will advance the general welfare. The great majority of the American people are honest, intelligent and just; agitation and full discussion must inevitably result in their giving a wise decision. Should a mistake be made through lack of agitation and discussion, it can quickly be remedied by this system by again referring it direct to the people."

A further testimony as to the practical benefits of Direct-Legislation, in opposition to the bugaboos raised by the enemies of free institutions, is found in the following observations by United States Senator C. W. Fulton of Oregon, published in the *North American Review* for May 3d of this year. In speaking of the actual results of the initiative and referendum, Senator Fulton says:

"The people have manifested a very lively disposition to exercise their power thereunder. They have, however, evidenced a conservatism and discriminating judgment, both in legislating and in reviewing the work of the legislature, which demonstrate that such powers may be vested in them with perfect safety to all interests."

In actual practice the claims of the friends of Direct-Legislation have been splendidly vindicated. It accomplishes precisely what the upholders of free institutions claimed that theoretically it should accomplish. It secures for the people protection against a yearly flood of pernicious, trivial and often vicious class and special legislation, that not unfrequently

invades the rights of the individual and usually operates so as to give some interests, small group or class an advantage over the mass. It opens the way for the people to secure their real interests and safeguard their rights. It makes the government truly representative of the people, while at the same time it reawakens the old-time interest in government in the hearts of all the people, making every voter jealous and interested for the state in which he feels he is positively a real factor.

But in conclusion Professor Wyckoff holds that Direct-Legislation would be unfavorable to needed simplification in government, that it increases responsibility, and that it would tend to a complexity that would diffuse it.

Now any simplification in government that fully safeguards the fundamental democratic principles of securing what the majority of the people want, is doubtless desirable; but simplification at the expense or possible expense of the rights and interests of the people is something that every friend of free institutions must contend against. The bald demand for simplification well echoes the sentiments of czar, monarch, autocracy or political boss. What can be more simple than the autocratic rule of an emperor, whose will is law, or of a boss, who is responsible only to the heads of a few corporations that oppress and exploit the people? But this is not the simplicity that expresses the republican idea of government. In executive matters it is doubtless wise to prescribe general duties and leave the executive much power of discretion, making him only accountable under certain contingencies to the people. But it is far otherwise in legislative matters. Here pure and free government can be maintained only by eternal vigilance in guarding against anything that will thwart or nullify the will of the people. Only those who distrust democracy, only those who are false to the principles of the Declaration of Independence will seek to prevent actual as well as theoretical rule of the people, by the people and for the people. As Senator Bourne well says: "The man afraid to trust the people should not be trusted by the people."

DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN OREGON AND THE MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE REACTIONARY PRESS.

The Menace of "Black" Journalism to Free Government.

NEXT to the money-controlled political machine, the feudalism of privileged wealth and unrepudiated reaction finds its chief reliance in a large and influential section of the daily press which poses as safe, sane, conservative and ultra-respectable. These papers systematically strive to discredit journals that the plutocracy cannot subsidize or silence—papers which stand for a democratic republic instead of a bastard democracy which pretends to be representative of the people, but which is in fact a dual despotism in which the powers and privileges of government are shared by the bosses or masters of the political machines and their retainers who are placed in office, and corporate or privileged wealth, which controls and financially sustains the machine. The reactionary and corporation press, which has been well designated as "black" journalism in contradistinction to the "yellow" journals or sensational papers, owing to its reflecting so faithfully the interests and desires of the piratical commercial feudalism or high finance of our day, emulates the ancient Pharisees who thanked God they were not as other men and who drew aside their spotless raiment lest it should be contaminated by the motley crowd that followed the lowly Nazarene. These journals are distinguished for their "unctious rectitude." They affect infinite contempt for the yellow journals. But though they enlarge much upon the unhealthy sensationalism of these journals and other undeniable weaknesses of the popular newspapers, the real objection is undoubtedly that of the great public-service corporations and predatory wealth whose interests they so faithfully reflect; because a careful study of the columns and especially of the editorial pages of these journals, fails to show any superior moral sense or higher ideals than are reflected in the despised yellow journals. Indeed, as a matter of fact, these papers often are far more morally obtuse in their editorial departments than are the papers they affect to despise. They usually add to mendacity,

hypocrisy, and by being treasonable to the ideals of democratic republican government and the interests of the people, they are only second to the money-controlled machine in their morally disintegrating influence on government and the popular conscience.

Oftentimes many of the stockholders of these papers are also large shareholders in the great public-service corporations, or are master representatives in various divisions of the communism of privileged wealth that is engaged in exploiting the people for the enormous enrichment of the few and the further entrenching of privileged or corporate wealth in government. In some other instances large sums are paid for space, which is used as simon-pure reading, and sometimes the editorial columns are thus prostituted. Another form of controlling these papers is through the club of advertising patronage, and still another is the practice of supplying papers with funds when the publishers find themselves in financial straits.

But it matters not what are the means employed to thus seduce a large and influential section of the press from its true function of serving the real interests of the public; the position which these papers occupy is precisely analogous to that of the old Tory journals which strove so persistently to defeat and destroy the cause of freedom during the early struggle of our fathers against another form of class-rule and exploitation. Nothing is more necessary at the present time than that the real character of the reactionary and corporation sympathizers among the daily press be fully exposed and the absolutely untrustworthy character of their editorial utterances and "doctored" news be laid bare. To do this in a thoroughly efficient manner would of course require many daily journals, but typical examples may be cited that will help put thinking people on their guard.

The Boston Transcript Discovers That Direct Legislation is a Failure in Oregon.

Recently an example of this reckless and untrustworthy editorial writing was given by

the *Boston Transcript*, which calls for more than passing notice, especially as it forms such an admirable illustration of the menace of this kind of journalism to free institutions and shows to what an almost incredible extent a paper that prides itself on being safe, sane, conservative and respectable will go when the cause of machine-rule or corporation domination of government is threatened by return to the democratic republican order of the older days. This case is so truly typical of the editorials that flood the press and reflect the desires of the reactionary machine and the corporations, that we shall treat it at length. In the first place, we give the *Transcript's* editorial in full, after which we shall ask the attention of our readers to the real facts of the case as presented by the highest authorities from Oregon—men and papers thoroughly familiar with all the facts involved.

Under the heading, "The Referendum's Failure in Oregon," the *Boston Transcript* said:

"At the legislative hearing before the Ways and Means Committee to-morrow morning, on the Public-Opinion Bill, which aims to start Massachusetts on the road toward the initiative and referendum, it would be well if some of Oregon's latest experiences could be submitted. A cartoon in a copy of the *Portland Oregonian*, which has just come to hand, pictures the voter with a small saw about to attack a pile of logs, each representing a question which is to come up in the June municipal election, and the task is obviously too big for the man before it. He will be asked to decide if the city should spend a million dollars for parks and boulevards, other amounts for fireboats and mains, for a new bridge for a pipe line to Bull Run; if it should increase the salaries of a half-dozen different officers who are named; if it should create a stationary-engineer examiner's department; and if it should give a franchise to the Economy Gas Company, besides some technical questions, including one dealing with the regulation of electric wires. This latest ordinance, it is assumed will pass by a practically unanimous vote, although not one person in a hundred knows whether the proposed regulation will improve the present system, or even that it is not something engineered by the electric company for the purpose of making its work easier and cheaper, although more dangerous to the people.

"Experience has proved in Oregon that it is perfectly easy to get signatures for any petition in which a group of enthusiastic individuals may be interested. It is a commonplace saying in Portland that it is easier to sign a petition than to refuse, because the latter involves listening to tiresome argument in its favor. So the hurried man, the lazy man and the good-natured man all sign whatever comes before them. At the last State election eleven proposed laws went before the people for acceptance. The title rarely expressed the real meaning—if, in fact, it was not more often a misnomer. The average man was interested in perhaps two or three measures, and professed absolute ignorance regarding all the rest, and yet he decided their fate.

"The Oregon referendum law, however, was supposed to have as many safeguards as those which are cited in behalf of the Public-Opinion Bill in this State. One of these Oregon provisions requires the Secretary of State to prepare a pamphlet for distribution giving the arguments for and against each of the projects that go on the ballot. Whenever a voter registers the county clerk is expected to hand him a copy of this informing pamphlet. But the voters usually refuse to take it, until now most clerks content themselves with piling the books on their desks, like patent-medicine almanacs in the apothecary shop, for anyone who is willing to take them away. No device for inducing people to read them has been invented.

"Most of the laws proposed in Oregon relate to taxation or appropriations. The mass of voters everywhere pay no direct taxes and so suppose they pay none at all. They naturally want a great deal of money spent, to "make work" and keep business good, with the result that Oregon and its cities are spending an amount of money which is sure to drive capital and industry out of the State. It has been discovered there that the adoption of two absolutely inconsistent laws may take place on the same day, and by the same electors. A defective and otherwise unworkable law may be adopted, repealing a measure that is doing its work, and so leave a hiatus which might create a serious emergency. And yet the tabulation of the vote in Oregon shows that practically everything that goes on the popular ballot is adopted; human nature is much more disposed to say 'Yes' to a proposition that it knows nothing about than

to say 'No.' It will be found at the coming June election that almost everything which has been asked for will be adopted.

"Oregon's experience therefore teaches that signatures to a petition afford no barrier against foolish or ill-considered projects. The vote at the polls, except on the very simplest things and those in which everybody is concerned, affords no barrier. The prevalent economic heresy that those who pay no direct taxes pay nothing to the State puts a premium on the side of wasteful public expenditures. And Oregon is getting sick of it, at the same time that other States, notably Massachusetts, are asked to rush in. Oklahoma is looking in that direction. In Michigan the Patrons of Husbandry and the Federation of Labor are asking for such a device, while the Legislature of Ohio, which will meet next year, is pledged to submit a constitutional amendment of like intent to the vote of the people. In the legislatures of Minnesota and Wisconsin similar bills are now pending. We are passing through a period when the initiative and referendum idea is running riot; Massachusetts will do well to profit by the experience of other States, rather than rush into the folly herself, especially since experience with it is becoming abundant.

"The Oregon law grew out of the Populistic movement, although the party itself has long been dead. One of its leaders decided that he could accomplish more as a Republican, and so he went over into that party, where he began to agitate vigorously for this law, which was passed in February, 1903, and immediately signed by the governor. At every election about that time, any person running for office found it necessary to print on his campaign posters: 'I favor the initiative and referendum,' an announcement which was taken by the public to mean his adhesion to a marvelous method by which every citizen became his own law-maker.

"Public sentiment in Oregon is now tending strongly to the view that efforts towards putting the best men in the Legislature and other positions of trust would accomplish more for good government than anything else. The more thoughtful persons there believe it will be only a short time before the State will repeal this law and go back to the old system of trusting something to experts. In Massachusetts, to be sure, the proposed public opinion bill is far less radical than the Oregon system, in which the referendum is a

real stage in law-making. But it is the first step that counts, and Massachusetts should hesitate to take even a short one in the wrong direction. The Committee on Constitutional Amendments has wisely voted down two of the more radical of these proposals, and the fight from this time forth centers in the Public-Opinion Bill itself. The next Legislature is plenty soon enough to take up this question; by that time Oregon's experience and conclusions will begin to percolate through the country, and perhaps that of other States which are bent in the same direction. Massachusetts can then act more intelligently."

The Real Facts as to Direct-Legislation in Oregon, From Authoritative Sources.

Knowing as we did from various trustworthy sources that Direct-Legislation had proved immensely popular in Oregon and that it had destroyed the corrupt lobby that had long been the curse of the state, and had broken the power of machine-rule and the sway of corrupt corporations we found it difficult to believe that a paper of the *Transcript's* pretensions could bring itself to publish such a tissue of misstatements as we felt confident were here presented, even for the purpose of furthering the interests of machine-rule and the great corporations that have so frequently defeated the wishes and sacrificed the interests of the citizens of Massachusetts. But in order to get the latest advices from the most authoritative sources, we sent copies of the *Transcript's* editorial to leading citizens of Oregon, and on the twenty-second of April the *Portland Oregonian*, the leading conservative Republican daily of the state, published an editorial entitled "Strange News From Boston," which opened as follows:

"From far-off Boston comes the information that Oregon is sick of the initiative and referendum, and will soon repeal it. The *Boston Transcript* gives us this information, which may be said to be new though not true."

The *Oregonian*, in further commenting on the *Transcript's* editorial, says:

"The *Transcript* says that eleven measures were submitted to a vote of the people last June, and it might have truthfully added that though some were adopted and others rejected, and all of them were important, no man has

yet arisen to say that the people made a mistake in any particular due to lack of understanding of any measure. The women suffrage people doubtless think the people made a mistake in defeating their amendment, and the saloon people think a mistake was made in the defeat of their local-option law, but so far as the vote shows anything at all, it indicates that the people voted intelligently.

"That the *Transcript* is laboring under some misapprehension is evident from the statement that 'most of the laws proposed in Oregon relate to taxation or appropriations. The mass of voters everywhere pay no direct taxes and so suppose they pay none at all. They naturally want a great deal more money spent to "make work" and keep business good, with the result that Oregon and its cities are spending an amount of money which is sure to drive capital and industry out of the State.'

"Oregon people will heartily enjoy the information that they do not know they are paying taxes and that the initiative and referendum is a means of increasing the burden."

In closing, the editorial thus replies to the absurd story of the unpopularity of the referendum in Oregon:

"There is not one man condemning the the initiative and referendum where there are a hundred censuring the Legislature."

Testimony of Leading Citizens of Oregon.

Among our correspondents to whom we wrote was Mr. W. S. U'Ren, one of the leading publicists and lawyers of Oregon and one of the master-spirits in the Direct-Legislation movement of the state. Mr. U'Ren is a man who enjoys the confidence of the public and press of his commonwealth, having ever been conscientious and careful in his statements. In reply to our letter, Mr. U'Ren wrote as follows:

"There is so much error in the *Transcript's* editorial that it is difficult to believe the man was writing in good faith. The initiative and referendum is so popular in Oregon that the people extended its provisions last June to all city, town and county, local, special and municipal legislation by a majority of 54,175 in a total vote of 63,749.

"None of its enemies have faith enough in its unpopularity to offer an amendment for its repeal, either in the Legislature or by initiative

petition. Since the people obtained the power no one has charged our members of the Legislature of being for sale 'like sausages in the market.' There was no charge or rumor of corrupting influence on any measure in the Legislature of 1907. The people do not vote 'yes' indiscriminately. Of the eleven measures submitted last year they rejected four.

"Only two of the laws thus far proposed by initiative petition relate to taxation.

"The demand for the referendum against appropriations has come principally from men who pay very little or no direct tax.

"No one in Portland has heard that the voters do not want to vote on the twenty municipal measures to be submitted to them in June. Under the old system most of them would have passed without consulting the voters.

"The voters are so willing to read all questions submitted to them that the last Legislature passed a new law requiring a copy of all measures to be voted on, and the arguments thereon to be mailed to every voter in the State. It also amended the law to prevent the use of misleading titles, though the voters have not yet been deceived by any such title.

"Such false and misleading editorials make one wish for a system under which the authors sign their names."

H. Denglinger, a prominent attorney of Portland, Oregon, sent us a very full and careful account of Direct-Legislation from its inception to the present time, from which we make the following extracts:

"Respecting the truth of the article you refer to as having appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, declaring that the initiative and referendum have proved a distinct failure in Oregon, that the people are tired of it and that there was now a strong current of public sentiment against it, etc., I will say that as far as the fundamental principles of Direct-Legislation and direct nominations, as they have been established in this state, are concerned, they are just as firmly fixed as a part of the organic law of this State as are the Bill of Rights and for the *Transcript* to assert that the people are getting sick of it is nonsense. I have lived in this State all my life and have watched things pretty closely and I know that I am right when I say that the initiative and referendum are more popular to-day than ever. The reason is this. Although it was adopted by a

majority of 11 to 1, a great many people did not know what they were voting for. The friends of the measure had been working judiciously for it for years, had secured the endorsement of the newspapers, many of the leading men of the state, and had by shrewd management, got possession of the political parties, to the extent at least, that all candidates printed 'Vote for Initiative and Referendum' on all their election cards and bill posters and were all lined up to advocate the measure during election. It is a long story. What I meant to say was that the 'bell wethers' having been captured and led off, all the rest followed as a matter of course. Therefore I say many did not know what they were voting for, simply following the rest.

"But to-day the situation is different. We have been using the law and the people know what it is. Some of the old politicians are beginning to see how their 'occupation's gone.' Therefore it would not surprise me much to see opposition develop and show itself, that was not so apparent when these measures were first brought out. But for all that the intelligent, loyal support of Direct-Legislation is more thoroughly evident to-day than ever before. And you need never fear that the people are going to vote themselves into the power of the political boss again. On the other hand, you will see that by our next election, a year from coming June, a number of other popular measures will be introduced. Among others will certainly pass the Recall, giving right of the electors on petition to vote recall of undesirable office-holders. We are also preparing a measure for proportional representation which I think will be passed.

"Let me say in conclusion that the people do consider the bills that are proposed. They are doing better every year. In this city at this time we have several measures pending to be voted on in the coming June. Every night, nearly, business men, push clubs, and other organizations are meeting and discussing these matters. The churches are discussing them. Labor organizations also, and the papers are full of it. Every political gathering that meets gives over part of the time for the discussion of these measures."

United States Senator Bourne on The Question.

Mr. U'Ren in his letter to us suggested writing to United States Senator Jonathan

Bourne of Oregon, who was then in Washington City, for a statement of the facts, as Mr. Bourne was a native of Massachusetts and a member of the National Senate. A gentleman prominent in the battle for popular government communicated with Senator Bourne and received the following letter, which was published in the *Springfield Republican* on May 10th. It would be difficult to obtain a stronger statement from an authoritative source as to the practicality, wisdom and efficiency of Direct-Legislation, than the following from the pen of Senator Bourne, who, it will be remembered, is a Republican:

"Replying to your inquiry as to the present sentiment in Oregon regarding her Direct-Legislation system, I feel fully justified in stating specifically that same is more popular than ever and that no combination of circumstances or individuals can coerce or befool the people into assenting to or permitting any repeal or limitation of its power. In my humble opinion, Oregon's Direct-Legislation system is the safest and most conservative plan of government ever invented. There is no possibility of any sudden overturn of policies or principle by change of parties in office—no great change can be made without the consent of a majority voting on that particular question separate from all others. I am confident that a majority can never be had for a measure without there is good reason to believe it will advance the general welfare.

"The great majority of the American people are honest, intelligent and just; agitation and full discussion must inevitably result in their giving a wise decision. Should a mistake be made through lack of agitation and discussion, it can quickly be remedied by this system by again referring direct to the people. There is no occasion to wait for a change of administration or a change of party majorities in the state Senate or House. This system places direct responsibility on each individual voter for every law under which he lives.

"The initiative especially makes available all the statesmanship there is among all the people. Any man or group of men having a good idea can enlist for one or more campaigns and get it before the people for approval or rejection. No boss nor political machine nor corrupt legislator can prevent a fair hearing and decision by the supreme power, the sovereign people.

"In Oregon the people have made many

improvements by reason of enjoying this power. They have adopted a primary nominating elections law by which they have destroyed the power of the political boss and his machine, thus securing for the people the best efficiency of public servants, on account of their responsibility to the electorate only. They have taken the actual choice of the United States senators out of the Legislature and made the election by that body, in effect, nothing more than a ratification of the people's choice, thus preventing senatorial deadlocks or pernicious legislation or appropriations made to influence legislative votes in senatorial elections.

"They have passed a local-option liquor law that takes the liquor question out of their politics and makes it purely a local question—they have given cities more complete home rule than is enjoyed anywhere else in the world, except perhaps in the free cities of Germany.

"The man afraid to trust the people should not be trusted by the people."

The Pacific Monthly on Direct Legislation in Oregon.

A further testimony as to the actual facts in regard to this question appears in the *Pacific Monthly* for May. This magazine, which is the largest and in many respects the ablest illustrated monthly of the Pacific coast, is published at Portland, Oregon, and in announcing the article which is entitled "The Initiative and Referendum: Oregon's 'Big Stick,'" the management of the *Pacific Monthly* says:

"The initiative and referendum is the law

which has placed the state of Oregon in the very forefront of political progress—that has changed the form of government from a representative government to practically a pure democracy—and that has made corrupt machine politics impossible by vesting in the people the power of absolute self-government.

"Oregon complacently confronts the pessimists of the republic with startling statements somewhat as follows:

"If our representatives do not represent us, we have power to force them to do so.

"We can reject any law that we do n't want, or ourselves enact any law that we do want.

"We have knocked out the boss and the machine.

"We have just elected two United States senators in twenty minutes without 'boodles or booze or even a cigar,' and our legislature has just completed a session of extraordinary activity, untainted by any charge of corruption." . . .

Shortly after the publication of the *Transcript's* editorial, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and a number of leading reactionary and corporation journals over the country published either editorially or as news, statements embodying many of the misstatements of the *Transcript*, declaring that Oregon considered the initiative and referendum a failure. These statements, scattered broadcast, clearly indicate the systematic operations of the alarmed and undemocratic plutocracy which for years has attempted to subvert popular government in the interests of privileged classes and the subservient tools of political machines.

MORE COUNTS IN THE PEOPLES' BILL OF GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE FEUDALISM OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

The Increased Cost of Living.

THE DEPARTMENT of Commerce and Labor has recently published a bulletin showing the enormous increase in the cost of living during the past ten years,—a fact which it was necessary not to emphasize in so far as the millions of wealth-creators are concerned; but it is interesting to have the exact official

figures from an authoritative governmental source.

According to this bulletin, the cost of living in 1897 was 36.5 per cent. less than it was in 1906. Since the figures for 1906 were compiled there has been an enormous increase in the cost of living. Within a week of the time of the writing of this editorial, flour has gone

up \$1.50 per barrel. Pork and other beef-trust products, notwithstanding the fact that Speaker Cannon succeeded in saddling the American people with the three million dollars annually which it was originally provided in the Beveridge rider should be paid by the trust for meat inspection, have advanced two cents on the pound, meaning an increase of millions of dollars for the people to pay yearly to this avaricious, conscienceless, corrupt, but liberal campaign-contributing corporation. This increase in the price of pork and other beef-trust products will enable the trust, besides vastly increasing its swollen fortune, to set aside a still more liberal campaign contribution for the Republican machine and the practical politicians who are willing to sacrifice the people for plutocracy.

The fact that there has been a normal and reasonable increase in the prices paid for farm products and that where organized labor has been strong enough to force a raise in the wages there has been an increase in the money paid labor, does not begin to account for the difference in the increased cost of living. The increase in wages is far less than the increase in the cost of living, while for a vast number of small employers, persons on fixed salaries and wages which have not been increased, the unorganized workers, and the widows and orphans whose source of income was small and required great economy in 1897 to enable them to live decently, as well as many professional men, the increased price of living is such as to press them remorselessly and irresistibly downward. They find themselves victims of a power as unjust as it is irresponsible; a power as remorseless as it is avaricious,—the feudalism of privileged wealth.

And while the millions are thus being robbed—some, like the farmers and organized laborers, less markedly, for the reasons given, than the others—the few high financiers and corporation chiefs are acquiring untold millions from the wealth created by those who are despoiled; and this infamous system, which enables the criminal rich through special privileges to acquire from five to ten dollars where they earn one, is bulwarked, sustained and made impregnable by the corporation-owned Republican party whose president surrounds himself with notorious corporation apologists and defenders, like the Roots, the Tafts, the Cortelyous, the Bacons, and their ilk, who play fast and loose with the people in such a way that the great Wall-street

gamblers and criminal rich are ever ready to liberally supply campaign funds. No president will be feared by the criminal rich who surrounds himself with such trusted advisers as those who surround President Roosevelt; and until the criminal rich find the offices filled with men who will not compromise with crime, and who will resolutely fight for the interests of the people, they will continue to increase the cost of living and pile up millions, depending on their power with the political machines and party press to enable them to continue their oppression of the people and their mastership of government.

Under a so-called plutocratic president, who would have frankly shielded and protected predatory wealth, it is not probable that the trusts would have dared to so flagrantly pursue their robbery of the millions, because they would have known that the public sentiment, the indignation and opposition of the people, that has been growing so rapidly of late, would have consolidated and swept from political life the party which, as every thinking man knows, is controlled by predatory wealth and which, if it had not been so controlled, would have granted the people relief from lawless oppression, class exploitation and plunder long ere this.

The only hope for the people is to turn the rascals out. The electorate have allowed themselves to be deceived by stalking-horses who have pretended to be their friends, long enough. If Speaker Cannon, Aldrich, Knox, Fairbanks, Foraker, Platt, Depew, Lodge and Crane are so powerful that President Roosevelt is powerless to get really effective legislation through Congress that is not emasculated, is it not time for the people to concentrate on men who are not bound body and soul to a Republican party machine that is owned and operated by men who are thoroughly satisfactory to such campaign-contributors as the Perkinses, the Mortons, the Morgans, and other representatives of the Wall-street high financier and gambling fraternity.

How Tax Burdens Are Shifted From The Rich to The Poor.

Every year, as the feudalism of privileged wealth is enabled to increase the cost of living, the taxes paid by the poor, the artisans and those in moderate circumstances, become more and a more grievous burden. The great majority of our farmers are honest men. The old ideas of morality will not permit

hem to perjure themselves, and even in cases where they might be tempted to do so, their little accumulations are too apparent to make such action possible. Not so with the great corporation magnates, the public-service chiefs and other beneficiaries of special privilege. They systematically employ various methods of evading taxes, from perjury down. In many cases, in New York and in other large cities where the magnates are "farming the people and acquiring millions of dollars through franchises, often corruptly obtained, and where they have their business headquarters, they retain nominal residences in other states, frequently in small towns, and thus are able to escape the bulk of taxes which should have been levied against them. If the honest officials in the counties where these men reside levy anything like a reasonable tax upon the magnates, they refuse to pay and threaten to move to another town; and thus city, state and nation are defrauded by the men who are best able to pay the taxes and who of all men should pay the taxes, because they are the beneficiaries of special privileges, often of the public utilities, which should be always the property of all the people instead of the monopoly of the few.

On January 16th of the present year the New York *World* published an editorial leader dealing with the annual tax-dodgers in New York, in which it gave the following amazing facts relating to tax-dodging by certain leaders in the feudalism of privileged wealth in New York City, who reside most of the time in the metropolis and who have their chief business headquarters in New York:

"Every year at great expense the Tax Commissioners compile a guess at the owners of personal property in New York City and give public notice that their assessments must be sworn off or the tax will be collected.

"The annual invitation to perjury is repeated this year in the usual farcical manner. Last year the tentative personal assessment was \$3,492,015,682. Nine-tenths of this was sworn off, and most of the other tenth was mistakenly assessed and is represented by revenue bonds instead of cash.

"The three men who own the public franchises of New York City do not appear on the personal tax roll at all. Mr. Thomas F. Ryan retains a legal residence in Virginia, Mr. Anthony N. Brady in Albany, and Mr.

August Belmont out on Long Island. James Stillman is assessed for \$100,000, all the Rockefellers for less than \$3,000,000, and J. Pierpont Morgan for \$400,000. Andrew Carnegie is assessed for \$5,000,000, although he owns \$300,000,000 5 per cent. Steel Trust bonds, not to mention other personal property."

Here we have a truly edifying spectacle. Thomas Ryan, long the head of the tobacco trust and the largest tax-farmer of the citizens of New York City, dodges payment of all personal tax in New York. He farms the city and her dwellers out of millions of dollars, yet his vast personal wealth does not pay a penny toward her city government, schools and civic betterment. And the same is true of several other eminent patriots for revenue, —men like Anthony N. Brady and August Belmont. James Stillman, a most typical high financier, head of the Standard Oil bank, is assessed for only \$100,000; all the Rockefellers for less than three millions, and J. Pierpont Morgan pays on \$400,000.

If the poor man steals a loaf of bread to appease his hunger or a scuttle of coals to keep his loved ones warm, he is promptly sent to jail, for the law must be upheld and the criminal punished. But here are men who by various devices escape paying taxes on hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Sometimes they do not scruple, as the *World* observes, to perjure themselves in order to shift the burdens of taxation from their own financially strong shoulders to the already bowed forms of those who are struggling to live honorably and give their children a good education.

It is just such moral criminals as these that undermine respect for law and government. It is just such acts as these that disintegrate the moral fiber of society in a manner that bodes ill for the coming days.

The church, the college, the state, all fall into disrepute when they honor and hold up as examples and seek for the support of, men who cheat the government of its due and thereby make the poor pay a double burden; and yet these men pose as pillars in church, society and in the modern business world.

A Practical Suggestion for Levying Taxes.

It is clearly the case that the moral degradation that obtains in Wall street and the world of privileged wealth is such that any appeals

to honesty, morality, rectitude and the sense of justice will be ignored. Only through a rigid provision for taxation, that cannot be escaped, can the State make these moral criminals disgorge their share of the taxes. The income tax proves a most valuable and efficient remedy in England, but since the domination of the feudalism of privileged wealth in our government, our Supreme Court has reversed its own preceding rulings and declared this tax unconstitutional, to the joy of the tax-dodgers. An inheritance tax has also been suggested, and this tax, which obtains in some states, would doubtless accomplish something, if the Supreme Court did not again come to the rescue of the plutocracy. The *New York World*, in the editorial to which we have alluded, made some most excellent suggestions that so richly merit the thoughtful consideration of thinking people that we republish them:

"There are two great classes of wealth: One wealth created by the community and the other wealth produced or created by individual effort.

"Wealth created by the community has two forms—the value of land and the value of public franchises. The value of land depends upon the density of population and the earning power of the people who live there. In a sparsely settled community the value of land is low. In a city the value of land is high in almost geometric ratio to the population. In like manner with public franchises. The right to supply gas or electricity or transportation or telephones is like land—valuable in proportion to the density of population.

"That other form of wealth which is produced by individual labor is approximately of the same value everywhere. The difference in the value of a barrel of flour or a ham or a suit of clothes or a thousand bricks between one place and another is merely the cost of transporting them. But an acre of ground cannot be transported from anywhere else to Broadway or Wall street, and a street-car franchise cannot be shipped like a crate of chickens.

"It follows from this distinction that since taxation is for the benefit of the community its burden should be born by the wealth which the community has collectively created; that is, by a land tax and a franchise tax.

"To tax incomes of \$500 up would relieve the great landlords and the traction trinity at the expense of the wage-earners. To impose a habitation tax based on rental values would divert taxation from the landlord to the tenant. To tax savings-bank deposits would punish individual thrift.

"If personal property taxes are not to be collected better abolish them and obviate the perjury they breed.

"In the meantime might it not be advisable to divert this ingenuity from new forms of taxation to an energetic effort first to make the public-service corporations pay the \$30,000,000 of back taxes which they owe, and henceforth to assess every public franchise at its full value and all the holdings of the Astors, Goeleys, Trinity Corporation and the other great landlords of New York at their full value and make them pay their taxes in like manner with little taxpayers."

THE WALL-STREET INTERESTS FIND TAFT AN ALTOGETHER DESIRABLE CANDIDATE.

THE CHICAGO *Tribune*, which has been one of the most loyal supporters of President Roosevelt, finds it impossible to endorse the President's attempt to assume the royal prerogative in naming his own successor and forcing him on the party by means of his army of office-holders, who in this instance are reinforced by Mr. Roosevelt's press bureau,—a publicity machine that might well

excite the envy of Emperor William. The *Tribune* says:

"We earnestly wish that President Roosevelt would attend more strictly than he does to the duties which he was elected to perform. The chief duty intrusted to him was the execution of the laws, not the making of the laws, and still less the nomination of his successor.

The Republican party would like to have something to say about the nomination of Roosevelt's successor. It does not like to see him put up by a combination of officeholders, most of whom owe their places to the president, and all of whom look to him for patronage to promote their political ambitions. The worst and best that may be said of Mr. Taft as a presidential candidate at present is that he is being 'shoved' upon the Republican party, that he is being 'boosted' into prominence as a candidate and is being 'crammed down the throats' of republicans before they know what kind of appetite they have for presidential candidates."

The regrets expressed by the *Tribune*, however, are not shared by the master influences of Wall street or the high priests of the "interests," save, perhaps, certain individuals and groups that are being at the present time punished for insubordination and indiscretions in utterances. There are, of course, always rival groups in the plutocracy, just as there are among the politicians of all parties, and at the present time certain small groups may be found opposing Mr. Taft, just as among the politicians there are some who are fighting him,—men like Foraker, who are frankly his rivals and who are more openly bidding for plutocracy's favors than is the redoubtable Columbus of the capitalistic exploiters.

The interests, however, are altogether satisfied with Mr. Taft. Their most authoritative organ has viséed his nomination in the most unequivocal terms. We refer to the recent endorsement of his candidacy by the *New York Financial Chronicle*, which the *Springfield Republican* in an editorial published May 13th, truly characterizes as "above any other publication the organ" of the great corporation interests. In prefacing the following quotation from the *Chronicle* the *Republican* said:

"Secretary Taft's candidacy will evidently be agreeable to the great corporate interests which have heretofore been a mainstay of the Republican party and which were in process of being driven out of the party by President Roosevelt. We learn as much as this from the *New York Financial Chronicle*, which is above any other publication the organ of these interests."

Here are the exact words of this great organ of the Wall-street interests:

"Mr. Taft is a man whom everyone respects, and no opposition can be made to him except on the ground that he is the heir to the place appointed by the present ruling president and his designated representative of the policies he will have been foremost in advancing during nearly eight years when his present term expires. This action has a hopeful aspect, as it scatters some hitherto disturbing doubts. There can be no question hereafter as to an impending third term; that danger is wholly removed. What is also highly important is that Mr. Taft is an extremely able, many-sided man of sound judgment. He is not controlled by pride of opinion, petty prejudices, nor by a hysterical temperament. If time should prove that any of the recently enacted laws are working industrial mischief, he will not hesitate to urge remedial legislation, notwithstanding he wears Mr. Roosevelt's mantle."

"Which amounts to saying," observes the *Republican*, "that the policy of 'persecuting' the railroads and trusts will undoubtedly stop with the outgoing of Mr. Roosevelt and the incoming of Mr. Taft, and may even be 'remedied' so far as now obtaining force. Mr. Taft, in a word, is not only vastly to be preferred by these interests over Mr. Roosevelt, but is open to consideration as a first choice on account of his highly judicial temperament."

"So the way continues to clear and broaden for the Taft candidacy. As the cohorts of the 'plutocracy' melt away into the approving Republican multitude."

The notorious Boss Cox has joined the Taft procession, deciding it was better for his future prospects to be a good Roosevelt boss than a bad Foraker boss. It will be remembered that Cox whose, giant-like corrupt practices were recently partially exposed by a legislative committee, was punished by President Roosevelt for his insubordination to the Administration and his loyalty to Mr. Foraker, when the President sent Mr. Taft to Ohio to denounce the Foraker-Cox machine at the time when the tidal wave of revolt against the corrupt boss became so giant-like as to threaten the Republican domination in the state. Boss Cox naturally felt much aggrieved over the action of his old friend, Judge Taft, but Charles Taft, the brother of the presidential aspirant, has been a tower of strength to Boss Cox, and Nicholas Longworth, a protégé of the notorious boss, has

ever been outspoken in his loyalty to his political creator. Both these men naturally enough wish to enlist the Quay of Ohio in support of Taft. Consequently we now find the most odious boss of the Middle West joining with the President and the Wall-street interests in furthering the interests of the man

who when judge made the great discovery that endeared him to the railway and exploiting public-service corporations,—a discovery that entitled him to be known as the Columbus of capitalism. But of this wonderful discovery we shall have more to say in the future.

ANOTHER LEADER GONE: J. WARNER MILLS, SERVANT OF JUSTICE AND FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

READERS of THE ARENA will share our profound grief over the untimely death of Hon. J. Warner Mills, which occurred on May 17th at his home in Denver, Colorado.

Mr. Mills was one of that all too small band of high-minded patriots who consecrated life's best gifts to the service of justice and the rights of man. He was a fundamental democrat, a believer in the rule of the people, an aggressive champion of equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people,—women and children no less than men; and America had no stronger or more fearless and Argus-eyed enemy of graft, corrupt practices and the exploitation of the masses than this tireless worker in the vineyard of freedom, who was worthy of the fathers of our great Republic.

Mr. Mills was born in Lancaster, Wisconsin, in 1852. He was educated at Beloit College and in the University of Wisconsin, receiving his degree from the latter institution. His father was a distinguished lawyer who served for many years as district judge in Wisconsin. In 1875 Mr. Mills moved to the Centennial State, where he soon took front rank among the strongest members of the Colorado bar. In speaking of him and his work the *Rocky Mountain Daily News* well observed:

"For many years he was one of the most noted lawyers in the West; an author whose works on law were accepted as authoritative in every court. . . . While always prominent in the political field, Mr. Mills did not allow politics to interfere with his legal practice or his authorship. He compiled *Mills' Annotated Statutes* and *Mills' Annotated Code*, without which no law library is complete."

These were but a few of the important legal literary works that resulted from the tireless

activity of Mr. Mills. His last work, *Mills, Irrigation Manual*, which was to have been issued from the press on the day of his death, engrossed a great deal of his time during the past two years. Indeed, according to the *Rocky Mountain News*, his illness through overwork was the result of his tireless labors in completing this volume which "he regarded as his greatest effort." In speaking of Mr. Mills' remarkable series of papers prepared for THE ARENA, the *News* observes that they "attracted the attention of the entire country. In them he faithfully portrayed the pernicious political activity of several of the large corporations in the state." This famous series of papers supplemented the equally brilliant series of exposures of corruption, graft and misrule in Philadelphia, prepared for us by Rudolph Blankenburg. Both series were written by prominent citizens of the states where the great eating cancers of political corruption have obtained and do obtain. Both writers were so detailed and circumstantial, so luminous and exhaustive in their characterizations, that they forced conviction on the mind of every impartial reader, and we think it is not too much to say that they, as much as any other series of magazine contributions, have aroused the conscience element of America from its profound inertia and made it aware of the deadly peril in which free institutions stand to-day through the unholy alliance of corporation influences and the political machines. Mr. Mills prepared his papers for THE ARENA under the most difficult circumstances. He was greatly overcrowded with his legal and literary work, and when in the midst of their preparation his son-in-law, for whom he cherished deep love, suddenly met with a fatal accident, and this tragedy was followed by the critical illness of one of his sons. On several occasions he wrote asking for a little

more time, and at last, before the series was entirely completed, he requested us to grant him a few months' rest, until he could finish his work on irrigation, after which he proposed to complete the papers, which were written largely because he felt that the cause of just government, pure politics and human rights made such an historical summary extremely important. The series is in our judgment among the most important contributions to the literature of exposure that has been made.

In the field of fundamental democracy and genuine reform we had few workers so able and loyal to the highest dictates of conscience as J. Warner Mills. He was from the foundation of *THE ARENA* one of its ardent admirers. In a letter to us written under date of January 13, 1906, he said:

"Your letter awakens old and cherished memories. I was a reader of *THE ARENA* at the time the articles you refer to appeared. I think I never missed a number while you were its editor, and as I now recall the enthusiasm that these articles awakened, not only in my own circle of acquaintances but throughout the entire state, my earnest hope goes out to you in your present endeavor to kindle anew this enthusiasm."

It was Mr. Mills who wrote the bill granting suffrage to the women of Colorado,—a measure for the success of which he did yeoman's service. No man in the Centennial State has done more to educate the people in favor of Direct-Legislation, direct nominations and other fundamental democratic reform measures than Mr. Mills. He founded the Denver Arena Club and until his health broke down he was its master spirit. His loss to the cause of free and pure government is irreparable at the present crisis when the feudalism of privileged wealth absolutely controls the machinery of one great party and is also to a certain extent entrenched behind the bulwarks of the other leading political organization. But his life, example and work remain as a splendid inspiration, suggesting to all true men and women the duty of closing ranks and redoubling their efforts for justice and the people.

We close this brief notice of our lost leader by quoting the following extracts from an editorial leader published in the *Denver Times* on May 17th:

"The news that the life of J. Warner Mills is ended will bring the quick sob and a heart-

ache that will not cease for many a day to unnumbered men and women, both in and out of the state of Colorado.

"This man has been on the crest of the advance wave of progress throughout his generation. His has been one of the brains by which the forward movement of his times received its guidance; his was one of the hearts about which gather the comradeship of the trail-blazers; his was a will to put into prompt execution whatever appealed to him as just and necessary.

"Did this state place women in a position of unaccustomed power and full enfranchisement?

"It was J. Warner Mills who prepared the bill by which these rights were granted.

"Has this state led in agitation for Direct-Legislation, direct nomination and all phases of individual initiative in government?

"J. Warner Mills has been in the forefront of the movement, both locally and in the nation.

"Was the Rush amendment providing for Denver's home rule a model of advanced municipal legislation?

"The thought of J. Warner Mills penetrated it in every part.

"Did the forcefulness of the reforms attempted in this state force the corporations into more open aggressions than elsewhere?

"It was J. Warner Mills whose patient labor, profound thought and unsleeping observation gave to history the accurate record embodied in *THE ARENA* series of articles during the past two years, entitled, 'The Economic Struggle in Colorado.'

"Were the principles of free speech or a free pen violated at home or abroad?

"J. Warner Mills was quick to challenge the wrong and insist on freedom. The imprisonment of Moses Harmon and similar outrages were not too far away for his attention, and by circulation of petitions and protests he did his utmost to keep the institutions of his nation to their traditions of freedom.

"Others will speak of his invaluable work as a lawyer, as a member of the state board of charities and correction and as a leading citizen in countless directions. It is of his service as a pathfinder in unpopular trails that he would wish most to be remembered; as a lover of freedom and of justice in an era when the clear-sighted could see much need that these find defenders and apostles."

B. O. FLOWER.

EDITORIALS BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

President Roosevelt's "Wild Talk" in Economics.

NO PRESIDENT in recent years, if ever, was so impatient with those who differ from him on economic questions as is Mr. Roosevelt. To suggest that a plan that he advocates would prove inadequate, even if it be conceded that it tends in the right direction, is at once to become, in his opinion, an "undesirable citizen," a "dangerous demagogue" or something else of the sort.

Mr. Roosevelt wants all good citizens to endorse his judgment and agree with his reasoning, yet how many times neither can be done by any sane man of intelligence who has the slightest grasp of economic problems is indicated by his Indianapolis speech on Memorial Day.

On this occasion, the President said there had been a great deal of "wild talk" about the over-capitalization of railroads, but he did not believe there had been any such over-capitalization. He conceded that there were individual instances of such wrongdoing, but he reached his main conclusion by the following mental process:

The railroads of the country are worth in the market the sum for which they are capitalized, therefore there is no over-capitalization.

The President therefore lays down the principle that there can be no over-capitalization of any corporation so long as its securities will bring, in the open market, the amount for which the corporation is capitalized.

Mr. Roosevelt's fundamental error, of course, is in assuming that the value of a railroad is its price in the stock-market, instead of the sum that would be required to build another one like it.

He knows as well as any one that over-capitalization means capitalization for more than the value of the thing capitalized, but he goes wrong in his attempt to define value. Accepting the stock-market definition of value, he believes it is determined by so-called "earning power." In other words, if each of two railroads had the same amount of physical property, each cost the same to build and each had the same number of shares of stock, the President would consider the value of one road to be twice that of the other if the

market value of one road's stock were twice that of the other.

Yet the fact might be that the lower price of one road's stock was due to the circumstance that it was not permitted by law to rob the people in passenger and freight rates, while the road with the higher-priced stock *was* permitted by law to commit such robberies.

If the President's definition of railway values were correct, unjust laws in the interest of railroads would increase their real value while just laws that would not permit the railroads to rob the people would decrease the value of the roads. It could not be otherwise, because unjust laws would increase the "earnings" of the roads, and thus increase the market value of their stocks, while just laws would bring about the opposite result.

And furthermore, if the President's definition of what constitutes a railroad's value were correct, the charge of his enemies that he has become, by his policies, a destroyer of national wealth, would be true.

The President has always resented this imputation, even though he knows that the fear he has inspired in certain breasts of something more nearly approaching justice has operated to decrease the market value of certain corporation securities.

It is either true that the President *is* a destroyer of national wealth, to the extent that his policies tend to decrease the exploitation of the public, or it is *not* true that the railroads are not over-capitalized merely because the market price of their securities is equal to their capitalization.

Surely, if our railway laws were twice as bad as they are now, and railway earnings twice as much, the market price of railway securities twice as much, and the capitalization of the railways twice as much, President Roosevelt would not *still* deny that the railroads were over-capitalized!

Yet he would be compelled to, or back down on his Indianapolis definition of what constitutes railway value.

And this is the man who seeks to brand as "undesirable citizens," "dangerous demagogues," etc., so many of those who cannot follow his wobbly way along the economic road.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

**Burglars' Practices of Predatory Wealth
Not Essential to National Prosperity.**

If the activity of the police had made burglary more hazardous than usual, and, as a result, the price of burglars' tools had fallen in the world's markets, no burglar would have the effrontery to suggest to the rest of the population that such decline threatened the common prosperity, and no one would be simple enough to believe him if he did.

In this respect, Lord Rothschild and his kind differ from burglars, as those timid ones who see disaster in a falling stock-market differ from those who would refuse to view with apprehension a marked cut in the price of "jimmies" and dark lanterns.

The noble lord has observed that in England and France the activity of the Socialists has decreased the market value of the securities of public-service corporations, and that in the United States, the policies of President Roosevelt are interfering with the plans of those who want to unload railroad and other stocks at high-water mark.

He believes we are "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs," and, being a great and good friend of the common people of all countries, of course he feels very badly about it.

Yet, what are the facts? In what respect does the decreased price of stocks, due to the attacks of Socialists and others upon public-service corporations, differ from any decrease in price that burglars' tools might sustain if the police, by their activity, were to threaten the profits of the burglary business?

The function of burglars' tools is to enable those who own them to obtain the property of others without rendering an equivalent. Are stocks and bonds valuable for any other reason? Would either be worth a dollar if they could not be used to pry wealth out of the pockets of those who produce it? Who would care to own stocks and bonds if dividends were not paid on the stocks and interest on the bonds? He could not sell them, because they would be as useless to everyone else as they would be to him. The thing that now makes stocks and bonds valuable is their power to enable their owners to obtain without labor wealth that others have produced by labor. And, of course, any legislation that threatens to decrease the exploiting power of these bits of paper necessarily decreases their value, and therefore their market price, just as unusual police activity against burglars might be expected to decrease the market price of burglars' tools by threatening the profits from burglary.

But, in the latter case, the burglars would be the only ones who would have occasion to be alarmed, and there is no doubt that the Socialists of England and France are giving Lord Rothschild valid reasons for alarm.

So far as the present writer can discover, however, there is no reason why those who are willing to work for what they get should worry because it promises to become increasingly difficult to get that for which someone else has worked.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary for the National Public-Ownership League.

Tainted Municipal-Ownership News.

ONE OF the most important articles that has appeared in the current press is that in *Collier's* for May 4th, which describes the subsidized campaign against municipal-ownership. "There have been and still are," says this article, "newspapers which sell their news columns and often their editorial columns for a dollar a line, more or less." There are well-known agencies through which millions of dollars are spent upon these newspapers and the so-called news with which they are furnished. In Boston this agency is

known as the Publicity Bureau, in New York as the Press Service Company, and in Washington as the National News Service. Their business is to manufacture news favorable to the public-service corporations who put up the funds. "They hire themselves out to change public sentiment, most often it is to quiet the clamorous indignation which some corporation has brought upon itself by wrongdoing; occasionally it is to sow the seeds of corporation propaganda, to fertilize the public mind for the friendly reception of some long-planned move in corporation aggrandizement."

"Keeping the public persuaded that municipal-ownership would be very bad may soon be a regular item in the operating expenses of the public-service corporations. You pay your nickel to the street-car company and in due time the proper fraction comes back to you in the evening paper in the shape of tainted news items reciting the deplorable failure of municipal-ownership in some foreign city." *Collier's* tells just how this is done—how the "Municipal-Ownership Publishing Bureau" works tricks on the newspapers themselves furnishing them Washington letters on all sorts of subjects for the sake of getting a fling at public-ownership. Not only are these Washington letters of news gossip sent around free but the regular sources of news service are corrupt so far as possible and a complete card catalogue on the psychology of editors as well as the financial condition of the papers is kept up-to-date for the purpose of this pernicious propaganda. The results of this bureau's work can be seen most clearly in the highly respectable and conservative papers who would rather than not believe all the hard stories against civic enterprises that are so industriously circulated, but we must believe that there are but few papers in the country who would wilfully publish falsehoods known as such. It is their knowledge of this that has made it necessary for the organizers of this newspaper campaign to go to great pains and expense in concealing the identity of their backing and the motives actuating them in their work.

Westmount, Canada.

THE MELDRUM Refuse Destructor, consuming about 25 tons of refuse and garbage per day, is furnishing the power for the municipal electric-lighting plant in this city. The fuel consumed for a given period was as follows:

Garbage, manure, leaves,	15 per cent.
Anthracite, ashes, unburned coal, etc.,	65 per cent.
Iron, wood, tins, leather, etc.,	05 per cent.
Refuse—paper, old furniture, etc.,	15 per cent.
	100 per cent.

The cost of public lighting has already been reduced 33 per cent. below former prices paid to the private lighting company. The capacity of the plant will be more than sufficient for

lighting and the surplus will either be sold or utilized in some other municipal activity. It is believed that this will prove an object lesson of the greatest value to other cities that are now spending large sums both for the disposal of garbage and for the production of power.

Wallingford, Connecticut.

WALLINGFORD has owned and operated its own lighting plant since 1900, and municipal operation has produced a radical reduction in the cost of electricity and a consequent relative reduction in the price which the private gas company can demand for its product. The citizens say that the municipal electric plant is to be thanked largely for the reduction in the price of gas from \$5 to \$1.50 a thousand feet. According to the Connecticut law the city is required to raise by taxation and pay to the electrical department the actual cost of maintaining the street-lighting system. The system of accounts therefore is very satisfactory. The last annual report shows a total profit of \$37,924. After figuring off 5 per cent. each year for depreciation and 5 per cent. for profit there is still a gross surplus of \$2,212. All additions, extensions, and improvements, including the purchase of a large water privilege have been paid from the earnings of the plant. The business has more than doubled. The demand liabilities are \$56,445 and the physical assets \$96,026. The control of the plant is vested in three commissioners, one appointed each year to serve three years. These employ a superintendent. No politics has entered into the management. Mr. A. L. Pierce, superintendent of the plant, says that it is common to hear people express their preference to trade with the patrons of the municipal plant rather than with the private gas company, saying that they want to spend their money with those who trade with them. "All thinking citizens consider themselves as owners of the plant and take a deep interest in its operation, knowing that every dollar that is paid for electric lighting above the actual cost of operation goes directly for the benefit of the plant in which they as tax-payers are stockholders and which their property is pledged to support; and which prohibits any company or combination that might, if it had the people at its mercy, be tempted to charge exorbitant rates for so vital necessity, which sometimes happens in less favored places."

Toronto's Street Railways.

THE STREET-RAILWAYS of Toronto are owned by the city and operated by a private company. The company pays to the city yearly \$800 per mile of single track, \$1,600 per mile of double track, and also of its gross receipts eight per cent. of the first million dollars, ten per cent. of the second million, and twenty per cent. on all gross receipts above three million dollars. These payments amounted to over \$1,000 per day during the year 1905, and the total was something like \$435,000 in 1906. As the gross receipts are nearing the \$3,000,000 mark the city will soon be receiving in addition to the mileage one-fifth of every fare collected. Since the lease has still 15 years to run the mayor of Toronto estimates that the city will before its expiration be receiving double this amount and he adds that a shrewd and observant financier has said to him that at the expiration of the charter the company to whom the new charter is given ought to pay a bonus for a new charter sufficient to pay off the debt of Toronto which is between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000, and then to continue on the same basis as the present company with respect to mileage and percentage. The mayor speaks very favorably of this arrangement but yet he says it has not been altogether easy to make the corporation fulfil its part of the contract. There have been 84 law suits during the past 15 years, but the delays of the law will not be so bad in the future as the legislature of Ontario has finally constituted a board of commissioners to settle disputes between railways and municipalities. The public pays 5 cents cash fare, six tickets for a quarter, twenty-five tickets for a dollar, children's tickets, ten for a quarter, workingmen's tickets, eight for a quarter, all with unlimited transfers. Notwithstanding all these advantages and this large income received by the city the operating company has made money. They were capitalized at the start for \$6,000,000, have increased their stock to \$8,000,000, and are paying 6 per cent.

Detroit, Michigan.

THE MUNICIPAL lighting plant of Detroit furnishes light only for the streets, parks and public buildings. This municipal plant produces electricity at a gross cost of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per kilowatt hour. The city of Boston pays a

private company ten cents per kilowatt hour for lighting public buildings—just three times as much as it costs Detroit to do this for herself. The cost for a two thousand candle-power arc light is \$59.44 a year. These figures include interest, depreciation and lost taxes, the depreciation being figured upon real estate and conduits upon which there is no depreciation and no allowance being made for improved service and many other advantages which have accrued. In comparing this plant for the past ten years with Buffalo's private contract for the same services during the same period, Hon. F. F. Ingram says that Buffalo's arcs have cost \$91.77 against an average cost in Detroit of \$87.63, and while this difference may be figured off, there is a still greater difference in Detroit's favor. Buffalo has nothing to show for this ten years' expenditure but receipted bills. Detroit has that and besides that, an up-to-date perfectly equipped public lighting plant that cannot be duplicated for \$1,000,000. So while Detroit's public lights the past ten years have cost the city, including the total cost of the lighting plant, less than Buffalo's lights have cost her, Detroit has made a \$1,000,000 plant besides.

Public Baths in Boston.

THE CITY of Boston owns and operates eight public baths, six of which are connected with gymnasiums. The total number of baths taken last year was 703,524, an average of 58,627 per month, the number being about equally distributed between the winter and summer months. It would appear from the approximate uniformity of these figures that to a large extent the privileges were availed of by a fixed number of citizens who used these baths for purposes of cleanliness, and it is to be supposed resulting better health.

Eminent Domain in Salem, Ohio.

A PUBLIC-SERVICE corporation seeking to force the people to pay out a higher rate by shutting off its water supply and announcing publicly that the "water will stay shut off until you talk business," found its match in the mayor of Salem, Ohio. The water supply in this city is owned by a Boston corporation. The company demanded increased rates or an exorbitant price for its plant and shut off the supply. The people refused to pay the price and Mayor Carlyle forcibly took pos-

session of the plant, lighted the fires with his own hands, and started the engines. The mayor evidently knows how to deal with corporation anarchy.

San Francisco Street Cars.

ONE OF the results of the great strike in San Francisco was the publication in the daily press of despatches declaring that the city would undertake the municipal-ownership and management of the Geary street-railway which had been abandoned by the company. The announcement says that the board of supervisors will at once appropriate \$400,000 in addition to the \$350,000 already appropriated for the assumption of the railroad.

A Municipal Bank.

IN HIS last annual message Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia recommended the organization of a municipal banking house. He pointed out that while the city gets only two per cent., the banks in which \$20,000,000 of the city's money is deposited each year get six per cent. "If we could absolutely eliminate politics from such an institution, it occurs to me that a city banking institution would be a splendid thing. In such an institution the money of the municipality could be deposited and a general banking business carried on. We would never find ourselves in the position we are in to-day in having difficulty in placing our $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loans. While we are asking money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and only getting 2 for it, it is being used and very properly used, by the banking institutions who are getting 6 per cent. for it, and probably in some institutions it is being sent to New York and loaned there at a higher rate."

Attica, Indiana.

THIS city has an electric lighting plant to which \$8,000 in improvements are being added, making it up-to-date in every respect. The citizens take pride in this enterprise and there is no chance for private capital to get it away from them. The *Attica Press* for April 27th, says:

"The Attica light and water plant has always paid under municipal ownership because it has been kept free from political entanglements and has been managed solely on business basis. At present it is paying

employés, fuel, and all other expenses, taking care of the bonds and is giving to the people their street lighting and fire service without cost. Some of these times the city will be in shape to add a heating plant, for she can put it in and manage it cheaper than a private corporation and give lower rates. The man who thinks municipal ownership does n't pay ought to come to Attica and investigate. The results here will convert any of them."

English and American Cities.

THE CLAIM made by Mr. Bryce that municipal government in the United States is a most conspicuous failure is refuted by William S. Crandall in the April *Bulletin of the League of American Municipalities*, and successive numbers. Among other things Mr. Crandall draws a comparison between a group of twenty-five American cities having between one hundred thousand and three hundred thousand inhabitants and twenty-five English cities of approximately the same population. Some of the facts brought out in this comparison are of interest and compel deductions in support of public-ownership not made by the writer. The twenty-five American cities have a total aggregate debt of \$232,000,000. The total aggregate debt of the principal saleable possessions of these cities, exclusive of sinking funds, is \$290,000,000, of which the value of such public utilities as water, electric light, gas works, markets, scales, docks, wharves, cemeteries, crematories, bath-houses, and bathing beaches, is \$109,000,000.

Of the twenty-five English cities the total aggregate debt is £46,000,000, which is \$8,000,000 less than the debt of the twenty-five American cities. The total aggregate value of their water-works, gas, and electric plants, tramways, markets, harbors, piers, baths and burial grounds, is estimated at £40,000,000, while the total corporate property is valued at £67,000,000. While the total debt of the English cities is less than that of the American, their assets exceed those of the American cities by \$35,000,000. The debt of the American cities is 80 per cent. of their assets, while the debt of the English cities is but 68½ per cent. of their assets. An analysis of these assets reveals the fact that the income-producing property of the English cities is much greater than that of the American. About 60 per cent. of the assets of the English cities consists of their public utilities, while less than 37 per

cent. of the American assets can be so classified, some of these being non-revenue-producing.

The Chicago Municipal Repair Plant.

THE CITY of Chicago operates its own repair plant on municipal-ownership lines. During the past year it did 722 jobs ranging in cost from 50 cents to \$10,000 each, the total value being \$400,000, and the saving affected over the amounts that would have been paid contractors was at least \$75,000. It is claimed that this department could build the new city hall at a saving of from 20 to 30 per cent. of the price that will have to be paid contractors for building it. The department has been greatly improved during a number of years, having been changed from a badly disciplined money-losing department to one of the most complete business institutions in the city. It was the success of this department that encouraged the finance committee of the city council to appropriate funds for a municipal foundry which it is estimated will save thousands of dollars a year to the city. William D. Barber, a civil engineer, who is at the head of the department, says that through the civil-service system the system has the pick of the cream of labor. The end aimed at is to have the department build all the city buildings, with the safeguards thrown about the work that have characterized the running of the department since the municipal-ownership idea has been followed.

Municipal Gas Plants.

THERE are twenty-nine municipal gas plants in the United States and in addition to these one owned by the United States government and two others in which the municipalities own a share of the stock. The oldest of these city gas plants is that of Richmond, Virginia, which was established in 1852. It is pointed to by the opponents of municipal-ownership as a conspicuous failure, but there can be no doubt whatever that the people of Richmond are better served and at a lower rate, than they would be under private ownership. Other old plants are those of Alexandria, Virginia, established in 1853, Henderson, Kentucky, in 1867, and Bellfontaine, Ohio, in 1873. All of these thirty-two plants, with the exception of Philadelphia's are operated by the government and are giving good service at relatively low prices.

Cleveland's Street Lighting.

A STATEMENT issued by the Cleveland Board of Public-Service shows some results of the municipal operation of the city's street-lighting department. Under private contract from 1900 to 1903 the cost per lamp was from \$25 to \$28. When the city took charge in 1904 the cost dropped to \$21 a lamp. In 1905 it was \$18.39, and in 1906 it was \$18.35. In 1903 under private contract there were 9,631 lamps in service costing \$271,648. In 1906 there were 13,030 lamps in service at a total cost of \$269,819 being a reduction of \$9.85 a lamp. This excellent showing for municipal operation it must be remembered covers a period of increasing prices.

Willimantic Municipal Ice.

THE CONNECTICUT state legislature has passed a bill amending the charter of Willimantic, according to a request of the city council, enabling the city to engage in the ice business. This amendment will be submitted to a referendum vote of the people on the first Monday of September and if approved by a majority vote the act will take effect on the second Monday of September. It is predicted that the people will vote by a large majority for the establishment of this municipal ice plant.

Portland, Oregon.

THIS city has a unique association of citizens having for its object the making of water free to all; that is, without the payment of what are known as water rates. It is known as the "Free Water Association." It has secured 1,400 signatures to a petition to secure a charter amendment. If the desired amendment to the city charter is passed by the people free water will be provided for drinking, cooking, washing, bathing, and toilet, in all houses, stores, work-shops, and offices in the city. Water for sprinkling, commercial and other purposes not covered in the free water clause, will be charged for. Revenue to defray the expenses of the department will be raised by taxation.

Tecumseh, Nebraska.

BY A VOTE of 277 to 75 this small city has decided to own and operate an electric-lighting plant and has appropriated \$12,750 for the purpose.

Fergus Falls, North Dakota.

THIS town has decided to pay the private water company \$77,863 for its old plant and is making plans to purchase the electric-lighting plant.

Seguin, Texas.

BY A VOTE of 4 to 2 the city council recently voted to establish a municipal lighting plant upon which \$60,000 will be expended.

Carthage, Missouri.

THIS city has voted to construct a municipal water plant at a maximum expense of \$220,000.

The Mueller Certificates.

THE SUPREME Court of Illinois has decided against the legality of the Mueller certificates by means of which Chicago had hoped some day to own her own street-railways. The unfavorable decision was based upon two theories—first, that the certificates would be an addition to the bonded indebtedness of Chicago in excess of the constitutional limitation, and second, that they would constitute a mortgage not only on the street-car properties but also on the streets themselves. This second point may reveal a defect in the Mueller law, but the first is an absolutely unfair and untrue contention. Bonds that represent adequate assets cannot be fairly claimed to increase a city's indebtedness.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

The New Oregon Law.

READERS who have read the editorial in this number of *THE ARENA* on "Direct Legislation in Oregon," will not need reassurance as to the attitude of the people and legislature of Oregon toward their system of direct-legislation, but if such were needed it would be abundantly furnished by a perusal of the law passed at the recent session of the legislature, which does much toward perfecting the system. Its two main features are that it puts direct-legislation into effect in all the towns and cities, and it provides for the distribution of copies of bills and arguments *pro* and *con* to every voter in the state. It is called an act to provide for carrying into effect the initiative and referendum powers secured by the people in the Constitution on general, local, special, and municipal legislation, to regulate elections thereunder, and to carry into effect the amendment granting to cities and towns the right to enact or amend their charters.

The law prescribes the form of petition for the referendum on acts of the legislature, the form of initiative petitions, the manner of verifying signatures, penalties, the appeal

from the Secretary of State, the method of giving ballot-titles to measures, and their arrangement upon the ballots, the method of canvassing and making returns. A measure is determined by a majority of the total number of votes cast upon it. Only qualified voters may sign petitions. The section providing for the publication and distribution of measures and arguments is of such value and importance to the movement for direct-legislation throughout the United States that we print it in full:

"Section 8. Not later than the first Monday of the third month next before any regular general election, nor later than thirty days before any special election, at which any proposed law, part of an act, or amendment to the Constitution is to be submitted to the people, the Secretary of State shall cause to be printed in pamphlet form a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted, with the number and form in which the ballot title thereof will be printed on the official ballot. The person, committee, or duly authorized officers of any organization filing any petition for the initiative, but no other person or or-

ganization, shall have the right to file with the Secretary of State for printing and distribution any argument advocating such measure; said argument shall be filed not later than the first Monday of the fourth month before the regular election at which the measure is to be voted upon. Any person, committee, or organization may file with the Secretary of State, for printing and distribution, any arguments they may desire, opposing any measure, not later than the fourth Monday of the fourth month immediately preceding such election. Arguments advocating or opposing any measures referred to the people by legislative assembly, or by referendum petition, at a regular general election, shall be governed by the same rules as to time, but may be filed with the Secretary of State by any person, committee, or organization; in the case of measures submitted at a special election, all arguments in support of such measure at least sixty days before such election. But in every case the person or persons offering such arguments for printing and distribution shall pay to the Secretary of State sufficient money to pay all the expenses for paper and printing to supply one copy with every copy of the measure to be printed by the State; and he shall forthwith notify the persons offering the same of the amount of money necessary. The Secretary of State shall cause one copy of each of said arguments to be bound in the pamphlet copy of the measures to be submitted as herein provided, and all such measures and arguments to be submitted at one election shall be bound together in a single pamphlet. All the printing shall be done by the State, and the pages of said pamphlet shall be numbered consecutively from one to the end. The pages of said pamphlet shall be six by nine inches in size, and the printed matter thereon shall be set in eight-point Roman-faced type, single-leaded, and twenty-five ems in width, with appropriate heads, and printed on sized and super-calendered paper twenty-five by thirty-eight inches weighing fifty pounds to the ream. The title page of every measure bound in said pamphlet shall show its ballot title and ballot numbers. The title page of each argument shall show the measure or measures it favors or opposes and by what persons or organization it is issued. When such arguments are printed he shall pay the State Printer therefor from the money deposited with him and refund the surplus, if any, to the parties who paid it to

him. The cost of printing, binding, and distributing the measures proposed, and of binding and distributing the arguments, shall be paid by the State as a part of the state printing, it being intended that only the cost of paper and printing the arguments shall be paid by the parties presenting the same, and they shall not be charged any higher rate for such work than is paid by the State for similar work and paper. Not later than the fifty-fifth day before the regular general election at which such measures are to be voted upon, the Secretary of State shall transmit by mail, with postage fully prepaid, to every voter in the State whose address he may have, one copy of such pamphlet; provided, that if the Secretary shall, at or about the same time, be mailing any other pamphlet to every voter, he may, if practicable, bind the matter therein provided for in the first part of said pamphlet, numbering the pages of entire pamphlet consecutively from one to the end, or he may enclose the pamphlets under one cover. In every case of a special election he shall mail said pamphlet to every voter not less than twenty days before said special election.

"Section 10. In all cities and towns which have not or may not provide by ordinance or charter for the manner of exercising the initiative and referendum powers reserved by the Constitution to the people thereof, as to their municipal legislation, the duties required of the Secretary of State by this act, as to state legislation, shall be performed as to such municipal legislation by the city auditor, clerk or recorder, as the case may be; the duties required of the Governor shall be performed by the mayor as to such municipal legislation, and the duties required by this act of the Attorney-General shall be performed by the city attorney as to such municipal legislation. The provisions of this act shall apply in every city and town in all matters concerning the operation of the initiative and referendum in its municipal legislation, on which such city or town has not made or does not make conflicting provisions. The printing and binding of measures and arguments in municipal legislation shall be paid for by the city in like manner as payment is provided for by the State as to state legislation by section 8 of this act, and said printing shall be done in the same manner that other municipal printing is done; distribution of said pamphlets shall be made to every voter in the city, so far as possible, by the city clerk, auditor, or re-

corder, as the case may be, either by mail or carrier, not less than eight days before the election at which the measures are to be voted upon. Arguments supporting municipal measures shall be filed with the city clerk, auditor, or recorder, not less than thirty days before the election at which they are to be voted upon; opposing arguments shall be filed not less than twenty days before said election. It is intended to make the procedure in municipal legislation as nearly as practicable, the same as the initiative and referendum procedure for measures relating to the people of the State at large."

The act provides that in city affairs referendum petition shall be signed by 10 per cent. of the voters. An initiated measure is referred first to the city council, who may pass or reject it. If they reject it, it goes to the people either with or without a competing measure prepared by the city council.

The people have the initiative power in amending city charters and the referendum power over every charter amendment as well as city ordinance.

The bill was declared an emergency measure and became law February 25th.

It is estimated by the Oregon papers that this new method of educating the voters upon the public questions upon which they are to take action will cost each time about \$18,000 for printing, postage and mailing. The actual cost will be less than this, and this is small indeed compared with the graft which the system prevents.

Oklahoma and Roosevelt.

THE PRESIDENT has been reported as saying that he would not sign the Oklahoma Constitution in its present shape, and his friend, Representative Watson of Indiana, has given the public to understand that the chief item to which objection is to be made is the direct-legislation feature of the new Constitution. Everybody knows, of course, that this is a bluff, that direct-legislation provisions have existed for years in the constitutions of other states, and that the Supreme Courts of two states have passed upon their constitutionality. As a matter of fact, Mr. Roosevelt is under pressure to keep Oklahoma from sending Democratic congressmen and Democratic senators to Washington, and Democratic members to the next electoral college. There are reasons, however, for doubting

that the President will have the hardihood to attack the initiative and referendum. Whatever else the President is he is loyal to his friends, and Jonathan Bourne of Oregon is his friend.

There are a million and a half people in Oklahoma and they are in intelligence the peers of the rest of the country. If they ratify the Constitution that has been agreed upon by the convention which they have elected for this purpose and if that Constitution does not conflict with the Constitution of the United States it ought to go into effect; and for President Roosevelt to prevent it would be rank tyranny. He may indeed be playing to the galleries again since the ratification election is still to be held.

Washington Workers Organize.

THE REFORM forces in the state of Washington, headed by the State Federation of Labor, have organized the Washington Direct-Legislation League, for the purpose of bringing Washington into line with her next-door neighbor, Oregon, as a progressive democracy. The officers of the new organization are as follows: George F. Cotterill of Seattle, President; W. H. Kaufman of Bellingham, Secretary; and C. R. Case of Seattle, Treasurer.

At a recent session of the state legislature, the House of Representatives passed the Initiative and Referendum law, but it was killed in the Senate. The reform organizations of the state are now determined to put up a vigorous campaign before the election of the next legislators, so that the measure will be sure of passing next year.

South Dakota Divorce Referendum.

A PETITION demanding a referendum vote on the recent divorce law passed by the South Dakota legislature has been filed with the Secretary of State. This referendum will be held in 1908, and consequently the people in South Dakota will continue to live under their present law for another year. This has furnished excuse for a great hullabaloo among the reactionary papers of the country who seek every excuse to attack the referendum. The so-called reform of the law in question consists chiefly in the provision that people desiring divorces must live in the state one year instead of six months as at present. It is conceivable that the respectability and even

the morality of the state will be sufficient to survive this test placed upon it, for the sake of a correct principle of popular government.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

AT THE election on May 7th the people adopted the initiative and referendum provided for in the state law and submitted to them by the city council.

Omaha, Nebraska.

EIGHTEEN improvement clubs of the city of Omaha, having a membership of two thousand, have formed a Federation of Improvement Clubs and have for some time been interested in the establishment of a municipal gas plant. Finding their efforts blocked on every side they applied themselves to securing the adoption of the initiative and referendum system, realizing that it is only through this that the people can hope to get what they want. Omaha has now, therefore, made direct-legislation a part of her organic law, and if the people want a municipal gas plant or anything else they will get it.

The Recall Sustained.

THE CALIFORNIA state appellate court of the second district has handed down an opinion in the case of *Good vs. the City Council of San Diego*, sustaining the judgment on the San Diego superior court. The proceeding was brought more than a year ago by C. L. Good to compel the city council to recognize a petition for the recall of Councilman Jay N. Reynolds as the result of an anti-liquor campaign.

The point brought out by the opinion is that the act of the council in accepting the petition was merely ministerial, and it had no authority to refuse to call the election.

Direct Election of United States Senators.

TWO MORE states have established systems for popular choice of United States senators, by instructions to representatives. Iowa and Washington are the latest to join the procession, making five states this year, and a total of eight. The states are Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Oklahoma. Similar measures were passed by one house in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Colorado. The Southern states have generally adopted a course by

which the legislators may learn whom the people wish to have sent to the "Millionaires' Club."

Notes.

THE McCULLOUGH Initiative and Referendum bill was reported negatively by the Pennsylvania Senate Judiciary Committee after being passed by a unanimous vote in the House. The Senate vote to place it on the calendar was 22 to 17, 26 required. So, with a unanimous House and a majority vote in the Senate for it, the bill fails to become law. And this is *representative government*!

THE METHODISTS in conference at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, passed a demand that a referendum be taken in the state upon the new local optional law that has been passed by the legislature, but the Methodists will learn that under their present state constitution they enjoy no such privilege as that which they are demanding.

SENATOR Allison says that very likely tariff revision will have to be the issue in the next campaign but first "we must investigate the demand for it." How will the Senator proceed with his investigation? There is no possible means of learning what the people want in this or any other national policy short of the advisory referendum.

REACTIONARIES in Oklahoma are seeking an injunction against the submission of the Constitution to vote of the people containing direct-legislation provisions. It is alleged in the petition that initiative and referendum provides for a state government directly by the people and not by their representatives, as in a republican form of government, and that it creates within the limit of the state numerous petty and independent states; that every city of over 2,000 inhabitants becomes a state, and that these city states possess imperial power within their limits; that there is no guaranty or restriction in the Constitution defining or describing what form of government these city states shall inaugurate; that they can inaugurate anti-republican form of government and that they can invest the entire sovereign power within their limits in one person, any number of persons, or any class of persons, and that all these innovations are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.

MILLSBURN, New Jersey, has taken a referendum vote recently on a trolley extension franchise under the new law.

THE PEOPLE of Washington and West Washington, Pennsylvania, have just taken a referendum vote on the question of consolidation.

THE VOTERS of Jefferson County, Alabama, will pass upon a \$500,000 bond proposition at an election June 24th.

DR. W. G. Eggleston and family, of Helena, Montana, have moved to San Francisco. Dr. Eggleston has been one of the most active and efficient workers for the initiative and referendum in the mountain state. He previously worked for the cause in Illinois. He is a newspaper man and a successful lecturer, and will find a wide field of work and many loyal co-workers, let us hope, on the Pacific coast.

THE REFERENDUM vote on the new Chicago City Charter is to be held on September 17th.

THE ILLINOIS House passed the Behrens bill providing for a referendum vote on any public franchise granted by any city council, upon petition of 25 per cent. of the voters.

THE SACO, Maine, city council referred to the people the question of issuing \$25,000 in bonds for general improvements, and it was voted down.

THE PROPOSAL of the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut, to buy the water-works property of the Bridgeport Hydraulic Company, is to be submitted for decision to a referendum vote of the direct tax-payers.

TWELVE members of the Delaware legislature voted against the advisory state referendum bill which had been approved by a majority in every one of their districts. *They* are "representatives" and *that* is called "representative government."

THE LAST two Democratic national platforms advocated the initiative and referendum, but Missouri is the only state in which a Democratic legislature has adopted this system, while the Republican legislatures of Oregon, Maine, North Dakota, South Dakota and Illinois have taken favorable action. The constitutional amendment in Florida this year failed of the required two-thirds vote in the House.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

NEWS OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Farmers' Unions and Labor Unions.

A NOTHER link in the great chain of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America has been organized at Walla Walla, Washington, with a membership of over 100 stockholders, capital stock \$10,000. The intention of this organization is to engage in manufacturing, own real estate and personal property, and to engage in the handling, buying and selling of all kinds of merchandise.

The union was started about five years ago, and has been proven to be so advantageous to the farmers that they are eager to combine along these lines. The membership is now 1,500,000, distributed among 28 states,

and is increasing throughout the United States at the rate of 6,000 a day. In the state of Alabama alone there are 80,000 members. The farmers of Gallatin county, Montana, have recently organized another branch which is to fix prices of farm products in that vicinity. The farmers' unions throughout the country are proposing to unite with the labor unions and thus in some measure eliminate the middleman and the speculator in farm produce. The first practical step along this line has been taken in Chicago where four union provision depots are established, thus placing union eggs and union butter within the reach of the union householder. The first ship-

ment came from a farmers' local union in Kansas, and it is the intention to continue the shipments and increase them according to the demand. The object is to secure for the farmer the top market price, without the deduction of commission, and to furnish the products of the farm to members of unions at a figure which will pay the producer and meet the cost of handling, the element of profit being eliminated. Butter and eggs are not to be the only commodities dealt in. All farm products that are suitable for use by the consumer without first passing through a mill or manufactory are to be sold.

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor fraternal relations were established between that organization and the Farmers' Union with the intention of coöperating for their mutual interest. It is understood by the trades unionists generally that the farmers and the wage-earners are to pull together in politics as well as in economics. Already in some Western states the trades-unionists and the farmers' unions are working together for the passage of laws by the state legislatures, and there is every reason why the field for such work should be broadened so as to include all agricultural states.

Tamarack Co-operative Association.

THE 10TH annual report of the Tamarack Coöperative Association of Calumet, Michigan, is one of the most satisfactory ever received from a coöperative store. During the year 1906 their total sales were \$463,267, an increase of \$58,608 over the sales of the previous year, and for the first three months of the year 1907 the increase is \$20,000 over the same period last year. They have a paid in capital stock of \$61,050, and the sixteenth dividend declared on February 16, 1907, was \$57,000. Total dividends since organization have amounted to \$602,000. There are now upon the books of the association over 1,000 customers, the year 1906 showing an additional net gain of about 175 accounts.

New Right-Relationship League Stores.

THERE was recently formed at Jordan, Minnesota, the Scott County Coöperative Company upon the Right-Relationship League plan. They have a capital stock of \$50,000. Also two new departments have been organized in the chain of stores known as the Polk County Coöperative Company, one at Clear

Lake, and the other at Frederick, Wisconsin. The one organized at Clear Lake purchased the entire stock and store building of one of the merchants of the town, and also several lots with railroad facilities to be used for warehouses, as they intend to begin the shipping of all products of the farm as well as grain, which they are already handling. The organization of these two stores makes a total of eight in this company. The Dakota County Coöperative Company (Minnesota), the Chippewa Valley Coöperative Company (Wisconsin), and the Pepin County Coöperative Company (Wisconsin), each report the formation of a new store.

Annual Meeting of R.-R. L.

THE FIRST annual meeting of the Interstate Right-Relationship League was held at the Hotel Beaufort, Minnesota, January 8th and 9th. The League was organized about ten years ago. There were present about thirty delegates representing six county coöperative companies and twenty stores. About one-half the delegates were merchants who have turned over their former businesses to the people on the Right-Relationship League plan of coöperation; the other half being farmer officers of the various coöperative companies. The principal item of business transacted was the adoption of by-laws. Encouraging reports were brought in from the various fields, and the delegates went away with renewed enthusiasm.

Farmers' Telephone Company, Wenatchee, California.

A LONG fight between the Pacific States Telephone Company and the Farmers' Telephone Company has just ended, successfully for the farmers. The Pacific States Telephone Company endeavored to crush the Farmers' Telephone Company, which was carrying on a thoroughly satisfactory business in the vicinity of Wenatchee, California, by employing the arts ordinarily practiced by modern trusts. They endeavored to buy the Farmers' Telephone Company; when that failed they reduced their rates to a merely nominal sum, but the farmers throughout the valley clung together and won the victory in the end. The Pacific States Telephone Company disposes of its property to the coöperative telephone company, and agrees to remain out of the field for ten years.

Rochdale Wholesale Store, Oakland, California.

THE ROCHDALE Wholesale Store of Oakland, during the month of April transacted business amounting to \$25,000. The merchandise sales to Rochdale stores were \$19,000; outside trade, \$5,540; commission sales, \$460.

Napa Rochdale Union.

THE REPORT of the Napa Rochdale Union for 1906 shows the total amount of sales to be \$32,850; membership trade, \$11,800; outside trade, \$21,030.

University of California.

THE STUDENTS' Coöperative Society of the University of California transacted \$67,000 worth of business during the year just passed.

Rochdale Store, Colusa, California.

A NEW Rochdale store is opened in Colusa, California, with a large membership composed of the leading farmers and business men of Colusa County. The store deals in groceries, crockery, dry-goods, etc. Mr. F. M. Evans, who is in charge, has had considerable experience in other Rochdale stores in different parts of the state. Starting under such favorable auspices the store is reasonably certain to be successful.

Tulare Co-operative Company.

THE TULARE Coöperative Company of Tulare County, California, paid out to the farmers of that community for butter fat, \$33,000 during the month of March.

Fruitvale, California.

A NEW coöperative company known as the Melrose Rochdale Company has been organized at Fruitvale, California, with an initial enrolment of 53 members.

Fairfield, California.

FAIRFIELD, California, has a promising Rochdale Coöperative Store, which despite the fact that it was organized about the time of the earthquake, has during the past year erected its own store building, built an iron warehouse the entire length of the store building, and has added staple hardware, dry-goods, shoes, paints, oils, harnesses and farm implements to its stock.

A Good Investment.

SOME interesting facts concerning the popu-

larity of coöperative elevators in the West and the value of their stock were recently published in the *News* of Hankinson, North Dakota, which states:

"Rev. Bramer has recently sold his two \$50 shares of stock for which he received \$170 spot cash, a net profit of \$70 on the stock in two years; besides that he got \$20 in dividends last year, making \$190 out of a \$100 investment in two years, or nearly 100 per cent. profits on his investment, which is a pretty good thing, and we may add that no more stock can be bought even at those figures. Last year the elevator paid over 70 per cent. dividends and this year it will be fully as much and perhaps more."

Minnesota Farmers Investigate.

THE FARMERS of Ceylon, Minnesota, after investigating the coöperative association at Rockwell (Cerro Gordo county), Iowa, have decided to organize a farmers' coöperative association of their own. The association at Rockwell was organized seventeen years ago, and has the honor of being the parent organization of successful farmers' coöperative elevator companies in America. The inquiries made by the Minnesota farmers in regard to the Rockwell association developed the fact that when organized the farmers were able not only to command lower freight rates but the prices of commodities such as coal, wood, lumber, shingles, flour, etc., were also lower.

Rockwell City, Iowa.

IN ROCKWELL City (Calhoun county), Iowa, is one of the most prosperous and successful farmers' elevators in the state, and they have constructed a new and larger elevator to meet the demands made upon them. In this same city they have a coöperative telephone company which has just completed a three-story brick building at a cost of about \$10,000 to be used exclusively for telephone purposes.

Co-operative Elevator, Stanhope, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Elevator at Stanhope, Iowa, reports a most successful business for the past year. It is said that two or three years ago some dissatisfied stockholders sold their stock for \$5, par value of which is \$25, but at present stock is worth \$40 and none offered for sale at that price. The company has kept the price of grain 2 cents higher on an average than the surrounding towns.

Co-operative Creameries in Ontario.

THERE are over 1,200 coöperative cheese factories in Ontario, which during the year 1906, exported to Great Britain 2,300,000 boxes of cheese, representing a value of \$26,000,000. They also exported the same year to Great Britain, \$5,000,000 worth of butter.

Co-operative Tile Association.

SAAMICH, British Columbia, has a successful coöperative tile association which supplies its members with tile at reduced rates. A similar association has been organized recently at Cowichan, British Columbia.

Oregon City, Oregon.

THE ROCHDALE Coöperative Merchants Company of Oregon City, Oregon, was organized on the 25th of March. The capitalization of \$5,000 is divided in to 1,000 shares of \$5 each, one person being permitted to own but 5 shares and each stockholder having only one vote. Stockholders are allowed credit to 75 per cent. of their stock. The company handles a complete stock of groceries and a great deal of feed and produce. The majority of the stockholders are laboring men from the mills located at that city, though a number of farmers are becoming interested and are purchasing stock. They are also carrying on an outside trade which is strictly cash.

Enid, Oklahoma.

AT ENID, Oklahoma, is a flourishing coöperative flour mill of 500 barrels daily capacity which the members of the Farmers' Union built last fall at a total cost of \$77,000.

Federation of Washington Fruit Growers.

A LARGE number of the fruit and produce growers in the state of Washington have organized themselves into the Federation of Washington Fruit Growers, for the general betterment of market facilities throughout the state.

Elma, Washington.

THE FARMERS' Coöperative Creamery, Elma, Washington, cleared \$2,500 on last years' business and a dividend of 15 per cent. was declared. It was decided to install at once a modern cold-storage and ice plant, and the machinery was ordered and plans perfected. The factory made 125,000 pounds of butter during the year.

New Co-operative Creameries in Washington.

TWO NEW coöperative creameries have been recently started at Tipton and Porterville, Washington, the first starting with 40 members, and the second with 54.

Menastash, Washington.

THE SPRING Creek Company, a coöperative creamery whose stockholders are composed of farmers from the Menastash and West Kittitas district, Washington, has reported a net profit of \$593 on the first six months' business, which is twenty-six and two-thirds per cent. on the investment.

Coulee City, Washington.

THE FARMERS in the vicinity of Coulee City, Washington, have organized a store and supply company capitalized at \$40,000, with a stock consisting of machinery, lumber and general merchandise.

Spokane Co-operative Produce Association.

MR. ALONZO WARDALL, the veteran organizer of coöperative stores in Kansas and the Pacific coast, has recently added a big one to his constantly growing list. The Spokane Coöperative Produce Association was organized in April for the purpose of collecting and shipping produce, and the association intends to establish canning factories and pickle works as soon as their business is sufficiently well-established to permit of such extensions. The association is to be incorporated at \$100,000 with shares at \$100 each, and 100 subscribers took stock at the organization.

Farmers' Grain & Supply Company, Spokane, Washington.

THE FARMERS' Grain & Supply Company of Spokane, Washington, capitalized at \$200,000, is in a most flourishing condition. During the first three months of this year this company handled 1,800,000 bushels of wheat, 33,000 bushels of oats and barley, and 1,100 tons of hay.

Leeds, England.

THE ROCHDALE Coöperative Society of Leeds, England, is about to celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary by the endowment of a bed at the Leeds Hospital at a cost of \$5,000.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"THE IDEAS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED CIVILIZATION."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

WE HAVE recently examined one of the most important—we almost said the most important work that has appeared in the English language in the last half-century. Certainly in *Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization* we have the most comprehensive and vital work dealing with the fundamental causes responsible for what is best in the world's history, that has ever been brought within the compass of a single compilation. It is a chart of civilization from the dawn of historic time to the present day, by which the student can clearly trace the unfoldment of the higher life—the birth and development of luminous and fundamental thoughts that have shaped the world's concepts and given bent, color and tone to national life, and in less degree, to civilization. Indeed, these ten volumes present such large, comprehensive and vital sections of the civilization-molding ideals of every great age and people of which we have any considerable record, that it is in effect a panorama of the world's thoughts, so connected and related as to give one continuous view of the rise of civilization, and of the passing of the torch from people to people, from civilization to civilization.

The discoveries and revelations due to the march of invention and science, which among other things have enabled modern civilization to come into rapport with the elder civilizations of the Far East while drawing aside, as it were, the veil from the hitherto mystery-shrouded ancient civilizations of Egypt, Assyria and the land of the Chaldees, no less than the broader intellectual horizon that has resulted from the rise of the modern critical and scientific spirit and the far-reaching and civilization-shaping discoveries in the domain of physical science, for the first time rendered such a work as this possible. To understand its value one has

only to follow the major currents of religion, philosophy and social science, which rise and flow from the great ancient cradles of civilization—from Egypt, Assyria and India down through Greece, Judea and Rome, and from thence to the present time, as they are presented by the master thinkers of all the ages, properly introduced and connected by one whose dominating desire evidently has been to rise above all sense of prejudice or preconceived ideas and to record the facts as they should be set down by a broad-minded thinker great enough to enter into sympathetic relation with all the master currents in historic development.

II.

In outlining the purposes of the work the editor does not make any extravagant or unwarranted claims when he says:

"The work embraces the religious beliefs of the past, as expressed and enforced by the seers who have given them to the world; the theories of philosophy in the expositions of their originators; the marvelous discoveries and inductions of the natural sciences as expounded by the men who have first seen the truths beneath the facts; the development of the social sciences and of law, government, education, and industry in the monographs which have championed their principles, and the documents which have exhibited their practices; and, finally, the great movements which have made manifest the pulse-beat of the ages, as they have been caught and held living in the kinetograph-like records of the best contemporary observers.

"With this principle in view, starting from the earliest historic time, we have collected those documents in which the world thinkers have embodied the ideas and discoveries which have given to man control over nature and himself, and by linking them together in practically chronological order with introductions and biographies, we have made a

*The *Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization*, in the Original Documents. Edited by Oliver J. Thatcher, Ph.D. In ten volumes. Illustrated. Cloth. Chicago: The University Research Extension.

history, the student of which, may, so to speak, begin to live five thousand years ago and think and feel what man has thought and felt down the ages.

"In dealing with the work from the historical standpoint we have attempted to include all of the best sources of our knowledge bearing upon the growth of civilization which are at once historically important and preserved in such shape as to throw vivid light upon the life, customs and ideas of the time. We have already mentioned that in our conception the best history of all, would be one made up of original documents linked together and helped out with additional notes and facts. We have given, so far as we know, the only general collection of such historical sources extant, but the work is more than simply a collection of sources. We have introduced each important subject with a brief sketch, which gives a setting to the documents which illustrate it. We have given a short introductory biography of every great thinker. Taken all in all we have tried to make a history of civilization which will illustrate itself."

The first volume opens with translations of the Babylonian account of Creation and the Chaldean account of the Deluge. Then comes the brief legend of Sargon as we have it, supposed to have been written 3,800 years before Christ. Here, too, are presented "Ishtar's Descent into Hades" and some "Penitential Psalms," which suggest in a striking manner the writings of Job and some of the Psalms of David, as will be seen from the following extracts:

"O my god, whom I know and whom I know not,
my sins are many, great are my transgressions.
O my goddess, whom I know and whom I know not,
my sins are many, great are my transgressions.
The sin that I sinned I knew not.
The transgression wherein I transgressed I knew not.

"I seek for help, and none takes my hand.
I weep, and none draws near to my side.
I cry aloud, and there is none that hears me.
I am in trouble and hiding, my face is cast down.
To the god, the merciful one, I turn, I utter my prayer;
The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears."

From religion we pass to a consideration of ancient Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian laws. The authentic records of ancient Assyrian and Babylonian civilization are necessarily limited, and it has only been through the tireless re-

search of those who have conducted the explorations and excavations of the ruined cities of the past, and of the scholars who have translated the records preserved in stone, that we have any first-hand testimony from this once populous cradle of civilization.

When we come to Egypt, however, we have more comprehensive data from which to draw, and this has been admirably utilized by the editor in his pages given to exact reproductions by translation from "The Book of the Dead" and the "Hymn to the Nile," supplemented by the first-hand observations as given by Herodotus.

From Egypt we go to India and are introduced, by means of original documents, to "the earliest expression of highly developed thought by any Aryan race" as found in the Vedas, where the natural forces and phenomena are deified and addressed in hymns. These hymns to "the Unknown God," to the wind, the fire and the storm gods and the lightning, are followed by extended and luminous translations from the important Upanishads, from which the reader is enabled to follow the development of the philosophical system of the Brahmans, which, as the editor well observes, "was built upon the Vedas, but mounted high above them. It gradually reduced the many gods to one, identified the world with that one, and that one and the whole world with the self of the individual, thus arriving at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man. It believed, too, that the future of the soul depended upon this knowledge."

Following this old and in some respects most comprehensive idealistic philosophical system, are the ancient ideas of the Brahmans as they relate to the beginnings of the world, the transmigration of souls and the laws of caste as found in the Laws of Manu.

From Brahmanism, with its philosophy in many respects so lofty and idealistic, and its soul-paralyzing and rigid system of caste and ritual, we pass to the consideration of the message of Buddha, with its noble philosophy of conduct. Buddha was first instructed by the Brahman masters but later withdrew from them and dwelt for six years in the forests, living a rigidly ascetic life, after which he broke away from this life and spent forty days in profound and intense contemplation. At the end of that period, when his mind had reached a high state of exaltation or ecstasy, he felt that "the light of the 'true life'"

burst in upon him, and under the compulsion of this new light he delivered his famous sermon, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness," which is here produced in literal translation and which embodies the teachings that the true course of life lies in avoiding the extremes of absorption in sense perceptions, and especially the indulging of passions and appetites, on the one hand, and on the other hand of extreme asceticism or self-mortification. By following the middle path, Buddha held man would find his eyes opened, his understanding illumined, and he would enjoy peace of mind, the highest wisdom and full enlightenment. The middle path required those who would follow it to observe eight things: "Right views; right aspirations; right speech; right conduct; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness; and right contemplation."

"The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness" is followed by "On Knowledge of the Vedas," "All the Asavas," "The Last Days of Buddha," and "Dhammapada."

The presentation of the great religious and moral concepts of the masters of ancient Indian thought is followed by selections from the teachings of Zarathustra, the light of Persia, and by extended extracts from the writings of K'ung-fu-tsze, the latter embodying the heart of the ethical teachings of the great Chinese sage who lived five hundred years before our era.

The second volume is devoted to the religious concepts, the civil and political institutions and the philosophical ideals of Greece, and here we have a treasury of intellectual wealth that alone would immensely enrich the culture of almost every educated man and woman who has not made a special study of the historical development and philosophical ideals of the great mother of Western civilization. The religious ideas of the Hellenic peoples as they related to the beginnings of things and the future state are well set forth in the selections from the two great master writers whose works constitute the bibles of Greece,—Hesiod and Homer. Here, in *The Theogony* of Hesiod and *Works and Days* we have the great legends and wonder-stories that relate to the beginning—the attempt of man to explain the why and wherefore of his being on earth; after which we have Homer's views of the under-world and the after-life, and relevant poems from Pindar, together with a brief extract from Isocrates on *The Mysteries*.

From the religious concepts we pass to a consideration of the political institutions or government, by Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution and Plutarch on Lycurgus and the Spartan institutions.

It is, however, in philosophy that Greece contributed most to the civilization of the ages, and here are found illuminating thoughts from the master thinkers, from Thales to Socrates. Of course the exact utterances of many of these masters have not been preserved, but from ancient sources and the accredited reports of their utterances it is possible to follow them. Liberal extracts are given from Plato. These, indeed, occupy about 150 pages, while more than 70 pages are given to the views advanced by Aristotle. Among other thought-molders whose ideas are given are Diogenes, Zeno and Epicurus.

As Greece is preëminent for philosophy, so Rome's great gift was law and well-digested ideas of orderly government, adapted for the larger administrative duties of society. It is fitting, therefore, that one-half of the third volume should be devoted to Roman institutions, laws and pictures of Roman life and political conditions in the days of her glory and her shame, as given to the world by her greatest writers. Following this are extracts from the master philosophers, orators, speculative scientists and ethical teachers, including Cicero, Lucretius, Pliny the elder, Quintilian, Philo Judæus, Plutarch, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.

These three volumes give us a luminous picture of the religion, the philosophy and the development of law and government in the ancient world, down to the time when Christianity began to color the thought of civilization.

The subsequent volumes trace our civilization as it has been reflected through the most fundamental ideas in religion, government, philosophy, science and invention, down to the present day.

Volume four shows the march of the early Christian church through the fires of persecution, and the development of Christianity as expressed by the great master theologians of the early centuries. It also devotes considerable space to "The New Peoples," including the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks, and describes "The Era of the Arabs," the rise of feudalism and "The Church Empire."

In the consideration of "The State" we have the Saxon, Norman and English institu-

tions and customs, the Magna Charta, the popular uprising under Ball and Tyler, and Marsilius of Padua on "The Beginning of the Modern Theory of the State."

Volumes five and six deal with one of the most momentous pages in the annals of civilization. They carry us from the birth of Modern Times to the gray dawn of the epoch of Democracy. This wonderful age was a revolutionary period. It ushered in the Renaissance and the New Learning, which were followed by the rise of Protestantism and the counter movement of Jesuitism. It was marked by the decay of feudalism and the advance of centralized and responsible government. Under the spell of the new order liberty of thought and a greater degree of freedom in research came on the heels of the weakening of the power of the church over the state and the individual; and with this unloosing of the human mind, science, invention education and social idealism budded and bloomed as never before. It was also the summer-time for art and the Golden Age of discovery. Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape and opened up a new highway to the Indies. Magellan's ships circumnavigated the globe. Columbus gave to civilization a new world, and Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler by their discoveries beat down the ignorant and fanatical superstition of the Roman Church and gave to mankind a new heaven. Erasmus blazed the way for the Reformation, whose master spirits, Martin Luther and John Calvin, left an indelible impress on the world's thought. Loyola came as a powerful aggressive leader to stem the tide of the Reformation, and during this period science gave the world many illustrious names, such as Newton, Huyghens, Anthony von Leeuwenhoeck, Boyle, Boerhaave, Linnæus, Franklin, Black, Priestly, Cavendish, Lavoisier, James Watt, Hutton, Herschel, Laplace and Volta.

Speculative and social philosophy and education also were greatly enriched by the works of such men as Montaigne, Bacon, Comenius, Descartes, Spinoza, Liebknecht, Hobbs, Locke, Mun, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, and Adam Smith. And as Luther shone forth as a splendid luminary in the dawn of this period, so Wesley arose as a commanding figure in the religious world of the later day.

In these two volumes are found short sketches of these master names, with some of their most significant and illuminating ut-

terances,—sufficient, indeed, to show the general trend of the thought and ideas which they represented and which have so largely colored the concepts of present-day civilization.

Here, too, are found great political documents and utterances—papers that hold special value for our age, such as the Dutch Declaration of Independence, the English Petition of Right, Pym's speech against Strafford; and here is Voltaire on Toleration. Furthermore, we are taken across the ocean to the New World and view the Aztec civilization as Cortes saw and described it, and we are present at the founding of St. Augustine and of Quebec. Here, too, is Morton's "Customs of the Indians" and much other authoritative data of interest and value.

Volume seven deals with the advent of democracy—the great political revolutionary epoch which proclaimed the rights of man and established popular government. This most significant of all happenings in the realm of politics or government was heralded by the civilization-influencing ideas of such thinkers as Hobbs, Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Before the American Revolution opened, certain great instruments and facts in English history are given, such as the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the Bill of Rights and Robert Clive on his conduct in India. Here, too, are the great utterances in England on the all-absorbing question of the rights of the American Colonies, by Chatham, Grenville, Mansfield, Burke, and Adam Smith.

While England was preparing to adopt a reactionary and coercive course that cost her her richest possessions, the political horizon was broadening in the New World. The noble philosophical concepts which formed the ground-work of modern democracy, had crossed the Atlantic. Strong, vigorous, liberty-loving and independent minds had seized upon these fundamental truths and enlarged and amplified them. Nay, more, they prepared to put them into practical operation. In this volume are given many of the most vital utterances of ante-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days—utterances of men like Otis, the Adamses, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine.

The forming of the Constitution is also treated by the publication of the debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, while the volume closes with the French Revolution.

The last three volumes are devoted to the ideas that have most profoundly fostered the march of civilization since the adoption of our Constitution. They are concerned chiefly with political, social, economic, philosophical and scientific advance. One of the most important discussions deals with the development of political ideas in the United States since 1787. A number of the most important memorials, state papers and resolutions are given, together with the most significant utterances of such great statesmen as Jefferson, Hamilton, Marshall, Clay, Benton, Calhoun, Hayne, Webster, Monroe, Jackson, Garrison, Phillips, Seward, Douglas, Taney, Davis and Lincoln.

The state papers here given and the utterances that represent the ideals that have been vital in our history in themselves constitute a compendium of information brought together in the compass of one work, that cannot fail to prove very helpful to students of political development in the Republic. But of almost equal importance are the contributions to the world of social and economic thought, dealing with great movements that have developed during this period. They are represented by such papers as Malthus' "Essay on the Principle of Population," Ricardo's "Theory of Rent," Karl Marx's "Manifesto of the Socialist Party," and Friedrich Engels' "Scientific Socialism," together with discussions equally as timely, though less radical, such as H. W. Macrosty's essay on "English State Socialism" and a "Comparison of Municipal and Private Ownership," by the Commissioner of Labor, of 1894.

In speculative philosophy the following papers are given: Fichte's "Outline of the Doctrine of Knowledge," Hegel's "The Development of Spirit," Schopenhauer's "The Will in Nature," and Comte's "The Positive Philosophy."

Education is represented by Pestalozzi, Fröbel, and Horace Mann; while the marvelous advance in the realm of natural science rightly occupies a very large portion of these three volumes.

In the domain of physics and chemistry we have important discussions by such men as Sir Humphry Davy, John Dalton, Avogadro, Faraday, Count Rumford, Thomas Young, Hermann von Helmholtz, Kirchhoff, Bunsen, James Clerk Maxwell, M. Henri Poincare, Roëntgen, W. H. Preece, Mendeleeff, and Sir Norman Lockyer.

Biology and evolution are represented by Bichat, Jenner, Lamarck, Cuvier, Sir Charles Bell, Charles Lyell, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Ernest Haeckel, August Weismann, Robert Koch, and Louis Pasteur, and psychology by David Ferrier and Sir William Crookes.

From this brief and partial survey of the subject matter presented in this work, it will be readily seen that it is one of the most vital compilations that has appeared from the press. Its value is greatly enhanced by the presence of a large number of magnificent photogravure illustrations which illustrate the advance in painting, sculpture and architecture throughout the various periods, from the dawn of historic time to the present day.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Training of the Human Plant. By Luther Burbank. Cloth. Pp. 100. Price, 60 cents net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS book, though small in size, is great in value. It is one of the most important works for parents, teachers, and, indeed, all thinking people, that has appeared, because the subject is the most fundamental and vital ques-

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

tion with which the civilization of the morrow is concerned, and the treatment is as sane and practical as it is fundamentally sound. That such works as this are appearing and attracting general and favorable attention is most encouraging, because until men and women realize that the bringing of children into the world and then leaving them to grow up with an environment that is destructive to physical health, mental development and spiritual enfoldment, is one of the gravest possible moral crimes, there will be little

real or permanent progress made by civilization.

Mr. Burbank has done more than any other living man in the development of plant life, and his studies and research have shown him what may be accomplished by proper care and training, in the right kind of environment, in the plant world. He is philosophical, and he utilizes his knowledge of the miracles he has wrought with flower and fruit to illustrate what may be done with far less effort, by parents, if the children have the right environment. He very wisely opposes the mill-run method of popular education in our cities.

"I wish," he says, "to lay special stress upon the absurdity, not to call it by a harsher term, of running children through the same mill in a lot, with absolutely no real reference to their individuality. No two children are alike. You cannot expect them to develop alike. They are different in temperament, in tastes, in disposition, in capabilities, and yet we take them in this precious early age, when they ought to be living a life of preparation near to the heart of nature, and we stuff them, cram them, and overwork them until their poor little brains are crowded up to and beyond the danger-line. The work of breaking down the nervous systems of the children of the United States is now well under way. It is only when some one breaks absolutely away from all precedent and rule and carves out a new place in the world that any substantial progress is ever made, and seldom is this done by one whose individuality has been stifled in the schools."

He holds, and we think rightly holds, that the country is the proper place for the child during the first ten years, and he insists that the master environing influence of the child must be love. Very impractical and visionary, the money-grubbing materialist will cry, but Mr. Burbank knows what is demanded in

order to make the conglomerate American people the greatest race the world has ever seen, and he knows that if the right and necessary ideals are held before the people and if they are presented with steady and ever-increasing insistence, they can be made the master thought of the nation, and the master thought will be realized. To raise the ideal is to solve the greatest problem that has to do with the republic of to-morrow.

"Not only," he says, "would I have the child reared for the first ten years of its life in the open, in close touch with nature, a bare-foot boy with all that implies for physical stamina, but should have him reared in love. But you say, How can you expect all children to be reared in love? By working with vast patience upon the great body of the people, this great mingling of races, to teach such of them as do not love their children to love them, to surround them with all the influences of love. This will not be universally accomplished to-day or to-morrow, and it may need centuries; but if we are ever to advance and to have this higher race, now is the time to begin the work, this very day."

He is very insistent on looking to the physical development of the child. It is the foundation for sanity, for mental supremacy, and for spiritual domination. Child-labor, the massing of children in the cities, the indifference of the people to the right kind of environment during the first ten years of the child's life, are crimes—moral crimes, for which our slothful civilization is responsible and must suffer; and this serious fact is burned into the consciousness of our people in this book. And more. It opens new vistas of thought to parents and teachers. Its every page is pregnant with suggestions of the gravest importance. It would be difficult to overestimate its value, and we heartily recommend it to our readers.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A LEADING ENGLISH STATESMAN ON THE CABLE RINGS: THE ARCHAIC is very fortunate in being able to present a paper from the English statesman who is justly preëminent in the Anglo-Saxon world for his long and effective battle for lower postage, a more efficient parcels post and other reforms that vitally affect the millions. For years no member of Parliament has

been more prominent or insistent for the advancement of every movement calculated to increase the efficiency and reduce the cost in the various branches of the postal service. Mr. HEATON has now turned his attention to the great cable trusts or monopolies, and in two remarkably brilliant papers he makes a powerful argument in favor of the cables for the millions instead of for the millionaires. The first

of these contributions appears in this number and is entitled *How to Smash the Cable Ring*. It is written in a popular and fascinating style. The second paper deals with the statistics of the subject and makes a powerful, statesmanlike argument.

George Wharton James on Galveston's Splendid Success in Municipal Government: In this issue of THE ARENA we open a series of six papers from the brilliant pen of GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, on civic progress and municipal art in typical Southern cities. These papers will be concerned with New Orleans, Galveston, Houston, and San Antonio. The splendid success which has marked the commission government of Galveston is admirably set forth by Mr. JAMES in the opening paper of this series. One thing, however, is very necessary in order to make Galveston's government a model of effective democratic city rule, and that is provisions similar to those that obtain in Los Angeles, where the citizens enjoy the right of the initiative, referendum and right of recall. Only by such measures can a city provide against the possible despotism of a corrupt ring which sooner or later will appear in any city where the people do not reserve to themselves the rights which must distinguish a democratic government from class-rule. Under a model commission a city may prosper splendidly, with a government such as Galveston enjoys, but under a commission dominated by certain special interests, as would soon be the case in many cities, the rule would be not one whit better than the rule of the boss-ridden cities at the present time. The only sure protection that the people have for the righting of municipal wrongs is found in the initiative, referendum and the right of recall.

The Season's Social Drama: In Mr. MAILLY's very thoughtful review of many vital social and economic plays produced in New York last season, we present the second important paper in our series of critical discussions of vital dramas and leading representatives of the histrionic art. In our May issue we presented a sketch of Mr. KLEIN. In the present paper Mr. MAILLY discusses social and economic plays from the view-point of a scholarly Socialist, and while we do not agree with all his conclusions, they represent the views of a large number of deeply thoughtful people. Shortly we shall publish an illustrated study of Mrs. Fiske and her work, prepared for THE ARENA by KENTON WEST.

Christian Science Philosophically Considered from Two View-Points: All great theories, whether they relate to religion, philosophy, science, economics, government, or, indeed, life in any of its multitudinous relations, have been sturdily assailed by thinkers whose view-points have been opposite from those of the advocates of the new theories. Thoughtful discussions, when free from personalities and representing the honest convictions of the thinkers, are productive of moral and mental growth and lead thinking people to further investigations. This month we are able to present two philosophical views on Christian Science. Mr. FARNSWORTH is a poet and essayist of much ability. His criticism of Christian Science is for the most part concerned with what he considers to be the philosophical

objections or fallacies of the Christian Science philosophy, and is therefore in marked relief from the miserable personalities and reckless charges that have constituted so much of the alleged criticism of Christian Science and its founder in magazines and the daily press. The objections of Mr. FARNSWORTH are replied to by Mr. JOHN BUCKLEY WILLIS, A.M., of the editorial board of the Christian Science Publishing Society. Mr. WILLIS is a fine thinker, a ripe scholar and presents the Christian Science views as they relate to the questions with which Mr. FARNSWORTH is concerned in his discussion. These two papers give both sides of the philosophical concepts as they relate to Christian Science, and this will close the controversial papers on this subject, as our space renders it impossible to prolong religious criticisms.

"What is Truth?" Rev. WILLIAM R. BUSHBY, LL.M., in this issue of THE ARENA replies to the papers that appeared in our April and May issues, from the pens of Rev. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY and the Rev. A. R. KIEFFER, presenting the conservative views in regard to certain religious teachings that at the present time are engaging the attention of a large number of the leading scholars in Europe and America. While personally we do not share the views of Mr. BUSHBY, his paper is, we think, the most scholarly and lucid presentation of the subject possible in the compass of a short magazine article.

Important Discussions on Direct-Legislation: We wish to call the special attention of our readers to the exceptionally interesting and able presentation of *Massachusetts' Historic Attitude in Regard to Representative Government: The Teachings of the Fathers*, by the Hon. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR. In this paper the worthy descendant of one of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence shows most conclusively what the great master spirits who founded the Commonwealth of Massachusetts understood by representative government. As an enemy of mob rule on the one hand and of corrupt class-rule on the other, Mr. PAINE, in common with all persons who believe in the principles of democracy as opposed to class-rule, believes in direct-legislation as firmly as did the great founders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—men like Samuel Adams, John Adams, and John Hancock. In this issue we have devoted the space of our editorial leader to answering three chief objections to direct-legislation that are continually being made. These have been recently set forth by Professor WYCKOFF of Princeton University and embody the objections as advanced by the reactionaries and friends of class-rule.

The People's Institute of New York: A paper of great interest to friends of constructive social work is found in Professor CHARLES SPRAGUE SARTRE's admirable description of the People's Institute of citizenship along democratic lines. In our August number we hope to notice at length some splendid work along very similar lines that is now being carried forward in Italy. It is the purpose of THE ARENA to notice from month to month constructive movements of this character that are being carried forward in all parts of the world.



DR. THEODOR BARTH

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED RAILWAYS OF NEW ZEALAND.

BY A. A. BROWN.

WHEN corporate corruption is in evidence throughout the length and breadth of the land, and its evil influence on the body politic is the crowning scandal of the day; when every turn of the cards in the investigation of corporate methods uncovers fresh exhibitions of dishonesty, graft and moral turpitude which have become embedded in the political and commercial life of the United States; when railway after railway that happens to come under the searchlight of investigation discloses the same story of corruption and moral obloquy, it is refreshing to know that somewhere in the world there is a railway system free from corruption, free from political jobbery, free from blackmail, free from the system of rebating to the favored few, free from stock manipulations, free from consolidation, free from land-grants and government appropriation scandals, free from bribery, free from criminals booted and spurred who would crush the many to enrich the few, free from judicial corruption and jury-packing, free from all the species of crime, dishonesty and speculation that have been trailed home to the railway managements of the United States. In the government-owned and operated railways of New Zealand there is found an object-lesson for the nations of the world, and especially for our corporation-ridden Republic, which should lead thinking men out of the fool's paradise into which the corporation press has led them, and cause them to see how pitiful and false are the hired sophistries of the tools of the Wall-street railway interests of the United States. New Zealand presents a real, living, shining example of a system in the operation of which every citizen has his just due and no man profiteth on his fellow-man's oppression. It is a system above and beyond the corrupting influence of the stock market, the personal gain of a stockholder, the favoritism of rebates, the bribery of the judiciary, the crushing of the many. It is a recognition of a wise principle in the economy of governments that highways of whatever character, by virtue of their public necessity and use, belong to, and should

be under the direction and control of a responsible government representing all the interests of a community, state or nation. Railways are highways, they are a public utility; without them a rural population removed from the seaboard could not exist in these modern days. They are as essential to national life as the government itself. They are a public utility altogether too powerful for good or evil, to ever be within the control of any authority not created by and answerable to "the people." The spectacle of not more than one half-dozen railway magnates in the United States controlling 298,000 miles of railway track, reaching out through the cities and over private property like the feelers of a devil-fish directing the disposition of earnings amounting to \$1,975,174,091 per annum, controlling an industry employing over one million and a quarter of men, suggests at once a centralized power of such magnitude as to be a menace, if unwisely governed or given unbridled license, that could disorganize the political institutions of the nation, from which it has pillaged through bribery and corruption practically all the rights-of-way upon which its tracks are laid and its buildings, shops, and terminals are constructed. By plausible arguments and ingenious sophistries, not untainted by corrupt acts, the Congress of the United States was induced to give away a vast public heritage of millions upon millions of acres, and out of the public treasury, unknown millions of dollars to enrich the few promoters, whose sole aim and purpose in life is to "get rich quick" at the expense of the plodding people. By the pooling of earnings, the combination of lines and union of interests, all healthy competition has been removed; discrimination between individuals and places have operated to the prejudice of a long-suffering and helpless public, and in favor of the few whose private weal has been given precedence over the public

The shadow of a remedy has prescribed by a servile Congress in

the form of a Railway Commission which has furnished some measure of relief, but with the political power vested in the railway service that can, and will be, and has been, used in the election of a friendly executive with appointive power, the work of such a created commission is rendered negatory and unimportant. *The railways of any country under private ownership are a dominating, dictatorial, corrupting, and tyrannizing power; they brook no interference with their plans or policy; by discrimination and preferential rates they dictate the direction in which traffic should flow and to their own selfish purposes determine its destination.* By the employment of preferential rates they bestow favors on individuals to the detriment of communities. Is it therefore to be marveled at that discontent and dissatisfaction with their methods manifest themselves in an intense degree? The attempt to legislate commercial integrity into railway methods by the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 has signally failed of its purpose, and complaints against discrimination, preferential rates, drawbacks and rebates, are as pronounced as ever; therefore the question of state-ownership is commanding the intelligent interest of independent thinkers who believe there is a remedy somewhere for every evil. State or government ownership of railways has passed the experimental stage in Europe and Australasia so fully that they can be discussed in the light of their efficiency, usefulness, and healthy influence.

Dealing particularly with the railways of New Zealand it will be interesting to know that the policy adopted by the government is to regard them more as a factor in the development and settlement of the country than as a mere revenue-earning machine, extracting from the people an illegitimate earning on an artificial capital. Its policy has been and is now to return to the people by means of concessions or reduced fares and freights an amount calculated to equal the excess of the net earnings (main-

tenance of way, of rolling stock, terminals and all operating expenses considered), over three per cent., this amount being the return the railways are expected to yield on the actual capital cost of construction.

In fixing whatever concessions are granted from time to time the necessities of the growing industries of the colony are always placed on a more favorable basis than rates for a foreign product of a similar character. In other words the struggling industries of the colony are fostered and favored that they may grow into great commercial factors rather than that the invading foreigner should control the markets of the colony.

Whenever and whatever concession of rates are made from time to time full particulars are gazetted for the information of every shipper, whether large or small, and every forwarder of goods of a particular class must pay the same rate and conform to the same conditions specified in the public regulations, in the employment of which method no individual can under any circumstances obtain preferential treatment, rebates, or drawbacks. Each pays the same rate for the same service, and all colonial forwarders are given the benefit of the lowest possible rate in all cases where alternative rates exist. To illustrate which the Hon. Sir Joseph G. Ward, late Minister of Railways and now Prime Minister points out that:

"Owing to the length of its seaboard and the fact that the larger towns are seaports there exists what are known as 'local' and 'classified' rates. The former apply to certain localities and are made to meet special conditions, and the latter apply to all other traffic carried over those portions of the line where ordinary conditions prevail, but if it is possible to make by combination of the local rates in operation to a given point and the classified rate from that point to the destination station a lower charge than by computing the freight on

the classified rate for the full mileage the goods are conveyed, the combination is used. If, on the other hand, the through classified rates are the most favorable to the forwarder, they are used as the basis of the charge. In all cases and under all circumstances the interests of the forwarder is made the first consideration by the government."

The opportunity was afforded me during a recent visit to the United Kingdom to note by comparison the operation of private-owned and government operated railways under the British flag. Britain with a contributing population of 45,000,000, limited to an area but little greater than that of New Zealand, under the avaricious hand of private-ownership, over-capitalization and combined pools of earnings, pays in passenger fares a very much larger tariff than is paid on the New Zealand government railways, notwithstanding the great disparity in contributing population.

A comparison of the English roadbed and speed of trains is vastly favorable to the English railway system; not to be wondered at however, when we know that the first use of rails for the purpose of reducing the traction of vehicles dates back to the year 1633, and the first use of iron rails dates back to 1801. Considerably more than a century, therefore, has been devoted to the perfection of the roadbeds of Britain and the perfecting of its rolling stock. In comparison with the latter, however, the New Zealand railways are more comfortable and decidedly more cleanly. In England as elsewhere private-ownership of railways has ever used the now exploded argument of competition to prove the efficacy of its case, the fallacy of which can best be shown by presenting comparative rates charged for ordinary travel on the New Zealand government railways with rates for like distances on English lines between points enjoying the benefits of "keen competition" and heavy passenger traffic.

Extract from table prepared by Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, Minister of Railways.

	Miles	First Single s. d.	Second Single s. d.	First Return s. d.	Second Return s. d.
From London to Glasgow.....	402	58 0	33 0	110 3	62 11
New Zealand (same distance).....		37 5	20 4	74 10	40 8
London to Edinburgh.....	392	57 6	32 8	109 6	62 8
New Zealand (same distance).....		36 7	19 11	73 2	39 10
London to Carlisle.....	300	40 6	24 2	81 0	48 5
New Zealand (same distance).....		28 3	15 9	56 6	31 6
London to Liverpool.....	202	29 0	16 6	58 0	33 0
New Zealand (same distance).....		20 1	11 8	40 2	23 4
London to York.....	189	27 0	15 8	54 0	31 4
New Zealand (same distance).....		19 0	11 1	38 0	22 2

Let me put these figures in another form, perhaps more easily understood by the American reader. The New Zealander can travel 450 miles first class and 500 miles second class for the same rate that is paid by the Londoner to Carlisle, a journey of but 300 miles. Once more—the Londoner pays 33s. second class to Glasgow, a distance of 402 miles for the same fare the New Zealander can travel 716 miles. Such figures, taken as they are from the official tables of rates, thoroughly explode the theory of cheapness to the public by private-ownership of railways.

Interlinked with the New Zealand railways is the progress of the colony, the convenience, prosperity and happiness of its people, and the incalculable and unmeasurable benefits that can be bestowed by a fraternal government to the people for whom the government incorruptibly stands. Closely allied to the advancement of education we find the government railways enlisted in the work of carrying the children of parents residing in remote and unsettled districts to and from the public-schools for all distances up to 60 miles free, that the benefits of education might not be denied to the children of the pioneer, and workmen are granted weekly tickets enabling them to travel one way each day for six days every week at the very infinitesimal charge of 2d. (four cents) per trip for all distances from 3 to 10 miles, while the farmer and the orchardist have the free use of the railways up to a distance of 100 miles for the delivery to them of lime for manuring and

increasing the productiveness of their lands, while the charge beyond the limit of 100 miles is too low to force an argument. Can you, American farmer, ever dream of such concessions while the railways of the United States are under the control and dominion of financial harpies whose sympathy with the people and their equitable demands finds fullest expression in Vanderbilt's historic: "The public be damned!"

The state has not contented itself with making concessions in fares and freights to the users of the colony's railways, but it has from time to time shown in a practical manner that it recognizes that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and has given to railway servants of all grades tangible recognition of their services in improved classification and pay. The practical nature of the recognition is shown by the fact that the increases in pay granted to the railway staff during the past nine years have amounted on the lowest estimate to no less than £365,000. In other words, the state railways have given to the public in the form of concessions, and to the employes in increased salaries, over one million pounds.

Not only is the workman well cared for during the years of his usefulness but a superannuation scheme is provided for the benefit of those who retire from time to time through ill health or old age, and in the case of death of an employé by accident or other cause before reaching the year of his retirement, his widow receives an allowance during her widowhood of £18 (\$90) per annum, with a

further payment of 5s. (\$1.25) per week in respect of each child under 14 years of age.

The value of government-ownership of railways is a subject of inexhaustible merits incorporating within a full discussion the whole economic fabric of government function; the duty of a government to the people it for the time represents, and as the history of all state-owned lines testifies to administration clearly in the interest of every citizen alike, without favors to the strong and powerful against the weak and helpless and without secret and illegal rebates, discriminations, preferentions, and drawbacks in favor of interested monopolists, as against the individual shipper.

It means that every citizen receives equal treatment and pays exactly the

same rates for equal or the same service. It is the duty of the state to employ the railways as an adjunct to the development of the colony; the settlement of the people on the land; the employment of labor for the betterment of the state; the increasing of opportunities to the producer; the creation of markets for the agriculturist; the convenience of a people at a minimum cost; the rights of a people equitably maintained. It means equality of opportunity, freedom from political corruption, integrity in management. It means the employment of a great public utility for the sole benefit of the public, entirely removed from private interests for private gain.

A. A. BROWN.

Victoria, British Columbia.

THEODOR BARTH: GERMANY'S LEADING LIBERAL STATESMAN.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

Special Correspondent of THE ARENA in Berlin, Prussia.

THEODOR BARTH, late Member of the Reichstag, of the Prussian Landtag, and editor of the Liberal weekly, *Die Nation*, who is about to retire from public duties and devote himself to a close study of parliamentary and political-social existence and methods in England and the United States, has, since 1879, been a conspicuous figure in Germany.

Not only the Liberal party, therefore, but the literary and progressive elements of the country, from north to south, lose an important personality, a steadfast champion and a faithful friend in his withdrawal. Happily, that withdrawal is to be for a time only; for as Dr. Barth himself announced in his response to the toast at the farewell dinner given in his honor in Berlin, amidst the cheers of a large company of political leaders, professors and litterateurs: "It is not my intention

to disappear forever from the Forum."*

Dr. Barth's life, quite aside from the numerous public positions which he has held, is interesting as a study of the *Saving Remnant* in the spasmodic, un-genuine, unhealthful atmosphere, corrupted by Absolutism, which pervades the Germany of to-day; and it is regarded in this light that he becomes a valuable visitor to England and the United States. He is fifty-eight years old; an age when English statesmen are considered merely ripe, if not comparatively young; an age when a man has gathered enough from experience to temper his acts, and possesses the incomparable advantage of that objectivity in forming his opinions.

*"Ich habe nicht die Absicht dauernd vom Forum zu verschwinden." At the dinner given in honor of Dr. Barth, in the Hall of the Association of Friends, Berlin, March 19, 1907.

Dr. Barth is also that rarest of rarities in Germany, a man of cosmopolitan knowledge, and has seen and known England, the United States, France, Italy and Switzerland. It is this breadth of experience, familiarity with parliamentary precedent, comprehensiveness of view, combined with courteous deference to the convictions of others, which distinguishes him from the typical German politician and renders him an invincible opponent. A man who will not descend from principles to personalities, and who will not recognize that his polemical brother has done so, presents a baffling front to the charlatan; and, in time, becomes a silent influence too forceful to be permitted to continue in the partisan-ridden, pettily-detailed, political existence of Germany. The Conservative faction has, therefore, on two occasions during the twenty and more years of Dr. Barth's parliamentary career, combined with those whom they affect to despise, namely, the Social Democrats, rather than not defeat him.

For the Germany of to-day is not the Germany dreamed of by the enthusiastic men of 1870, by the fighters, sufferers and toilers of the day of Carl Schurz in 1848! It is the day of mediocrity, the day of little men. No grandiloquent speeches of traveling diplomats, nor tricks to bring about tariff advantages, can reverse or disguise the fact.

"We elderly men," said Professor Brentano of Munich, at the dinner given to Dr. Barth, "grew up in the double conviction that the German people could attain everything, even the highest; and that Old Europe was to be healed through Germanic freedom. But German unity came in another way than we believed it might; and *freedom* is now doled out to us in an exceedingly thin dilution. Our *Kultur-Kampf* was won more by police restrictions than by scientific conviction, and, with those impositions of the police, began for us, as Bamberger has well said, a mass of unworthy manipulations which

supplanted our joy in an United Empire."*

These words of the veteran Liberal have a pathetic ring. Thrice pathetic in that they represent the unexpressed beliefs and fears of the thinking people of the land. The *Kultur-Kampf* was, it will be remembered, the struggle between Roman Catholicism and the Prussian State, which, in 1872, engaged the thoughts of North Germany, and aroused the resentment of the South. Rudolf Virchow, the famous pathologist and Radical Member of the Landtag, described it as a struggle *for* culture; the Ultramontanes, or followers of the Catholic party, on the other hand, maintained that it was a struggle *against* culture; but *struggle*, with the word culture as a stalking-horse, it remained and remains to this day. Small wonder that the observer of the trend of events during the past two years, for instance, when the long arm of the Jesuits has extended from Rome to Berlin, should assert that the *Kultur-Kampf* was won by police regulations, instead of by conviction!

Theodor Barth was born in the town Hannover, in the Province of Hannover, on the 16th of July, 1849, but passed his earliest years in Bremerhaven, that dock-lined portion of the commercial city so familiar to Americans who sail from New York by the North German Lloyd line of steamers. He was educated in the Gymnasium at Hildesheim, attended lectures in law and political economy at the universities of Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Berlin, and having acquired the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, was appointed attorney in Bremen. He subsequently became District-Attorney for that city and Legal Chairman of the Bremen Mercantile Association, which office he filled for seven years. In 1879 he was chosen to represent the three *Haustädte*, or Free Cities, Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, at the Tariff Conference held by the Federal Union. His opposition

*Toast of Professor Brentano, of Munich, March 9, 1907.

to Bismarck's projects connected therewith, brought him into prominence during the sitting of that commission and shortly after its close he was nominated by the constituency of Gotha as its Liberal candidate for the Reichstag. In 1884 he was again nominated by the Grand Duchy, but was defeated in the Secondary Elections by the Social Democratic candidate, in consequence of the coalition just mentioned. In 1885, however, he was asked by the district of Hirschberg, in Silesia, to stand for it, and his personal and political friend, Baron Georg von Bunsen, retiring from the candidacy in his favor, he was elected and sat for Hirschberg during thirteen years, being returned without opposition at each of the four intervening elections. He had, in the meanwhile, left Bremen and removed to Berlin, where, in the year 1883, he founded the weekly paper, *Die Nation*, naming it, as he himself relates, after *The Nation* of New York, whose editor at that time, Lloyd Garrison, was his friend. *Die Nation* became and remained to its last issue, March 30, 1907, the leading Liberal organ of the Empire.

In 1893 Dr. Barth parted company with the Radical leader, Eugen Richter, and in 1898 became the candidate for Rostock. In Rostock he was defeated by a coalition similar to that which had defeated him in Gotha, in 1884, the *Junker* of Mecklenburg combining with the Social Democrats, and electing the candidate of the latter party. In the same year he was returned to the Prussian Landtag as Member for Kiel, which district he represented for five years. During that period, however, he was re-elected to the Reichstag, this time for Wittenberg-Schweinitz, as successor to his friend Georg von Siemens, who had died in office. Wittenberg would have been glad to have him retain the seat, but Dr. Barth preferred a contest with the Conservatives in Lower Pomerania, and won in it.

As a delegate to international conferences in London, Rome, Berne and

Christiana, Dr. Barth came to be recognized as a broad-minded, sane, statesmanlike litterateur, quick to perceive the essential characteristics of national life, and keenly appreciative of national superiority wherever to be found. His facility in speaking the English language and his knowledge of legal and political precedent in England and the United States have made for him more than one friend in both those countries. He enters, therefore, upon his journey to and through them, assured of a sympathetic reception. His visit to the United States will be his fourth.

Of the literary value of his paper, *Die Nation*, in a city of such low standards in journalism as those which prevail in Berlin, too much cannot be said. Its very existence was a reproach to the artificial tone and superficial vulgarity of the average newspaper of the Capital. Its list of contributors during the twenty-three years of its existence has included the names not only of men active in political affairs, and of men of world-wide fame, such as Virchow and Mommson, but those of almost all the writers of Germany who represent the best in science, in literature, art and the drama. Small wonder, then, that its disappearance is universally deplored. To the Liberal party—if Germany may be said to possess a Liberal party—its loss is irreparable. In the English and American sense of the words, neither Liberalism nor Parties exist in Germany, as the present writer has heretofore noted in the pages of this review. Factions and groups, combinations and coalitions of a temporary nature abound; but the solid phalanx of a large body of men, inspired by one aim, to which all are loyal, is absolutely unknown in Germany. It is, one suspects, the realization of this fact after the labors of nearly a quarter of a century, and the conviction that the real cause of the small progress made by Liberalism in his country is to be found in the people themselves, that has induced Dr. Barth to break away from

the scene of his efforts and refresh his mind and beliefs in lands untrammelled by absolutism.

"My friends Schrader and Brentano," said he, in his response to the toasts, on March 19th, "have expressed appreciation and praise of me and of the work that has been the object of my attention and care for nearly twenty-four years. I have not been so spoiled by friendly recognition during my public life [great amusement], as not to prize such honor. But one sentence of the toasts this evening has given me especial pleasure, namely, that I had all my life taken my work, politics and journalism, seriously." [Applause.]

It is that same earnestness, that quality of "sweet reasonableness" to which Matthew Arnold was wont to refer, in men, which in Dr. Barth converts his political foes into personal friends, and which renders his retirement a public loss.

But, as just said, he intends to return, refreshed, and, as he set forth in the

closing words of his response, eager once again to fight.

"The time," he said, "is fast coming when it will be remembered amongst us that in political, as well as daily life, not the complex, but the simple, the understandable, the natural, is the True and the Good. [Applause.] If we, in Germany, wish to make political advancement, *we must become more democratic.* That is an aim worthy the sweat of the brow of noble men; and it should become the object of an enlightened Liberalism to prepare Germany for that democratization. [Applause.] I have indeed hauled my bark up on to the sands, for a time, but I hope soon to set sail with a fleet, a fleet that shall carry the flag of Democracy. Under that flag I shall again take service and shall stand fast to my colors."

That success may attend Dr. Barth and his friends is the wish of every thoughtful man who loves and honors the manhood of his country. MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, Prussia.

THE SWEEP OF ECONOMIC EVENTS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

By PHILLIP RAPPAPORT.

MATERIALISM has spread wonderfully during the last decades. We no longer believe that the world is governed by abstract ideas. While we cannot and will not deny the effect of abstract ideas, after they have once been conceived and taken root, still we are convinced that abstract ideas have their source in concrete facts and conditions. The conception of good and bad cannot have been possible without the existence of things or conditions which created the feeling of pleasure or pain. The materialistic conception of history, or as we

may call it, historic materialism, convinces us that the condition of the masses and their never ceasing efforts to better it has been much more of a motive power in historical events than the abstract ideas of great men or the arbitrary will of princes and monarchs. We find that those who believe themselves pushing are in reality pushed. Historic materialism, studying the forces prevalent in human society, permits us to say with certainty that historic events are not single and isolated, but are the result of an evolutionary process going on in that

living organism which we call human society.

¶ The rapid growth and extension of that economic phenomenon which we call Trust is an historical event. It is not the result of a sudden thought or sudden emotion, or the result of an individual will. Still less is it the result of blind chance. Like every social phenomenon it must have sprung from conditions precedent with logical necessity. We should keep this well in sight in considering the problems which the Trust now presents to us.

Buckle, in his history of the civilization of England, says:

“When we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; those motives are the results of some antecedents, and, therefore, if we are acquainted with the whole of the antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results.”

Pursuing the study of history upon this principle, we see in historic events, not isolated facts, springing from the will or caprice of one or more individuals, but the logical sequence of preceding events or conditions. We study history by looking at it as a continuous chain of causes and effects, and search for the motive power which is turning the wheels in a certain direction.

This mode of studying history will enable us to foresee future conditions with a degree of certainty limited, of course, by the shortcomings of human knowledge generally, and in this instance more particularly by the impossibility of foreseeing all the steps which positive science, entering into the mode of providing for the necessities of life, or, expressing it more definitely, into the mode of production, will take.

The mode of production is the ultimate power which causes and directs all movements in human society.

The political and social condition of human society depends altogether upon the form of its economic structure, and this again upon the mode of production.

It is indeed not difficult to understand that the economic structure of a society possessing the knowledge of the power of steam and electricity and the ability to use these forces as we use them, must be entirely different from that of a people gaining the necessities of life in the primitive way in which the fishing or hunting tribes gain them.

The form of property, the manner of acquiring it, the mode of protecting it, the ways of exchanging it, are certainly matters with which the State is concerned. They must, of necessity, have a predominating influence upon the organization of society, upon its laws and customs. Changes in the one cannot fail to bring about changes in the other. Customs and laws must always have a tendency to conform to the manner in which man acquires the necessities of life, and, as the case may be, accumulate and hold property. No matter how slow this tendency works, it is always there and is always felt, even if it does not become effectual without the pressure coming from the mass of the people.

Considering further that the form of property, the manner of acquiring it, the ways of exchanging it and the mode of protecting it depend altogether on the manner of producing it, and furthermore that the manner of producing property, or the necessities of life, depends upon the condition of the means of production, we may well say that the means of production, their nature and effectiveness form the basis of human progress.

It may sound paradoxical to say that the institution of slavery was a sign of progress. But we must consider that slavery is not possible under conditions where the individual cannot produce beyond his own needs. The economic basis of slavery is the possibility of producing one's own food, shelter and clothing sufficiently to maintain life and

a surplus for the use of the slave owner. Cannibalism and slavery are so much the logical consequence of economic conditions as Manchester freedom of trade or the wage system. Why should savages who are scarcely able to provide the necessary food for themselves not kill their prisoners, who, if left alive, become competitors for food? It is not a long way for a hungry savage from killing a man to eating him. And upon the other hand what is more natural than making prisoners of war slaves, as soon as the power of production has so far advanced that every individual is able to produce his own needs?

The social and political institutions of the ancient world were based upon slavery, and Greek democracy was only possible because the producers, that is, the slaves, were outside the pale of it and formed no part of society or the body politic.

The feudal system, with its peculiar institutions considering land as the only real property, and the producer or serf as a part of and belonging to it, was only possible at a time when all the necessities of life were made by the occupier of the land from the products of the land he occupied, the surplus going to the owner of the fief. Gradually as production by skilled mechanics and craftsmen took the place of home production, as products became to some extent objects of trade rather of immediate consumption and as exchange and trade grew into larger proportions, the feudal system disappeared.

It is not possible to imagine that the economic structure and the organization of human society should be the same whether man is scarcely able to produce the necessities of life in sufficient quantities or whether the power of production has advanced sufficiently to produce a surplus; whether everything is made by the consumer himself, or whether each producer makes those things only for which he possesses particular skill, and exchanges them for the products of another

who does the same, only producing something else.

So it is impossible to imagine that the structure of society should have remained unchanged by the substitution of production by machinery for production by handicraft; and that the introduction of the use of natural forces, like steam or electricity, should have been without effect upon the economic structure of society.

Competition always played an important rôle in human society. Resulting from the scanty provision which nature, unaided by human ingenuity, makes for man, it grew fiercer and fiercer by the desire of getting as large a share as possible of the products of man and nature. The efforts toward protection against competition are in principle the same, whether one tribe of savages fights another for the possession of hunting or fishing grounds, or whether the craftsmen organize guilds to prevent an increase of their number, or whether corporations organize a trust. Only the actions, not the purpose are different. The difference in action arises from the difference in conditions. It may truly be said that while formerly the attempts to ward off competition arose from a positive or relative scarcity of products, the formation of the trust is caused by a relative abundance of products, or at least the possibility of creating such an abundance.

The period during which competition was considered an evil and was fought by legal restraints and restrictions lasted centuries, but the period during which competition was considered the basic principle of economic life, nay even the life of trade, was comparatively short. It commenced on the European continent not much more than half a century ago and is already passing away. It was in fact merely a period of transition from the period of scarcity to the period of abundance.

Every phase in the political or economic development of society contains the ele-

ments of self-destruction. Otherwise a continuous process of evolution would be impossible. Every social, political or economic system will in the course of its development, reach a point where the elements of self-destruction commence to move and show their presence. From this on the system will gradually be undermined and slowly collapse by its own force. From this on the effect of its own force becomes inimical to its own purposes and a hindrance to its further development.

The organization of the ancient world was built upon slavery. The slave, although a human being, endowed with the power of reasoning, formed no part of the social or political organization. He was property. But thinking and reasoning property is a very peculiar kind of property, so peculiar that at a time the Spartans found it necessary to protect themselves against their own property by destroying it. The slaves increased so much in numbers that their masters commenced to fear them and killed them by thousands. It would lead me too far to describe the slave-rebellions in Rome, to explain how the solution of the problem to feed an idle populace grew more and more difficult, especially after the disruption of the empire had set in. Wealth in the ancient world consisted in land and slaves, and where such is the case the increase of wealth must reach a point where it becomes inconsistent with the interests of state and society. The forces which destroyed slavery were not merely exterior to the system, they grew within it.

I say "merely," because I do not mean to assert that exterior causes are never active in the destruction of a system of social organization. There was perhaps no system in which forces that had grown outside of it, were more actively at work in destroying it than the feudal system. The growing of cities, the growing of trade and commerce, the skill the crafts developed, and the increasing power of the cities, all these

causes certainly contributed to undermine the feudal system. But there were also causes arising within the system which brought about its downfall. The feudal system which had its origin in military objects and was based upon conquest, had necessarily to lead to destructive contests between the chief lord and his vassals, between the vassals themselves, and even between the vassals and barons. If such a system does not wear itself out, it must lead to an autocracy. Built upon service by the inferior to the superior in unbroken succession, and upon the exploitation of the lowest by all those above him, the exploitation must necessarily grow until there is nothing more to exploit. Originally instituted for the purpose of strengthening the weaker against the aggressions of the stronger, it must ultimately fail entirely in its purpose, and ruin a nation.

Contemporaneously, we might say, with the feudal system prevailed the guild system among the crafts in the cities. This system with all its restrictions, fetters, shackles and obstructions became gradually untenable and made place to a system of unrestriction in trade and commerce. Unchecked competition took its place. And now the competitive system creates its own negation, the Trust. In the downfall of the restrictive system we can very plainly see the forces which brought it about from within. No doubt, this system served its purpose to enrich certain classes well. But when the power of production increased in consequence of the effect of the inventive genius of man, and when commerce also increased, and the accumulated wealth was gradually turned into capital, the restrictive system failed to serve its purpose, it became a hindrance to the use of capital and of the increased power of production. Capital must have elbow-room. It is inimical to every restriction in its use. It needs unlimited room for expansion of its uses. The restrictive system was not overthrown by the class *against* whom it was directed,

but by the class *for* whom it was instituted and who had grown wealthy under it. The accumulation of wealth had reached a point where restriction became a barrier to further increase and accumulation. Created for the purpose of increasing and accumulating wealth, it failed at last to serve this very purpose and consequently fell to pieces.

The growth of productive power created the competitive system; this same force, growing further to the immense proportions of our time, also destroys it, because it is becoming a hindrance to its best and most advantageous use.

The growth of productive power is the mark of civilization. It may almost be said that growth of productive power and civilization are synonymous terms. In proportion as the quantity of human labor force required for the production of the necessities and comforts of life becomes smaller, in proportion as man learns to employ for that purpose natural and social forces, civilization advances. This remains true, no matter what the relations of individuals or of groups or classes are to each other. It remains true to society as a whole, independent of the elements of which it consists. The quantity of leisure grows in direct proportion to the quantity of labor saved, irrespective of the distribution of the quantity of leisure among the elements constituting society.

The Trust has unquestionably the effect of reducing the quantity of human labor force required for the production, and, perhaps more so for the distribution, of the necessities of life. It is therefore a step in the advance of civilization. In this respect it has the same effect as the improvement of tools, or division of labor, or the introduction of machinery, or the substitution of the factory for the workshop. Certainly it causes in many instances a great deal of hardship among certain classes of people. It may cause enforced idleness to a great extent, and may by its shifting processes, by the closing of whole factories, ruin cities and

towns. But similar effects are produced by other improvements in industry and transportation. The introduction of machinery, the introduction of railroads etc., made a great deal of human labor force superfluous and caused, for a time at least, a great deal of suffering. Every new invention which makes labor more productive, creates, temporarily at least, misery by throwing out a certain number of workers. But the process of saving human labor force in production marches nevertheless steadily on and all efforts to arrest it are in vain.

It has happened more than once, especially in England, in the earlier years of this century, the workingmen, feeling the effects of the introduction of machinery on their condition, destroyed factories and machinery. Production by machinery nevertheless became the general method of production. If a new institution is establishing itself, the effect of which is the reduction of the sum of human labor force required in production every effort to check it, would be an effort to check civilization in its onward course. The advance of culture depends upon the time which man can spare in the production of the necessities of life; the less energy and time are used for this purpose, the more can be used for the advancement of science, art and literature and the physical improvement of the race. It is always to be remembered that production is not the object of life, but only a requirement for the maintenance of it, and that every moment saved in production is gained for the higher objects of life.

Civilization can never be made to run backward. For the general purposes of mankind it is not desirable at all that the trust shall be obstructed in its development, and we may also conclude that it is not possible. It has never been possible to arrest the development and application of means to save human labor force. All efforts to legislate the Trust out of existence have so far failed. We may suppress the Trust in so far as a certain

legal meaning is attached to the name, but in the popular sense of the word, which includes any form of concentration of capital, production and distribution, it cannot be suppressed. It will continue, if not in the one form then in another.

The Trust signifies the inauguration of a new system, destined to become the basis of the economic structure of society. The competitive system which seems now to be destined to give way to another system has in the course of its development, instead of furthering civilization, become inimical to its progress. It has resulted in a stupendous waste of human labor force. If we come to think about it, the amount of unproductive labor performed under the competitive system is astonishingly great. The competitive system is an exceedingly wasteful system. It must be admitted that the efforts of competing establishments do not result in a general increase of production and consumption. If there are, for instance, ten competing shoe factories, they may ever so much compete with each other, the aggregate number of shoes produced and consumed may for that matter ever remain the same. An increase of production in one factory would mean a corresponding decrease in one or more of the others but no increase of the entire production. Consequently no increase of wealth arises from their competition.

From a politico-economic standpoint there can be no more unproductive labor and no more unuseful occupation than that of the commercial drummer.

And there is a good deal of other labor performed of the same character. All the labor performed in advertising, so far as it is caused by competition, the painting of signs, the printing of circulars and pictures, the making of thousand and odd things for the purpose of advertising particular firms, is unuseful labor because its products add nothing whatever to the sum of comfort and well-being of man. Half the traveling done is

made necessary by competition, the transportation of goods would, without competition, be reduced greatly; an immense amount of labor performed in the financial world is made necessary by competition only; and so on.

It may be urged that the competitive system thereby gives employment to many who would otherwise find none. But this remark is not pertinent at all. If unproductive labor is an evil resulting of competition, it does not follow that under another system the labor force so squandered cannot be used at all. For we must consider that society suffers from under-production. To discuss the reasons for that is beyond the scope of this article; but it is quite clear that the great masses of the people are only very scantily provided with the necessities of life, and that the *natural* power of consumption is far above the *economic* power of consumption of the masses. Now if the first and not the latter is to be the measure of necessary production, if comfort, not to speak of luxury, had to be provided for all, an immense increase of production would be required; so that not only those who now perform unproductive labor but also those who are not employed at all (statistics show that in the United States their number is over a million even in most prosperous times) could be productively employed. Be that, however, as it may, the social problem is not merely that of proper distribution of the wealth produced, but also that of proper distribution of the leisure made possible by the progress of civilization. Civilization is not the result of the thoughts and labors of a few, but of those of all mankind. Generation after generation has contributed to it and therefore all mankind is entitled to its blessings, everyone is entitled to participate in its enjoyment. The problem consists in creating social arrangements which allow all members of human society to share in the great saving of human labor force made possible by modern culture.

What we need are social arrangements

under which the productive power of mankind can be used coëxtensively with the natural power of consumption; in which not a power of consumption, artificially limited by the effects of social organization, prevents the full use of the power of production. *Practically*, the power of production is now unlimited, *economically* it cannot go beyond the purchasing power of the people. Hence the continued clamor for foreign markets, hence colonial enterprises with all their concomitant iniquities.

The further production by machinery progresses, the more extensively the use of natural forces is substituted for human physical labor force, the more the use of machinery frees labor from unpleasant and disagreeable features, the nearer we come to the solution of this problem. It is obvious that the solution is impossible under a system the effect of which runs in an opposite direction.

When the restrictive system was abandoned and the competitive system took its place, so that all avenues of life and all professions were opened to everybody, civilization and culture advanced in great and rapid strides. When, however, the competitive system, in the course of its development, perpetuated classes, the higher avenues of life became, and are now, closed to the lower classes by economic conditions almost as effectually as they were formerly by medieval laws and institutions. The competitive system has ceased to serve the purposes of advancing civilization.

The competitive system was instituted to break up the monopolies which existed under the restrictive system by the strength of the law. But in course of time the competitive system created conditions which became the very negation of its original purpose. It created again monopolies, only with this difference, that they were not upheld by the strength of the law, but by the force of conditions. The more competition grew, the more necessary did it make the use of large capital, and the smaller became

the chances of success to those who did not have it. Thus trade was more and more monopolized by large capitalists. Brought into life for the purpose of *destroying* monopoly, the competitive system developed to a degree where it *created* monopoly.

The restrictive system, as I said above, had become an obstacle to the more extensive use of capital; we might as well say to the more extensive use of the increased power of production. The obstacle was removed and free competition was introduced to make possible a fuller use of capital and productive power. To this purpose the competitive system fully responded until the increase of capital and the power of production assumed such enormous proportions that the competitive system began not only to fail, but like its predecessor, the restrictive system, became a very hindrance. It had reached its climax. Its results now run contrary to the purposes for which it was created. Something else must take its place, and, as the world does not go backward, it must be something new. The Trust has, as I believe, the mission of preparing and creating the machinery for a new economic and social system.

What will that system be? That is now the question. Can we answer it? "Are we sufficiently acquainted with the whole of its antecedents and with all the laws of their movements, so that with unerring certainty, we could predict the whole of their immediate results?" Scarcely. But we are sufficiently acquainted with them to predict with a degree of certainty the *probable* results.

It seems to be a law of the social movements that the mode of production progresses from the less effective to the more effective. There is therefore no probability that we will return to any of the former systems of economic organization, because none of them is as effective as one in which production is as centralized as it is under the Trust. Production on a large scale cannot be given

up. It is the mode of production made necessary by the use of machinery, and the world will surely not return to production by handicraft. At the same time it cannot be questioned that the Trust gradually becomes a menace to the welfare of society. Its powers are constantly growing. It can starve the masses of the people and whole communities into submission and can make legislative, administrative and judicial authorities subservient to its purposes. It threatens to create an autocracy of capital and turn millions of free and independent citizens into as many millions of hired men.

Here we have a conundrum. The principle upon which the Trust works, the principle of centralization and concentration, is beneficial, the Trust itself is dangerous. Can the principle be applied without the Trust? In other words, can the private Trust not be made a public Trust? In fact, if concentration, as resulting in the most effective mode of production cannot be given up, what other recourse is open to escape the clutches of the private Trust, than the public Trust? What else remains but the inauguration of an economic system combining the methods of the Trust and the interests of the public; and which other system can that be but one based upon the principle of collectivism, or socialism?

Progress in culture and civilization demands the most effective mode of production; centralization and concentration result in the most effective mode of production; centralized production in

the hands of organized private individuals is dangerous to society, consequently—what? Is there anything else but concentration in production under the control of the people, that we can think of?

To prepare for the new order is the mission of the Trust. Not its self-given mission, but its involuntary mission. The Trust will organize industry and transportation on a vast scale and in a manner will, at the proper time, permit the introduction of government-ownership by a very simple action of the government: by simply taking possession, by putting its agents in the place of the directors, without in any way disturbing the process of production and distribution.

To be sure, government-ownership is not yet socialism, but it is the initial step to it, as unification and concentration of the industries and the means of production is the initial and necessary step to government-ownership. All will come in time, and one can only be built upon the other; and after government-ownership will come a system of distribution of the products among the actual producers themselves.

The Trust will, in all probability, not only continue to exist, but will grow and expand. We shall clip its claws wherever we can and protect ourselves against its robberies, but we cannot destroy it. We must let it fulfill its mission to prepare the soil for the growth and development of a new and better economic order.

PHILLIP RAPPAPORT.

Washington, D. C.

COLETTA RYAN: AN IDEALISTIC SINGER OF THE COMING DAY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE DAWN is stealing over the eastern heights; the crest of the mountains is aureoled in a glory that prophecies the coming light; a glow of pink, delicate as the throat of a shell, is flushing the sky. Soon the rose and purple of dawn will flame in splendor on the world. Multitudinous signs are present that proclaim the approach of another divine day, wherein man and nature shall be rejuvenated and civilization will move upward as well as onward; a day in which might will be the servant of right, justice the lord of law, and love the master-note of life.

Now as never before has the word gone forth for world-peace. The toiling millions have for the first time in history articulated the august demand that armaments be reduced, while proclaiming that they who labor and suffer, everywhere and at all times, are brothers whose places are side by side and not at each others' throats. Now a world tribunal meets to consider grave problems looking toward the grounding of arms. The moral tide is rising, and it will rise more and more rapidly; for every world congress of educators, scientists, philosophers, students of economics and sociology or of the humanities, brings the heart of nations into still closer accord.

More than this. The genius of education is abroad. It is not enough to enlighten the brain; the heart also must be moved. But it is all-important that the reason be trained in order that man be no longer the child of superstition, prejudice or passion. He must be trained to think clearly, and the popular and free education of free lands is giving this diffusion of knowledge that is a sheet-

anchor of civilization; and after the brain has been illumined it is easy to appeal to the heart, easy to awaken the sleeping soul, for in every man there is the divine spark awaiting the enkindling. "You carry a god about with you, poor wretch, and know nothing about it," cried the old Stoic philosopher, Epictetus. He was right. The divine spark is resident in every soul. We are all the children of the Great Father, and the sunrise is before and not behind.

But the world-movement for peace and brotherhood, the reaching out of the toilers in all lands in an effort to touch hands and become a universal brotherhood, and the general diffusion of the light of education, are but a few of the signs of the dawn that are discernible on every side. Perhaps nothing so surely presages its approach as the growing realization that things are not as they should be; that the dream of democracy has not been fulfilled, and that it can and must be fulfilled; that equality of opportunities and of rights must mean more than empty shibboleths; that justice, freedom and fraternity are the real goal of enlightened government.

Now among the people who are moving in the van of progress and who by word, thought and life are furthering the advance of the new day, the poet-singer, the prophet and reformer are becoming the revealers and the awakeners of the masses. From now on the poet will be an important ally in the battle for social righteousness, as he has been in all times of moral awakening, and it is a fact pregnant with promise that true poet-singers are again being heard voicing the heart-yearnings and hopes of humanity. The idle singers of the empty day have been much in evidence during



Photo. by Garo, Boston, Mass.

MISS COLETTA RYAN

recent years, but their songs, lacking the human quality and barren of great spiritual virility, have made no lasting impression on the heart of civilization. They are for the most part shallow and artificial. But the new singers are taking up nobler themes. The muse of labor, of justice, of love and of democracy will claim the service of the children of song.

Among the young singers whose works promise much for progress and a truer and finer day is Miss Coletta Ryan, the young Boston poet who we trust will prove a worthy successor to John Boyle O'Reilly, the poet-champion of humanity, whose broad vision, human sympathy and passion for justice endeared him to the friends of the oppressed and the lovers of freedom throughout the land.

It was in the spring of 1899 that Miss Ryan first called at our office. We were then editing *The Coming Age*, and she had several poems she had written. They impressed us as possessing the ring of true poetry and the outreaching spirit of sympathy for those who were in the valley or under the wheel. They seemed to promise that in the day that we felt was rapidly approaching, when the spell of materialistic commercialism that vice-like gripped government, mart, church and school should be broken, she would do her part on the firing line of progress. The poems she submitted were published in *The Coming Age*. Since then a volume of her verse has been published entitled *Songs in a Sun Garden*, which is full of fine things; but some of her best work is found in her most recent poems, and it is our purpose to publish a short series of papers dealing with some of our younger singers and their work, we shall open these papers with a sketch of this young poet and her work as found in her recent verse. The following poems have never before appeared in print.

II.

Miss Ryan, whose father was Commander George Parker Ryan of the United States Navy, is a young woman

of intelligence, imagination and heart. She possesses the imaginative gift which marks the true poet and artist, and what is more, her gifts are consecrated to the service of the people.

"Tell us," we said on one occasion, "how you feel in regard to your art. We can easily see that it is far more than a pastime. You are not 'the idle singer of an empty day.' But does the song take hold of you in so resistless a way as to make you forget self as it were in the presence of the larger self—the cosmic spirit that makes the poet stand for the race, for democracy, or for the ideal of life and progress?"

"Yes," she replied, "I am fearless, because I feel I have something to say, a message of helpfulness for others. I do not sing for fame or money. I sing because it is as natural to me as the breath of life, the beating of my heart. Every moment brings forth more beauty. The new sun beams on victory, the moon rises above an awakening world. I feel and see these things. I am filled with the desire to proclaim it to those who are without hope. The mantle of faith keeps me warm. I escape the bitterness of winter and the cruel heat of summer. Justice, liberty, and freedom knock at my door. I look out to behold the stars. I listen as the birds sing—and, Ah! what harmonies! I find to my great happiness 'Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything.' I cannot look back. I live with the golden present and walk with a shining future. I am the voice of loving joy."

In these words we have the voicing of the poet's heart. They are impersonal rather than personal. They reflect the feeling that wells within every truly imaginative heart that beats *en rapport* with human striving and that sees and feels the witchery of the world beautiful that lies round about us all the time. They remind us of Whitman when he spoke as the genius of the larger life of the new time or when he became the

articulate voice of democracy; or of Hugo when he spoke as the voice of the people.

In the following little poem entitled "Forgive the Poet," Miss Ryan gives her idea of the poet, his message and why he is able to sing even in the presence of so much that is tragic and depressing. He sees beyond the clouds that obscure the golden heights of health and happiness—just as the parent knows that the April shower, that the disappointed child thinks will never pass, will soon give place to the gold of the sun and the blue of the cloudless sky.

"Forgive the poet, born among the stars.
Fair lilies touch his soul and gates unclose
That he may enter holy lands. Forgive
The poet who but softly sings and sighs
While thou art bowed with bitter grief. He sees
Far, far beyond, the golden flame of hope.
He reads the sun and walks with calm moonlight;
Prays in the silence, till the cruel wind
Leaves him unshaken in the winter's gale.
He builds a church of his enduring thought
Wherein all brothers meet in common prayer.

His high candles burn
For universal love. Unceasingly
Their flame protects the weak and guides the strong,
Moving the world to freedom. Reverently
He writes of mead and mountain, sea and sky,
Man and man's meaning, till his heartfelt songs
Fall on the weary earth in harmonies
Confiding and immortal. O forgive
The happy poet, living to rejoice!
Beyond the tree-tops, in his God-like mood,
He frees man by his vision. . . . In his soul
Music and romance, sweet tranquility,
Peace, eloquence and tender sympathy,
A passion for high causes (sacred fire
That burns against injustice), life and love
Crown him their monarch. With his searching eyes
He looks above the earth on realms that lend
Their beauties to the dreamer. . . . O he dreams
On wings of thought until he finds his heaven,
And for the hope of man, he burns his torch
Upon the hill of wisdom. He is rich
With God's rare gift of prophecy. He knows
The road before he travels, and he sees
Beyond the present's woes. With glorious faith
He hails the friendly lights of brotherhood
And pleads with justice, smiling hopefully
Upon to-morrow's answer. Be thou kind!

He travels with the future and proclaims
A happy ending to life's drama. High
Upon the mountain, singing through the mist,
I hear him comforting the souls beneath
Who weep in cheerless valleys. O the poet
Is God's own messenger. Prepare for him.
He comes with joyous tidings. He is blest—
The mantle of the Lord falls gently o'er
His genial spirit. In his trusting eyes

Great faith performs its promise. In his hands
He bears the suffering millions. He is balm
To those who dwell in sorrow, and his soul
Glows with a lofty love.

He bravely bears
The torch of freedom in his holy hand.
He beckons, and we follow, and are saved!"

Edwin Markham, in one of the most magnificent social poems that has been written in the past century, thus describes the coming leader:

"Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morning in his eyes;
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.
Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, 'Thou must!'

He will not say the unjust thing is just.
Not all the fiends that curse in the eclipse
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry for justice, it will stir the stones
From Hell's black granite to the seraph thrones!
Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And, carrying in his words the fire of song,
Will send a hope upon these weary men,
A hope to make the heart grow young again,
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
*Be constellated, star by circling star;
Give to all mortals justice and forgive:
License must die that liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the State—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.
Fear not: we cannot fail—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the Oath of God, and, sure and fast,
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the last."*

In the following poem Miss Ryan with prophetic vision also sees the advent of the true leader who shall bear the message imperious; but remembering that the world has ever been wont to reject her leaders and saviors, to stone her prophets and then glorify the slain, she pleads with the people to have eyes for the one who shall speak the word of love and justice, of peace and righteousness:

"Some day, America, there shall be born
A noble man-child, blest of heart and hands—
He will thy slopes and mountain-peaks adorn
With all the romance born of other lands!

"And thou wilt say: 'His mission is absurd—
He is indeed no likely son of mine'—
But thou wilt feel the sweetness of his word
As he entwines thee with his truth divine.

"Commerce shall pause to hear him. In the shop
Worn outstretched hands will seek his healing
dream

The flying wheels by miracle shall stop
The workings of the mere material scheme.

"America, some day, as God is great,
(And smiling hope lies in the sunlight's flame)
A lone star's birth thy soul shall celebrate,
Illuming the free beauty of thy name.

"And, O, when thou shalt see him, face to face,
Take thou his hand, and bid his soul to rise;
For cruel is a country's cold disgrace
That starves a man to crown him when he dies!"

In "Love is an Angel" we have an example of the wealth of imagery that floods the imagination of the poet. Here a succession of vivid pictures appear before the mind, all aiming to throw additional light upon the complex subject, all helping to form the master-picture of that which is the spiritual motor of life—"the greatest thing in the world":

"Love is the angel of the world. His sheltering wings

Protect us from the cruel blast. Love stirs
And hung'ring thousands follow and are fed
As by a hand of magic. Love is blind,
But sees more with his two shut eyes than all
The seeing see this side of Paradise.
Love knows no battlefields, he bears no sword,
He needs no helmet. He is perfect peace
That speaks through happy brotherhood and bends
O'er meadows bleak with winter. He is kind,
Dreaming no evil. Evil harms him not,
Nor does the dark affright him. O, he prays
Himself to heaven, mounting star by star.
He is the holy messenger of light,
Sweet with the breath of roses. Love's a child
Of lasting beauty, knocking at God's gate.
Lo! at the world's end he arose one day
And, pointing to his heart, he walked to heaven
Upon the path of his own loveliness.
Love is unchanging, and his wings are white
As drifts of snow upon the mountain. He
Dreams never of reward, but is content
Rewarding all who seek him. He is wise,
Yet innocent of wisdom. He is fair,
Yet brave as saint or soldier. Strong of heart,
He braves the wind-swept ocean. It is he
That frees the soul of danger—(he has doves
That brush against the lonely mariner,
Leading him gently homeward.) Love is faith
That gives man back to Eden. Love is joy
Springing from song and sunlight. Love is truth
Writing our Fate within us. Love's the word
That soars above the cypress shade, the hope
That sanctifies the spirit—Love is Life—
O Love's the saving angel of the world!"

The redemptive potency of love is a favorite theme with our poet. Here are

some fine lines illustrative of this, entitled "The Good Shepherd":

"Through the sad earth-heart a shepherd strayed,
As lofty as a pray'r:
'I come,' he said as he softly played
His pipe through meadows fair,
'With the silver songs that the Lord hath made'—
He did not sing: 'Beware!'"

"He spoke no word of the valleys deep—
He came not to reprove;
But smiled and bade man not to weep,
That stars were high above;
And, gazing down on his lowly sheep,
He whispered: 'God is love.'"

Among Miss Ryan's favorite authors are Lowell, Emerson and Whitman; Dickens, Bulwer, Robert and Elizabeth Browning. Dickens naturally appeals to one who deeply sympathizes with the miseries of society. She also takes deep interest in the rugged and virile literature of Russia. Its passion, force, direct appeal, absolute sincerity, and the tragedy and pathos that are woven into its web and woof, give it a compelling power over men and women of imagination. In speaking of this she recently said:

"I am deeply interested in the Russian literature because it is new,—that is, the emancipation of literature in Russia dates back scarcely fifty years. The poor souls write with their blood and punctuate with their swords. The pathetic realism is the offshoot of broken hearts and bodies. One of these days beauty without tears will flow from Russia's fountains. All is beauty to me because promise breathes forth from suffering pages, and the imagination is there!"

In one who thus sympathizes with the victims of injustice, the hideous spectacle of children condemned to virtual slavery in factory, mill and mine during the tender formative years, and the Republic listlessly permitting this great crime of the coining of young lives into gold awakens feelings not unlike those aroused in Lord Bulwer Lytton and Elizabeth Barrett Browning more than two generations ago, when through the revelations of Lord Ashley, Parliament and England

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were compelled to take cognizance of the shameful condition of the child-slaves of the mother country. One of the best poems that the present appeal to the conscience of America against the double crime of child-labor has called forth is found in the following verses by Miss Ryan, entitled "The Graveyard of the Children":

"I see from my heart's high window,
Across the meadows gray,
The graveyard of the children
Who never learned to play.
Death called them and they followed
Upon the weary way.

"They were not more than infants,
Sweet, innocent and fair,
When, clothed in tears and tatters,
They sought the city square—
They were not more than infants,
Yet they were working there!

"Their little hands were busy
With things they could not spell.
They gazed on homes of beauty,
They heard the steeple-bell—
Fast went the tender fingers,
Weaving the web of Hell.

"Of all the world-worn people
That worked in cruel haste,
They were the saddest workers
On whom youth's tears were traced—
Old with a broken childhood
The cheerless halls they paced.

"So Death was moved to pity,
Foreseeing their dark doom,
And stirred with words of mercy
Within the stifling room:
'O die,' he said, 'my flowers,
Blighted you cannot bloom!'

"And, one by one, he laid them
So weary and oppressed,—
Ay, one by one, he laid them
Upon his friendly breast.
'O sleep,' he said, 'my children,
For I have brought you rest.'

"They left us uncomplaining,
Each bruised and bleeding heart—
Without a tear they journeyed,
Seeking a better start.
Each soared beyond his prison
To play a happier part.

"And found they light and kindness
Above earth's chains and ropes,
But Ah! my noble Country,
Though fair your plains and slopes,
*The graveyard of these children
Is the graveyard of your hopes!*

"Move, and my heart is with you,
Though chill the wind and wild—
Speak for the prize of injustice,
For love and youth exiled—
For God's sake and your future,
Shelter the little child!"

III.

Miss Ryan has a passion for fine music and is a discriminating judge of great musical art. She is an ardent admirer of the music of Richard Wagner and has written some fine things on his masterpieces. A long descriptive poem on his "Parsifal" from her pen was published in the *Musical Courier*, in which an outline of the legend was succinctly given.

In her published volume of poems, *Songs in a Sun Garden*, are many fine little gems that reveal the poet, singer, teacher and inspirer of the common heart. Here are two poems that originally appeared in *The Coming Age*. The first is entitled "O For a Thousand Hands," and voices the heart-cry of the broad-minded poet who is also a humanitarian in the presence of the miserales of earth who suffer so much and know so little of the joy and the great thrill that comes to the soul so environed that it can grow untrammelled:

"O for a thousand hands!
Tender and white and kind—
That the world might sway
In the light of day
To the land of the Perfect Mind;
That the tears of sorrow and sin and shame
Might leave their burden of blight and blame
And learn to cherish my spirit-name.
O for a thousand hands!

"O for a thousand hands!
Tender and large and strong—
That their deeds might pray
For the coming day
Through the nights that are dark and long;
For in times of travail the nights are such;
And the heart of the woman that loved too much
Might live again at my gentle touch.
O for a thousand hands!

"O for a thousand hands!
For hands that are smooth and rough.
I toil all day
In the common way,
But I am not large enough.
'T is a weary stretch to the crying beach,

And the soul goes farther than hands can reach;
I must write the sermon I cannot preach.
O for a thousand hands!

"O for a thousand hands!
The Master's work to do.
I toil all day
As a woman may,
But my hands are only two!
I stand alone in the village street,
The sad world falling about my feet,
While the suffering God and the stars entreat. . .
O for a thousand hands!"

The other song is called "God is Near," and voices the different moods that come to the deeply religious mind at intervals in life. We all at times find ourselves in the valley where it is hard to understand why certain things should be as they are, hard to feel or realize the Divine Presence; and then there are times when the soul feels strong, when the doubts, dread and wavering hope give place to a consciousness of the presence of something higher and loftier and greater than man, even in his capital moments,—the presence of a divine impulsion that urges us onward and upward,—a realization of the Divine Mind or a connection with the Infinite Source of life and being. Dr. J. G. Holland in his "Songs of Doubt and Faith" represented these moods as one feels them at the poles of experience. But in Miss Ryan's lines there is never the doubt that blots out faith; only the groping for the light in the night of sorrow and injustice, of materialism and oppression.

"God is trying to speak with me and I am trying to hear;

But the angry roar of an angry sea
Has told my soul that it is not free;
And my strange, imperfect ear
Has only caught, on the breast of day,
The strain of a song that is far away,—
So I sit and listen and humbly pray,
For God is near.

"God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

The sea that held me has gone to sleep,
And still is the voice of the cruel deep,—
No longer shall I fear.
I have found the chord that is true and right,—
The chord of Promise, and Love, and Light,
That comes to banish the curse of night.
God is near.

"God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

Away with the gold that is won by death
Of mind and body. (O Nazareth!
O living, breathing tear!)
Away, away with the realist's hand,
Away with the tyrants that slave the land,
For the heart must sing and the stars command.
(God is near.)

And soothe and comfort the voice of pain,
Man's Eden must return again,
And the Christ that suffered must live and reign.
(God is near.)

And hush and silence the battle's din,—
And lift forever the mists of sin
That veil the wealth of the God within.
(God is near.)

And strive, O strive to be brave and true;
The world is dying of me and you
And the deeds undone that we both might do!
(God is near.)

"God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

O pray that we may not grow too weak
To hearken to One when He tries to speak
Through prophet, saint, and seer.
And love his image that fills the eyes
Of men and women that seek the skies;
For the soul must die if it will not rise!
(God is near.)"

As illustrating Miss Ryan's versatility we give below a sweet little semi-humorous sketch of the poet's pet dog, that will appeal to all lovers of our dumb relations who haunt the hearthstones and with appealing eyes strive to interpret our words or convey the vagrant thoughts that flit across their minds. These verses are entitled "My Brindle Bull-Terrier":

"My brindle bull-terrier, loving and wise,
With his little screw-tail and his wonderful eyes,
With his little white breast, and his white little paws,
Which, alas! he mistakes very often for claws;

With his sad little gait as he comes from the fight,
When he feels that he has n't done all that he might!
Oh, so fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog,
My near little, queer little, dear little dog!

He shivers and shivers and shakes with the cold;
He huddles and cuddles though three summers old,
And forsaking the sunshine, endeavors to rove
With his cold little worriments under the stove!

At table his majesty, dying for meat,—
Yet never despising a lump that is sweet,—
Sits close by my side with his head on my knee
And steals every good resolution from me!

How can I withhold from those worshipping eyes
A small bit of something that stealthily flies
Down under the table and into his mouth
As I tell my near neighbor of life in the South.

My near little, queer little, dear little dog
 So fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog!
 The nearest and queerest and dearest of all
 The race that is loving and winning and small;
 The sweetest, most faithful, the truest and best
 Dispenser of merriment, love and unrest!"

Every mind is potentially a universe of feeling, a veritable world, in which all known sensations may at times be experienced; but few imaginations are sufficiently awakened to realize or express them. Indeed, it is the possession in sensible degree of this seeing and feeling power, this ability to apprehend the elusive or finer things of life, to know what others feel and know under all conditions and circumstances, that is the mark of genius. Without this awakened imagination the singer may write musical and finished verse, but he will not give us poetry.

We close this little sketch with a fine poem in which Miss Ryan beautifully portrays the cosmic character of the poet-soul,—the soul that is awakened or that has come into its own, as it were. The poem is entitled "Sympathy."

"Thou lovest me, Ah, loved one, dost thou know
 In loving me, how many loves am I?
 I number more than all the stars that glow
 In shining thousands pressed against the sky.

"Dear love, I am the world, I am each heart
 That sobs and sighs and clamors for a friend;
 I am of every brotherhood a part
 That finds the true beginning in the end.

"I am the path that seeks untrodden ways,
 Believing in the meadows unrevealed;
 I am the solace of unhappy days;
 I am the battle and I am the shield.

I am the triumph of the Past, that lies
 Upon the Present pointing out the way;
 I am the Future, looking in thine eyes
 To beg a million favors of to-day.

"I am the child that motherless must weep
 To hallow and enchain all the land;
 And I am motherhood that cannot sleep
 Without the pressure of a tiny hand.

"I am the maiden waiting for the star
 That resting in its treasure-home above,
 Brings forth the hidden glories from afar,
 To consecrate the weeping form of Love.

"I am the lover of the early dawn,
 By deep and distant yearnings strangely sought,
 Until the shadows lighten and are gone,
 And two at last are wedded by a thought.

"I am the wife that walks with Fate alone,
 More bitter and more tearful than the rain;
 I am the husband claiming for his own
 The greater burden of divided pain.

"I am the father, merciful and proud,
 Whose life is ever sacrificed for one
 That leans upon him in the lonely crowd
 To listen and grow strong. I am the son.

"I am the master, firm and bold and brave;
 I reign, I rule, I govern many miles;
 I am the servant, humble as the wave
 Beneath the land of God that sings and smiles.

"I am the man that counts against his will
 The baubles of a realistic mind;
 I am the artist shadowed by the skill
 That finds new themes in every passing wind.

"I am the scientist that shuns the light
 Unless a proof is resting in the flame;
 And I am Faith that looks beyond the night
 To find the promise of the holy name.

"I am all these, my Love. Ay, many more:
 I am the Universe, that garden plot
 Where all are good and wise from shore to shore,
 And where no soul exists that I am not.

"I am all these, my Love. Were there one less
 I would not be a woman, large and free;
 Nor would I boast the vision I possess,
 Did I not meet the Universe in Thee."

THE DRAMAS OF OSCAR WILDE.

BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D.

NOTHING is easier than acquiescence in Wilde's dictum that the drama is the meeting place of art and life. And yet nowhere more clearly than in Wilde's own plays do we find the purposed divorce of art from life. It

was his fundamental distinction, in the rôle of critic as artist, to trace with admirable clarity the line of demarcation between unimaginative realism and imaginative reality. The methods of Zola and the Naturalistic school always drew

his keenest critical thrusts; and the greatest heresy, in his opinion, was the doctrine that art consists in holding up the kodak to nature. He was even so reactionary as to assert that the only real people are the people who never existed. The view of Stendhal, that fiction is *un miroir qui se promène sur la grande route*, found as little favor in his eyes as the doctrine of Pinero that the dramatists are the brief and abstract chronometers of the time. The function of the artist, in his larger view, is to invent, not to chronicle; and he even went so far as to say that if a novelist is base enough to go to life for his personages, he should at least pretend that they are creations, and not boast of them as copies. To the charge that the people in his stories were "mere catchpenny revelations of the non-existent," he unblushingly retorted: "Life by its realism is always spoiling the subject matter of art. The supreme pleasure in literature is to realize the non-existent!"

The phenomenal popularity of Wilde's plays in an epoch of culture peculiarly marked by the *stigmata* of Naturalism is significant tribute to this rare quality of divertissement. At the time of their initial production in London, Wilde's comedies attained immediate and prolonged success; since that time they have frequently been played to captivated audiences in the United States and on the Continent. From the moment when "Salomé" was produced in Berlin by that greatest of modern actor-managers, Max Reinhard, Wilde's plays have continued to delight the theater-going public of German Europe. And the distinguished critic, Hagemann, only the other day, made so bold as to rank Wilde with Wedekind Hoffmannsthal, and Strindberg.

The current revival of interest in Wilde finds its source in many brochures and biographies recently published. And of those who have given competent critical testimony in regard to Wilde's work may be mentioned Carl Hagemann Max

Meyerfeld, Hedwig Lachmann, Henri de Regnier, Jean Joseph Renaud, and Arthur Symons. The plays have as yet received no adequate treatment in English; and the biography of Wilde recently published in England and America was wrongly conceived and thoroughly ill-advised. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of any critical study of Wilde is the world-wide success of his productions, viewed solely as works of art; and the only question for consideration is whether Wilde is entitled to genuine appreciation as a man of letters. There is no reason to doubt that his essays, entitled *Intentions*, are subtle, brilliant, delightful, despite the fact that many of the theories propounded are whimsical, questionable and unsound. They have been translated into the principal languages of the globe, and in many countries, Italy and Austria in especial, have met with a laudation little short of panegyric. *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* is a brilliant and subtle study, albeit profoundly radical and iconoclastic. And the fairy tales, with their delicate tracery of intent and lavish opulence of fancy, bid fair to become contemporary classics.

No such unanimity of critical opinion, however, obtains in the case of the plays. The literary claims put forward for them by German critics have so far found few if any adherents among English-speaking critics. In fact, when we pass them in review, we find that they are resplendent by reason of qualities which have no intrinsic or vital relation to dramatic art. This is particularly true of the society comedies, in which Wilde appears as the *causeur par excellence* and the clever critic of society. They rather tend to discredit the dramatist which the earlier plays proclaimed Wilde to be. "Vera; or, The Nihilists," written when Wilde was only twenty-two, is the immature product of a romantic youth; and although it won the praise of Lawrence Barrett, should never have been published as a representative work. Modern Nihilistic Russia is the fervent background

against which are silhouetted the thin profiles of Wilde's imagination; but the immaturity of its design, the pointlessness of its persiflage, and the melodrama of its plot label "Vera" a mere *Schauerstück* of the weakest type. "The Duchess of Padua," which Wilde wrote expressly for Mary Anderson who refused it, is the work of a genuine poet; and through its promise, rather than performance, gave indication of what high rank Wilde might have taken as a rival of the D'Annunzio of "Francesca da Rimini"; the Rostand of "Cyrano de Bergerac," and the Phillips of "Paolo and Francesca." A romantic drama of the Elizabethan model, "The Duchess of Padua" is remarkable for its tender lyricism, the romantic variations of its mood, the temperamental and passionate *nuances* of its sentiment. Although the work of a "theater poet," like Goethe or Lessing, it possesses strong dramatic values, and would afford a worthy medium for the talent of a Julia Marlowe or an Ellen Terry.

Few plays of recent years have created more widespread discussion, appreciation and condemnation than "Salomé," which furnished the libretto for the opera by the same name of Richard Strauss. It was originally written in French, was afterwards translated into English by Lord Alfred Douglas, and had the dubious distinction of being illustrated by that exotic artist, Aubrey Beardsley. Just as it was about to be produced in London by Sarah Bernhardt, in 1892, it was banned by the Queen's Reader of Plays; and for a time it was on the *index expurgatorius* of the German censorship. Within the last four years this play has been produced with remarkable success in the chief capitals of Europe; and Strauss' opera has been accorded a reception abroad little less remarkable. Wilde was strongly influenced by Flaubert's tale of *Hérodias*, but gave to the biblical episode a devitalizing tone of degeneracy which was not present in the French model. It is the most significant

example of Maeterlinck's influence upon contemporary drama, in respect to the primitive simplicity of the dialogue, the poetry of the imagery, and the evocation of the atmosphere and imminence of doom. The coöperation of nature in intensifying the feeling of dread convicts Wilde of having carefully studied "La Princesse Maleine"; and we dimly feel the presentiment of those vast figures in the wings which overcloud the scene of "L'Intruse." Much of the dialogue is remarkable for its grace and beauty; and the poetic phrasing holds at times a moonlit radiance. But the theme itself is perverted and meretricious, with its noisome insinuations, its unveiled allusions to impure passion, its miasma of degeneracy. Little wonder that this impression gained solely from reading the play should be intensified by the instrumentalities of sight and sound to such an extent as to warrant the withdrawal of Strauss' opera from the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House.

A new, a strikingly different Wilde, next makes his *début* in the society comedy. Wilde's earlier plays brought him nothing, scarcely even notoriety, for the British public could not be persuaded to believe that any work of poetic beauty or dramatic art could emanate from a licensed jester, angler before all for the public stare. Wilde had incontestably established his reputation as a buffoon; and once a buffoon, always a buffoon. One may truly say of Wilde, as Brandes once said of Ibsen, that at this period of his life he had a lyrical Pegasus killed under him. Like Bernard Shaw, Wilde was forced to the conclusion that the brain had ceased to be a vital organ in English life. The public, as he expressed it, used the classics as a means of checking the progress of Art, as bludgeons for preventing the free expression of Beauty in new forms. It was his aim to extend the subject-matter of art; and this was distasteful to the public since it was the expression of an individualism defiant of public opinion. And to Wilde, public

opinion represented the will of the ignorant majority as opposed to that of the discerning few. Far from holding that the public is the patron of the artist, Wilde vigorously maintained that the artist is always the munificent patron of the public. The very bane of his existence was the popular, yet profoundly erroneous, maxim that "the drama's laws the drama's patrons give." The work of art, he rightly avers, is to dominate the spectator: the spectator is not to dominate the work of art. The drama must come into being, not for the sake of the theater, but through the inner, vital necessity of the artist for self-expression. He scorned the field of popular novelism, not only because it was too ridiculously easy, but also because to meet the requirements of the sentimental public with its half-baked conception of art, the artist would have to "do violence to his temperament, would have to write not for the artistic joy of writing, but for the amusement of half-educated people, and so would have to suppress his individualism, forget his culture, annihilate his style, and surrender everything that is valuable to him." In his search for a lucrative employment for his individual talents, his eye fell upon the comic stage. It dawned upon him that Tom Robertson and H. G. Byron, Sheridan and W. S. Gilbert were living factors in the English drama. While little scope was allowed the creator of the higher forms of dramatic art, in the field of burlesque and farcical comedy the artist was allowed very great freedom in England. It was under the pressure of such convictions that Wilde now sought a hazard of new fortunes.

Although as supreme an individualist as Ibsen, Wilde shows no point of contact with him as a dramatic artist; indeed, they are opposite poles in the drama of the time. Ibsen concerned himself with the tragedy of the age, Wilde with its comedy; intermediate between them stands Wedekind with his tragic-comedy. Wilde's comedies are always lightly spiced with that *grain de*

folie, sign-manual of Meilhac and Halévy, of Gilbert and Sullivan. His comedy stems, not from the Ibsen of "Louis' Comedy" or the Hauptmann of "Der Rote Hahn," but from the Dumas fils of "Frauillon," the Sardou of "Divorçons," and the Sheridan of "A School for Scandal." In verve, *esprit* and brilliance, he is more akin to his fellow-countryman and fellow-townsmen, Bernard Shaw; in both we find a defiant individualism, iconoclastic protest against conventional morality, and a vein of subtle satire which gives piquant flavor to their every composition. In point of dramaturgic faculty, Wilde does not bear a moment's comparison with Ibsen, undoubtedly the supreme technician of his age. In Wilde's own opinion, his first acts are best not because, as with Shaw, they are concerned with the vigorous formulation of the dramatic problem, but because, in neglecting it, they give him free play for the irrelevant exercise of his wit. Unlike Ibsen's plays which begin many years before the opening of the first act, Wilde's comedies seldom begin until the play is half over. Wilde is even more intent upon amusement than upon instruction. To attempt analysis of Wilde's comedies were as profitless as to inquire into the composition of a *soufflée* or the manufacture of a Roman candle. It is enough that he translates us into *le monde au l'on ne s'ennuie pas*. Why carp because his theatric devices are as superficial and mechanical as those of Sardou, his sentimentality as mawkish as that of Sydney Grundy, and his moralizing as ghastly a misfit as the *Mea Culpa* of a Dowson or the confessional of a Verlaine!

"Lady Windermere's Fan," the most celebrated of Wilde's comedies, is concerned with the hackneyed *donnée* of the eternal triangle—the theme of "Odette," "Le Supplice d'Une Femme," and countless other plays of the modern French school. Only by means of the flashing dialogue is Wilde enabled to conceal the essential conventionality and threadbare

melodrama of the plot. The characters seldom impress us with their reality; and yet, by some marvelous trick of art, Wilde has succeeded in imparting to them "the tone of the time." In one or two places, the sparkle of the dialogue is unmatched for brilliancy in contemporary drama; and one scene at least attains a pitch of fine emotional intensity. The same sort of criticism applies to "A Woman of No Importance," in which Wilde breaks a lance in behalf of even justice at the hands of society for men and women who have committed indiscretions. His play is the embodiment of his conviction that it was "a burning shame that there should be one law for men and another law for women." In answer to the complaint of the critics that "Lady Windermere's Fan" was lacking in action, Wilde wrote the first act of "A Woman of No Importance." "In the act in question," said Wilde, "there was absolutely no action at all. It was a perfect act!" In his plays, he always sought to throw the stress, not upon its mere technique, in which he was lamentably inept, but upon its quality of psychological interest. With Wilde, temperament is the primal requisite for the artist; and the proper school to learn art in is not Life but Art. "Nobody's else work gives me any suggestion," he once basely prevaricated. "It is only by entire isolation from everything that one can do any work. Idleness gives one the mood, isolation the conditions. Concentration on one's self recalls the new and wonderful world that one presents in the color and cadence of words in movement." Wilde seeks to supply all deficiencies in the action by dazzling brilliancy in the dialogue. It is typical of Wilde's comedies that, whereas everything is always discussed, nothing is ever done.

It was Wilde's characteristic contention that there would never be any real drama in England until it is recognized that a play is as personal and individual a form of self-expression as a poem or a picture. Here Wilde laid his finger upon

his own fundamental error. By nature and by necessity, the drama is, of all arts, the most impersonal; as Victor Hugo says, dramatic art consists in being somebody else. So supreme an individualist was Wilde that he lacked the dramatic faculty of self-detachment. He could never be anybody but himself. To Bernard Shaw, Wilde appeared as, in a certain sense, the only thorough playwright in England, because he played with everything: with wit, with philosophy, with drama, with actors and audience, with the whole theater. The play, the play of course, is the thing; and to Wilde this meant—the play of ideas. The critics thought "An Ideal Husband" was a play about a bracelet; but Wilde maintained, not without show of reason, that they missed its entire psychology: "the difference in the way in which a man loves a woman from that in which a woman loves a man; the passion that women have for making ideals (which is their weakness), and the weakness of a man who dares not show his imperfections to the thing he loves."

The last of Wilde's plays—a rose-colored comedy or a fantastic farce, as you will—was "The Importance of Being Earnest," sub-entitled "A Trivial Comedy for Serious People." When Wilde's house in Tite street was sacked after his conviction, the scenarios of several plays were found, in addition to a complete play entitled "The Woman Covered With Jewels"; and after his release from prison, he talked ardently of a dramatic scheme about Pharoah, and of a spirited story on Judas; but all have either disappeared or never been born. "The Importance of Being Earnest," a light, impossible farce in the French style, is based on the absurd complications arising from the employment of *aliases*. It is extravaganza such as only Wilde could write, and never rises above the farcical plane because its characters are endowed with every grace save the saving grace of reality. Wilde is reported to have said that "the first act is

ingenious, the second beautiful, the third abominably clever." "The Importance of Being Earnest," indeed, all of Wilde's comedies, indubitably testify, in the language of *Truth*, to the importance of being Oscar!

"To be free," wrote a celebrity, "one must not conform." Wilde secured freedom in the drama through refusing to conform to the laws of dramatic art. He claimed the privileges without shouldering the responsibilities of the dramatist. He imported the methods of the *causerie* into the domain of the drama, and turned the theater into a house of mirth. Whether or no his destination was the palace of truth, certain it is that he always stopped at the half-way house. Art was the dominant note of his literary life; but it was not the art of drama, but the art of conversation. He made many

delightful, many pertinent observations upon English life, and upon life in general; but they had no special relation to the dramatic theme he happened for the moment to have in mind. His plays live in and for the sake of the moment, neither enlarging the mental horizon nor dilating the heart. Wilde was too self-centered an individualist ever to come into any real or vital relation with life. It was his primal distinction as artist to be consumed with a passionate love of Art. It was his primal deficiency as artist to have no genuine sympathy with humanity. And although he imaged life with clearness and distinction, certain it is that he never saw life steadily, nor even saw it whole.

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THE CURSE AND BLIGHT OF PARTISANSHIP.

By C. VEY HOLMAN, LL.M.

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AMONG the sinister forces which from the establishment of our government worked for its destruction, none has been more potent for evil than the spirit of partisanship.

To its tendency and capacity for disintegration of the governmental fabric, altogether too little importance has been attached.

Even disinterested publicists and patriotic disciples of altruistic republicanism, studying zealously the promotion of the common weal as the highest duty of good citizenship, have apparently minimized its significance.

The advocates of civil-service reform have barely ruffled the surface of the pool of this iniquity. Their efforts have been directed wisely and well in theory, and with a considerable measure of prudence

and common sense in practice, to purifying the public service by rendering the classification of competent clerks and ministerial agents such that their tenure of office was not necessarily imperiled by a politic change of administration, nor their efficiency in the government employ constantly impaired by the fear of such change and the corresponding necessity for partisan activity in behalf of that political organization temporarily in administrative control.

But partisanship in the matter of parceling out offices as rewards of political fealty has been as water unto wine, as a means of destructiveness to good government, in comparison with partisanship in its direful, consuming effect upon the sense of honor and of patriotism of the average private citizen, who is neither a

holder nor a seeker of office. And the measure of its baleful damage to the aggregate body politic is necessarily the proper mutiple of its corrupting influence upon the individual voter.

The most signal, as it is the saddest, example of the awful power of the evil genius of party spirit, triumphing over the cause of true patriotism by dictating policies of governmental action that traverse every fundamental principle of those ideas of right and justice on which, as a constitution-limited democracy, this government was founded, stands displayed in that overthrow of the republic which, aimed at bluntly and with treasonable intent by Benedict Arnold in the eighteenth century, was consummated at the very dawn of the twentieth, under the administration of William McKinley, not only without conscious guilt of purpose but rather under the influence of what may be viewed most charitably as erroneously-guided though loyally-intended enthusiasm; and more discriminatingly as but another and, under the circumstances, possibly inevitable step in the deliberate program of centralization of power against which the republic was forced to contend from the days of Hamilton.

And the fact that Democrats must share with Republicans the shame of responsibility for this debasement of our system of government does not at all rob of effect the charge that, but for the tyranny of partisanship, there could never have been effectuated so disastrous a revolution from a practical, though not a pure democracy, to a hybrid, quasi-imperial, colony-holding government, which, preserving the form of a republic at home, became abroad a despotism unique among autocracies in that, to justify its policy of extermination or subjugation so absurdly misdefended as a program of benevolent assimilation, it became necessary to deny the universality of application of those very doctrines upon which were grounded at the outset the claims to its own right to existence as a federation of free and independent states.

Nay, farther. Party spirit may justly be held accountable for the facts that the apologists for our indefensible position under the Treaty of Paris have not only been under the necessity of so far repudiating the noble tenets of the Declaration of Independence—admittedly, for the sake of argument, a controversial document—as to declare its public circulation in our dependencies an act of treason, but have been compelled to negative both the theory and the state of facts upon which the United States proceeded in prosecuting its dispute against the Spanish crown for the relinquishment to the jurisdiction of this government of the several positions in the colony of Georgia held by the troops of Spain at the close of the Revolution.

That the *volte-face* thus completed as well regarding the principles as touching the practice of our own original claims to independent sovereignty may be attributed to the blind, unreasoning domination of partisan rancor, dictation and jealousy is no less true than clear to the attentive student of the senatorial debates which preceded the final ratification of that treaty.

To the Republicans who voted for it, there appeared a clear necessity of supporting the administration in its committal of the nation to a novel and radical departure from the beliefs and customs of the fathers; while the Democrats were impelled to support ratification for the two-fold purpose of counteracting any political benefits that might accrue to their opponents therefrom by robbing it of the distinctive partisan character which it would have gained through enactment as a Republican measure, and of avoiding, in semblance at least, marked deviation from the historic Democratic policy of favoring the territorial expansion of the nation.

And so, by a most malign coalition of political antagonists, leagued only in an unholy alliance to prevent each the other from reaping purely partisan advantage, men of eminence and candor, like Sena-

tors Hoar and Hale, who stood battling manfully for adhesion to right principles and just conduct, were ignominiously overcome. And with them went down the American Republic as it had stood from the day when its self-sacrificing and patriotic founders justified their secession from allegiance to King George by the solemn declaration that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are among the natural, inalienable rights of man, down through the period when the great emancipator was proclaiming the same doctrine in words like these:

"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and a most sacred right."

A doctrine adhered to, fought for and preserved unimpaired until it became necessary to invoke the unknown gods of "manifest destiny" and a "higher law" than the rule of justice or the golden rule, to palliate the enormity of our unpardonable offense against liberty and the law of nations in making war upon confiding allies, to rivet upon their limbs the fetters of political as well as military subjugation.

And so in great, so in small matters, blighting to conscience, searing to the moral sense, is that false spirit of partisan advocacy which distorts and disfigures every man and measure identified with the political opposition and surrounds with an entirely illusory mirage of seeming splendor and worth the individuals and the policies of the devotee's own party.

Yet it is to-day a great, if not a pre-dominating, influence, in political affairs necessarily to be reckoned with in the practical management of campaigns, and unfailingly relied upon by the organizers and managers of party movements. It constitutes the factor which enables "bases" of "machines" of whatever

stripe or faction, confidently to depend upon a certain measure of support, almost definitely calculable, for any proposition or program bearing the label of party endorsement. Selfishness is its dominant note; regularity, its shibboleth. And its mighty force is far more rarely exercised for purposes of righteousness than for those of iniquity.

This it is which gave to a revolutionary but temporarily dominant faction of the Democratic party the power to decree that blind adhesion to a false standard of value as the unit-base of our financial system should be the touchstone of party fealty,—regardless of the fact that the new position of the organization involved a complete abandonment of its teachings and official declarations for almost a century.

This it is which has enabled the Republican party to make a fetish of the tariff, vaunting its selfish schedules as something well nigh sacred,—not, at least, to be touched by the hands of the profane and vulgar who advocate free trade in antagonism to that false-fronted doctrine of protection which nourishes monopolistic trusts and criminal corporate phantasms at the cost of grinding oppression of the producing toiler and price-robbery of the unprotected consumer.

And this it is which to-day protects that organization from open ridicule in its exaggerated pose as the sole advocate and supporter of the single gold standard, despite the somersault it has achieved from the position taken in its platform a few years ago when it was denouncing a Democratic President for his hostility to silver and his promulgation of that very doctrine to which it now gives unswerving adherence and for which it boastfully but illogically and untruthfully claims the credit of parentage.

Let me not be thought to exaggerate the evils of this sinister force in our politics. I have known numbers of Democrats who would regard the casting of a Republican ballot as ranking next only in baseness to an act of infidelity to their religious faith.

While numbers of Republicans have privately expressed to me their conviction that the bitter alliteration of Rev. Dr. Burchard, delivered with such blighting result upon the political fortunes of Mr. Blaine, to the effect that the Democracy was the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion, though tactically condemnable as an egregious blunder in political judgment, really expressed and defined with precision and justice their own private conception of the party. Within the year I was surprised to receive from an old veteran of long-standing acquaintance, to whom I addressed at the polls in a Maine city a friendly inquiry whether he were voting the Democratic ticket, an obsequious reply to the effect that he should consider that he wasted four years of his life in fighting at the front if he were ever to cast a Democratic ballot or support a Democratic measure or candidate.

And the pity of it is that Americans were warned most authoritatively and it would almost seem prophetically against the evils of this bitter force from the very dawn of our national existence.

How nobly, in that wonderful, I had nearly written inspired, deliverance in which, couched in language of august dignity, of temperate earnestness, of mature wisdom, the illustrious Washington paid his farewell address to the people he had so faithfully served, are the evils of party spirit portrayed and its vicious influence warningly advertised. How clarion-like ring the words:

“The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of the individual to obey the established government.

“All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this funda-

mental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

“However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion. . . .

“I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state. . . . Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

“This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form is it seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

“We alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, is of itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or

later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain that there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose."

And with what characteristic candor and cogency did Thomas Jefferson set out his rebuke of partisanship, in the brief limits of a single letter written from Paris to Hopkinson in which, in less than a score of sentences, he not only exposes its dangerous tendencies, but treats with clairvoyant prescience nearly every problem that has since developed into a stumbling block in the pathway of our constitutional progress.

Under date of March 13, 1789, he writes: "I am not a federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever, in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in anything else where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all. Therefore, I protest to you, I am not of the party of federalists. But I am much farther from that

of the anti-federalists. I approved, from the first moment, of the great mass of what is in the new constitution; the organization into executive, legislative, and judiciary; the sub-division of the legislative; the happy compromise of interests between the great and little States, by the different manner of voting in the different Houses; the voting by persons instead of States; the qualified negative on laws given to the executive, which, however, I should have liked better if associated with the judiciary also as in New York; and the power of taxation. . . . What I disapproved from the first moment, also, was the want of a bill of rights, to guard liberty against the legislative as well as executive branches of the government; that is to say, to secure freedom in religion, freedom of the press, freedom from monopolies, freedom from unlawful imprisonment, freedom from a permanent military, and a trial by jury, in all cases determinable by the law of the land. I disapproved also the perpetual reëligibility of the President. To these points of disapprobation I adhere. . . . With respect to the declaration of rights, I suppose the majority of the United States are of my opinion; for I apprehend all the anti-federalists, and a very respectable proportion of the federalists think that such a declaration should now be annexed. The enlightened part of Europe have given us the greatest credit for inventing this instrument of security for the rights of the people, and have been not a little surprised to see us so soon give it up. With respect to the reëligibility of the President, I find myself differing from the majority of my countrymen.

" . . . These, my dear friend, are my sentiments, by which you will see I was right in saying I am neither federalist nor anti-federalist; that I am of neither party nor yet a trimmer between parties."

Trumpet-toned as truth, solemn as surf-bells' warnings, pregnant with patriotic solicitude, on what dull ears have fallen these significant and serious ad-

monitions of the statesman of Mount Vernon—of whom it was happily said that God left him childless that he might be a father to his country—and of the sage of Monticello—the framer of that first great charter of our liberty—the Declaration of Independence.

And how sadly accurate have proven their prognostications of the envenomed possibilities of wrong embryonic in the nature of partisanship and of party spirit.

And for this great evil what remedy shall be suggested?

Is there needed more than a recurrence to the fundamentals of unselfish patriotism and disinterested regard for the common weal, at the sacrifice, if need be, of personal ambition, and by the subordination of self-seeking, so eloquently preached and consistently practised by these and other fathers of the republic?

As a prime, essential step to the dissipation of this misleading spirit of party devotion, possibly no better course can be indicated than that pointed out with characteristic bluntness by Dr. Johnson. "Clear your minds of cant," said he. And the mind that is not clear of the hypocritical cant that blind, unswerving

allegiance to partisan dictation is to be confused with or ranked as any form of patriotism whatever, is in no condition to be receptive to the true teachings of the gospel of altruism in government or to be usefully active in its propaganda. To a mind in such condition of moral fog may well be applied the full definitive force of that other seldge-hammer deliverance of the learned doctor when he remarked, *apropos* of a certain controversy, that he could furnish facts but could not supply understanding.

But to the citizen, clear in his conception of public duty, conscientious in his attitude toward his fellows and toward the State, anxious only that the right shall prevail, and that our democratic institutions shall be restored in full vigor to their primal virtue, no spur will be needed save the urgent solicitation of his own civic rectitude to induce him who rejoices in his sovereignty as a freeman to refuse to be bound in the degradation of mere partisan enthrallment. Sons of liberty should be the masters rather than the serfs of political instrumentalities and agencies.

C. VEY HOLMAN.

"Holman Oaks," Rockland, Me.

HOUSTON AND ITS CITY COMMISSION.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

IN HOUSTON the conditions which led to the forming of the commission style of government were not dramatic and calamitous as they were in Galveston. Here it was the story of all of our American cities,—the incompetency of political grafters, corruptionists, petty ward schemers. The people were disgusted with the political *régime*. Quarreling, fussing, stealing, incompetency, corruption, fostering of vice, favoritism,

sinecurism, had made the better class ready for almost any change that gave hope, in ever so small a degree, of better things. Taxes were collected and spent and there were no tangible results. If anything needed to be done, the citizens were told that it could be accomplished only by the issuance of bonds, and bonds were voted, and the money collected and spent, and then, often, the work promised was not half done. There was the

ordinary government of mayor and city council. The city was divided into six wards, from each of which two aldermen were elected. The population numbered some 60,000, and though business seemed good and taxation was high and well collected, the city seemed to be poverty-stricken as far as any civic improvement was concerned. Every administration was in a state of chronic fight with the water company and had been for twenty years, and the general belief in the city was that no measure pertaining to that company could ever pass the council without the expenditure of boodle money. Union labor also seemed to have a deadly grip upon everything. No one save a union man could get a job and contractors had to "stand in" with the labor men if they wished to obtain business. The city hall was swarming with inspectors. Everything and everybody had to be inspected "in the interests of labor." There was a carpenter inspector, a plumbing inspector, a painter's rope inspector, a boiler inspector, a tin can, weights and measures inspector, a milk inspector, and a gardener's market inspector. Everyone was "out for graft" and the police were worse than the inspectors. It was clearly proven that one of the sergeants of police was a "capper" for a gang of gamblers. A young and wealthy student of the State University came to Houston, was piloted by this official scoundrel to one of the gambling dens, where he was speedily fleeced of a large sum. When he came to his sober senses he decided to "make a kick," and he kicked so vigorously and had so large an influence that even the corrupt chief was compelled to pay attention to it and dismiss his grafting and criminal subordinate. One of the chiefs of police was also well known to have made it a practice to collect revenue of \$16 each monthly from the keepers of houses of prostitution in order to guarantee them against interference. No man could get on the police force or into the fire department without political pull.

In the city courts things were equally bad. By far the larger portion of all fees and fines collected went to the judge, clerk and bailiffs or constables. As one citizen expressed it: "If some fellow was fined \$8.45 for some wrong he had done, the judge who fined him got \$4 of it, the clerk \$2, the constables \$2, and the city the forty-five cents."

The city's poverty was so great that it could not even feed the horses of its fire department. The men of fire and police departments and the school teachers and other city employes were often kept for months without their salaries, and city warrants were hawked up and down the streets and sold at 75 to 80 cents on the dollar. At one time the city was so behind in payment of interest on its obligations that the bondholders threatened to appeal to the federal courts for redress.

In the council there were the ordinary ward politicians, each looking out for his own ward and totally and utterly regardless of the larger needs of the whole city. Each man made it his business to see that "his ward" got its full share of money, whether needed or not. Local patriotism was the catch-word for looting the city treasury, and graft, graft, graft reigned supreme.

This was the state of affairs (and by no means exaggerated in the telling) up to a little over two years ago, when the observant among the citizens began to sit up and take notice of the way Galveston was doing things. The commission there was born of Galveston's great calamity, but it was accomplishing so much good in so many ways that the Houstonites felt they might pattern after their neighbors who were making great civic good come out of a great disaster. A committee of investigation was appointed to thoroughly study the workings of the Galveston commission, grasp its spirit and methods, and then report. The report was made in due time and resolved itself into a hearty endorsement of the Galveston plan and an urgent recommendation that Houston amend its charter and seek to

follow suit. The charter was revised and submitted to the last legislature (the Twenty-ninth, which met in 1905), and, though it met with the bitter and determined opposition of the old political ring, it was duly granted.

The important point in the new charter is found in Article V., which is as follows:

"SECTION 1. *Elective Officers.*—The administration of the business affairs of the City of Houston shall be conducted by a Mayor and four Aldermen, who, together, shall be known and designated as the City Council, each and all of whom shall be elected by the qualified voters of the city at large, and who shall hold their respective offices for two years from and after the next city election, or until their successors are elected and qualified, unless sooner removed, as is provided by this act; provided, however, that all of the present officers of the City of Houston, who were elected at a city election held in said city, on the fourth day of April, A. D. 1904, pursuant to the provisions of an act passed by the Twenty-eighth Legislature of the State of Texas, entitled: 'An Act to provide a charter for the City of Houston, Harris County, Texas, repealing all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith, and declaring an emergency'; except the Mayor, Aldermen and City Attorney, shall hold their respective offices, unless sooner removed by the Mayor for cause, and receive the compensation now fixed therefor, until the expiration of two years from and after the date of their election on the fourth day of April, 1904, and qualification thereunder.

"Compensation of all officers, except the Mayor and Aldermen, shall be fixed by the City Council, which may increase or diminish the same at will, or abolish entirely any office at any time, except as to the officers above mentioned, and until their two years' terms of offices expires.

"In case a primary election is held pursuant to the call or under the direction

of any political party, or of any association of individuals for the nomination of candidates for the offices of Mayor and Aldermen, the candidates or persons voted for in said primary election shall be voted for at large by all of the legally qualified voters in said city, it being the purpose of this act to nominate and elect at large in said city the Mayor and Aldermen, without restricting the nomination of candidates for either position to any smaller designated territory within the limits of said city, and any primary election held for the purpose of nominating candidates who shall stand for election at a city election in said city at which said primary the candidates for Mayor and Aldermen are not voted for, as herein provided, shall be absolutely illegal, and no person so nominated at said primary election shall be eligible to election at a general election, nor shall he hold an office if elected thereto after nomination in a primary wherein the voters at large in said city did not participate in said primary election.

"SEC. 2. *Appointive Officers.*—The Mayor shall have power to appoint, subject to confirmation by the City Council, such heads of departments in the administrative service of the city as may be created by ordinance, and shall have power to appoint and remove all officers or employes in the service of the city for cause, whenever in his judgment the public interests demand or will be better subserved thereby; and no officer whose office is created by ordinance shall hold the same for any fixed term, but shall always be subject to removal by the Mayor, or may be removed by the City Council. In case of such removal, if the officer or employé so removed requests it, the Mayor or City Council, as the case may be, shall file in the public archives of the city a written statement of the reason for which the removal was made."

The city election now took place under the provisions of the new charter, and

again a battle royal was fought in which all the old political gang with its disorderly and grafting horde of followers, engaged with the desperation born of the consciousness that it was a life and death struggle for them. The people, however, had their eyes well opened. They were tired of the old methods. They saw a chance, at least, for a bettering of conditions. They determined to risk it, and by a large majority voted for the ticket presented by those who had all along favored the commission. For, of course, the grafters had their ticket in the field, determined if they could not suck the milk of the golden calf from the twelve teats, to try to secure the four which the new commission was restricted to.

Thus, at "one fell swoop" the old ward lines were swept away and four business men were elected, at whose hands the citizens required the organization and conducting of the city's business in an ordinarily efficient and business-like manner. The mayor and four commissioners were men who had proved themselves reasonably successful in the conduct of their own affairs. The mayor, H. B. Rice, was a well known and successful capitalist, born and raised in Houston. J. Z. Gaston was a machinist by trade, but failing health led him to take up the dry goods business, in which he was doing well when called upon to enter the commission. He was somewhat of a politician and was for four years a member of the old administration. But it was a known fact to all the citizens that he stood practically alone. He was always fighting a losing fight against the political tricksters and grafters. J. A. Thompson, the second member, is a well known capitalist. James Appleby, the third member, was a railway man who later engaged in the real estate business; and J. B. Marmion, the fourth member, conducts a large blacksmith business.

Here, then, were the five men to whom the city's interests were entrusted. The charter gave the citizens the power of removing the mayor and provided that

"the council may remove at any time any alderman by majority vote, for inattention to the affairs of the city, misconduct, or any grounds sufficient in judgment of the council for removal."

The first work that devolved upon the commission was the organizing of the city's business affairs. This was done by placing Gaston at the head of the finance and revenue departments; Thompson at the head of the water, light and health departments; Appleby at the head of the police and fire departments; and Marmion at the head of the streets, bridges and public grounds; the mayor having general supervision of the whole.

Now began the work of elimination of politicians from the rank and file of the city employes. Numbers of men were found holding office purely because they had political "pull" or influence. Many of them did not do enough work in a month to entitle them to a day's pay. Mercilessly, and so promptly that the headsman's basket could not hold them, the heads of these parasites were cut off. There was wailing and gnashing of teeth, and it was astonishing the number of men who were quickly seeking work elsewhere. Of course such action engendered a great deal of enmity, but the good citizens rejoiced and the taxpayers grimly smiled when the beheaded ones picked their heads out of the basket and began to curse and swear, and—find laboring jobs fitted to their capacity.

Everything was speedily reduced to business principles, for, though ostensibly the council or commission works as a whole, in fact each commissioner is put in absolute charge of the work of his departments and is held personally responsible for it, except in cases involving large expenditures or where the larger advice of the whole board is deemed desirable. The mayor annually makes his budget and the amounts appropriated for each department are handed over to each commissioner, and he is held responsible for the expenditure of them.

Each commissioner, therefore, hoes his own row, and if any of his employes fail to measure up to his standard they can be instantly removed. The charter confers this power. Every commissioner therefore stands before the public as responsible for the incompetents of his own department, and it has worked like a charm. There are no incompetents. Consequently working expenses have been reduced to the lowest possible minimum consistent with efficiency.

From the report recently issued (March, 1907) I learn that when the commission began operations it found a floating debt of some \$400,000 that had been hanging over the city for years—in less than one year this debt was all paid—paid out of the ordinary income of the city. Taxes were \$2.00. They are now reduced to \$1.80. In talking with the citizens I gleaned scores of most interesting facts, all of which would make instructive reading. Here is what a plumber told me, a man of high integrity and sturdy character.

"We used to do a lot of work for the city under the old *régime*. The city engineer was a good friend of ours and turned lots of work our way, sometimes as much as \$3,000 or more a month. But when the work was done we had to wait fifteen or eighteen months for our pay, and not being large capitalists the only way we could do was to turn over our bills to banks and pay them interest, on our own money, until the city could pay. Now of course we did n't propose to do this kind of business on a cash basis, and we did as everybody else did, *viz.*, charged the city fifteen to twenty-five per cent. more than a cash price. But now that the grafters are out of the way, when we do work for the city we have to put in our bid against that of others, and if we do the work, the controller sends us word on the tenth or thereabouts of the following month that our bills are audited and he is ready to pay the cash." Then he continued: "But now the city has its own men and they do the major part of

the work we used to do themselves, and all at a less cost to the city than we had to pay for the old gang of incompetents. And then another thing let me tell you," said he: "For years we've been struggling to get the three bridges that cross the bayou in the heart of the city fixed up. They were rattlety-bang old affairs, liable to fall in at any time, and the street-railways were always patching them up because of the city's inability or refusal to do the work. Whenever the cry became too loud, the politicians hushed us with the threat that nothing could be done without another bond issue. And there we were. But when this crowd came in they rebuilt the three bridges *with their own labor*, and have fixed up and put in good order the twelve other bridges that belong to the city."

In addition to the payment of the \$400,000 of floating indebtedness, the city has built *from its current income* three new and handsome school-houses at a cost of \$106,000.

It has paved a number of streets with vitrified brick, laid much sewer and generally improved the sewer system. It has bought a fifteen-acre park and paid \$55,000 cash for it. It was then decided to put a stop to the squabbling boodling and inefficiency of twenty years connected with the water system, and the city voted to buy the water-works. The cost was \$901,000. Of this amount \$467,000 was a mortgage which the city assumed, the balance being paid by a bond issue. The bonds were immediately sold, and the proceeds used to purchase the stock of the water company. The result is that the city itself now owns the water-works, and all profits will henceforth go to the betterment of the system. There are no expensive officers to pay, no political grafters to purchase, no privileges to buy. Naturally the city can operate cheaper than any private corporation, because it is not hampered by political intriguers who place obstacles in the way of needed work and who require to be bought off, or compel the company to pay higher

prices for various and sundry things that are needed. The system is gradually being put into a state of efficiency by the laborers of the city, who are no longer holders of sinecures but men who work ten hours a day, just as they would do for any other business corporation. The water-works is required to pay all interest on the \$901,000 purchase and drive enough business to accumulate sufficient funds to improve the system each year. The present indications are that at least \$80,000 to \$90,000 a year will be available *as profits* to turn into the betterment fund.

By dividing up the work of the city, each commissioner has his hands full and finds that all his energies must be devoted to the city's business. The mayor receives a yearly salary of \$4,000 and each of the commissioners \$2,400.

Each man is generally down at his desk at nine o'clock and attends strictly to business. As a rule there is a short council meeting each day, and unless business of special importance is on, it lasts but a few minutes. Petitions from citizens are received at any time and are acted on promptly. Thus a true government of the people, for the people and by the people is set in operation. The boss is eliminated, the politician is eliminated, the grafter is eliminated. Thus from the South comes the herald of the dawn of a new political day. Will the people of the rest of the country awake and learn the lesson, or will it continue to allow the bosses, politicians and grafters to hold undisputed sway?

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, California.

PRENATAL EDUCATION.

BY ARTHUR SMITH.

"One giddy grandmother in the genealogical tree will often explain the man who is an enigma and the woman with a past."

ALTHOUGH at no period of the world's history has education been so widespread and so easily obtainable as now, yet we believe that thinking men who take a broad general view of the case as measured by results, will admit that many of our prevailing methods and ideals are survivals from a time when the range of available knowledge was narrower, and when the duties and responsibilities of life were less complex. In face of the new intellectual and social conditions of our time, and of the experience we have gained, the age has now to inquire what kind of education is best worth having, and what sort of formative and moral discipline is best calculated to equip a man for the duties of citizenship,

the work of active life, and the enjoyment of a moral and intellectual home.

The great aim of education should of course be the growth of the individual, morally, intellectually, and physically. One great fault of the present system is that book-knowledge is made the sole aim, and moral character and disposition left entirely out of sight.

By morality we do not of course mean religion. So-called teachers of the latter appear to principally concern themselves with dogma, not with religion at all. Looking at the Christian religion, its principles laid down and practiced by its great Master are few and simple. When these are practiced by professing Christians among themselves, it will be time enough for them to wish to teach religion in the public-schools. To fully discuss morality it would be necessary to

go into the whole question of the philosophy of ethics; it will suffice to state one or two points connected therewith for the purpose of making the position clear.

The origin of our philosophical conception of morality is mainly due to the Greek philosophers, but they apparently did not appreciate the question of moral obligation of duty to the extent which moralists do to-day. Briefly, morality and immorality are practically other words for right and wrong in conduct, virtuous and vicious in character. These opposites bring to the front the idea of duty, in which the human will is understood as being under an obligation to obey a certain law. Perhaps the words of the Golden Rule put this law in the most concise language.

James MacKaye, in *The Economy of Happiness*, states that "a right act is an act of maximum utility, that act among those at any moment possible whose presumption of happiness is a maximum," and that "a wrong act is any alternative of a right act." The test therefore which is to be applied to an act is, does it produce happiness? If so it is a moral act.

In the present complex condition of civilized society it is obviously to the interest of every civilized state that its inhabitants or social units should have their character based upon ideas of right, and that virtue should predominate to the exclusion, as far as possible, of vice. This, however, is not likely to happen when children grow up without a knowledge of the merest elementary principles of morality.

It may be argued that the latter is for the parents to look after. True, but the undoubted failure on the part of the majority of parents at the present day to take their part in the moral development of their children is to a great extent due to the idea that a child can learn everything at school; and they still further shirk their responsibility by sending them "out of the way" to school as soon as they can walk. Of course the

kindergarten system affords some excuse for this, and so far, in the case of many parents, it is probably a distinct advantage to the child, for it has a fewer number of hours in which to learn the vicious habits of its home surroundings. But in any case, a child which is not in the right sense educated by its parents, however much school teaching it may have, cannot be said to be educated at all, that is so far as its moral character is concerned. It must be borne in mind that education for character is a very different thing to education for knowledge. The acquirement of knowledge is by means of impressions on the nerve centers of the brain. It is possible for the most learned man to have a very depraved and vicious character; while on the other hand a man with little or no learning may have a highly moral one. If it is possible to impress the character, the *ego* of the individual, with moral precepts, it can be done only in the earliest years of its life when its disposition is plastic.

There are those who believe that all children are born good. This statement cannot be admitted in the sense that none of them have any inherent evil tendencies; although there are some grounds for the belief that their future environment has in some cases the effect of bettering them, or otherwise, according to what it consists of. From this point-of-view, moral education consists in the creation of an environment which issues in the formation of habit, and in this way everything seen and heard influences the character and contributes to the contracting of habits, either good or bad. In this connection first impressions are very important and have a lasting influence. Habits formed in our earliest years are always the most difficult to alter, and in fact may be said to be almost impossible of effacement. Therefore how important it is from this point-of-view, that parents should realize their responsibility in this direction and to take care of the impressions received by the infantile minds of their children. Helvetius had such a

vast idea of the power of early impressions as to believe that all the difference in individuals arose from nothing but the difference in the training they had received.

However much credit we may give to the effect of environment and training on the character, we believe it to be comparatively powerless when it has the task of modifying to any great extent the racial or family temperament; it is therefore no doubt a truism that both the genius and the criminal are born, not made. This being so, we then reach the idea that training after birth is comparatively powerless against the forces of heredity. If we accept the far-reaching influence of the law of heredity, it is obvious that parents must commence the training of their children *before they are born*.

The plasticity of a child's nature in its earliest years has already been pointed out, and if this fact is admitted, then it logically follows that it must be still more plastic before birth, while it is being formed, for it appears almost certain that at the onset of a child's separate career there exists a formless and obscure tendency of life, no doubt already endowed with a vague consciousness, identical with what has been called "organic memory." At the moment of birth there is no doubt that a child's whole moral disposition is contained within it, and which, sooner or later, relentlessly develops itself with more or less intensity.

As a proof of the want of power of training to alter inherited disposition the following instance may be cited.

Some years ago in a massacre on the island of Luzon, one of the Philippines, made by native soldiers under the order of a Spanish officer, a little black about three years old was seized by the troops and brought to Manilla. An American obtained permission from the government to adopt him, and he was baptized by the name of Pedrito. As soon as he was old enough means were taken to give him all the education that could be ob-

tained there. The old residents on the island laughed in their sleeves at the attempt to civilize the lad, and predicted that sooner or later he would return to his native mountains. Thereupon the man who had adopted him announced that he would take Pedrito to Europe, and he was taken to Paris and London, only returning after two years of travel. He wore thin patent-leather boots and in other ways his dress and manners had all the outward polish of a young gentleman. Two years had scarcely elapsed after his return from Europe when he disappeared from the home of his patron. Those who had laughed, now had their hour of triumph. It would probably never have been known what had become of the philanthropic American's adopted child if a European had not come across him in a remarkable way.

A naturalist was making the ascent of Mt. Marivetes, a mountain not far from Manila. He had almost reached the summit when he suddenly came upon a number of blacks. One of the savages came forward and smilingly asked him in English if he knew an American in Manila of the name of Graham. It was Pedrito, who told his whole story, and when he had ended, the naturalist in vain endeavored to persuade him to return to Manila. This is a very striking proof that the power of heredity is stronger than education.

We do not wish to undervalue the effect of environment. Doubtless if Pedrito had any children some consequence of their father's few years of civilized environment may be shown in them, and if these in their turn, both male and female, were to continue to live under the influence of a civilized environment, certain tendencies acquired by this would gradually accumulate and become fixed so that heredity would have the power of transmitting them. But it would take many generations before any great effects would be seen, because the innate tendencies of their savage ancestors would be passed on from generation.

Innate tendencies are preëxistent to the time when ordinary education is brought to bear upon the individual. Education after birth may sometimes transform or render them inert, but never actually effaces or creates them. This can be accomplished only by prenatal education.

It is a fact worth noting in this connection, that what influence education has after birth, so far as knowledge as apart from morality is concerned, is greatest upon what may be termed medium intellects. If we draw up the varying degrees of intellectual capacity so as to form a line or series from idiocy at one end to the highest example of genius at the other, we shall find that the influence of education is at a minimum at each end of the series. It has no influence at all upon the idiot, the greatest efforts, all the patience and skill in the world, if they produce any result at all they are only insignificant and ephemeral. But as we ascend we shall find that the influence attains its maximum at the middle of the series, in those natures which having no special tendencies one way or the other, are more plastic and trainable. Then coming to the higher forms of intellect we see the influence of education again decreasing and reaching its minimum as we approach the loftiest genius. The biographies of the most celebrated men point to the fact that in their case the influence of education has been sometimes *nil*, sometimes harmful, and in most instances weak.

Of course those general faculties existing in all individuals of the same race and in different individuals in varying degrees, may become more pronounced by training. Thus in the case of the race-horse, which has an innate tendency for speed, this speed may be increased in individuals by proper training, and then if only the fastest are allowed to breed the average speed of the whole race becomes increased. As regards man, however, we have not yet arrived at the stage preventing the marrying of those un-

fitted both morally and physically for having children, nor of compelling the best and fittest of our race to marry.

In order to the more fully appreciate the possibilities of prenatal, and the limitations of postnatal, education, we must consider the question of heredity. It is of course a very wide subject, the full scope of which, in spite of the studies of specialists such as Weismann, has not yet been reached. This much, however, seems to have been scientifically proved, that a certain physiological substance called germ-plasm, is continuous from generation to generation, and that the direct transmission of characters and variations, whether moral or physical, acquired after birth, does not occur. Therefore variations do not become hereditary or permanent until they have influenced this germ-plasm, which is assumed to reside in the reproductive regions of the organism, and therefore any variation which does not affect the germ-plasm dies with the organism. Acquired characters which first appear during the life of the individual by means of the influence of the environment are lost, because they have not yet affected the reproductive substance. The tendency towards fixity of variations (or possibility of fixity) is the more likely to take place if the tendency is implanted before the characters of the organism become themselves fixed. Therefore we must distinguish between prenatal and postnatal variations, that is, between those variations which are born with the organism and those which appear as the result of environment after the organism is born and begins to grow.

The theory of the continuity of the germ-plasm assumes that this organized and living hereditary substance can never be formed anew, it can only grow and multiply; it exists in all multicellular creatures and is transmitted from generation to generation. The question arises whether the environment, the postnatal education, has not some effect if continued through several generations, in modify-

ing this germ-plasm? Weismann would probably answer that these have no effect at all. We are, however, inclined to believe that any fixed environment if uninterrupted for a period lasting over several lives in a direct line, does act upon organized beings so as to create powers which tend to exercise themselves when opportunity occurs. The word "power" must be understood to mean an inward starting point in the individual which is not a pure and simple reaction from an influence initiated from without. To feel within ourselves the power of action in this or that direction is to feel ourselves organically predisposed to do certain things, or preadapted to a certain environment, instead of having to adapt ourselves to it. We speak of power then as meaning an established constitutional tendency, an aptitude, ready to be awakened and translated into action. The fundamental point before us is, how much of this power is inherent and due to heredity, and how much acquired by environment and education during life?

We all know the force of habit. It is the result of a series of accumulated actions which facilitate every future action in the same direction. Thus habit may be said to be capitalized action. In this respect environment by forming habits has a certain amount of influence, and a bad environment has a tendency to form, as a matter of course, bad habits.

But the *crux* of the question is, that before postnatal education has a chance of exercising any influence as regards the individual, the formless and obscure tendency of life is already in existence, and working for good or evil. This innate tendency is at the earliest moment after birth endowed with a vague consciousness identical as we have said, with what has been called organic memory. The first manifestation of this more or less unconscious memory in the living organism is seen in reflex action, or action which is not put into force by an effort of

the will, and also in impulsive or unpremeditated action.

The good or bad habits of our earliest days have, it will be admitted, a great effect upon our moral sense in after years. To put the moral sense on the highest possible plane should then be the most persistent aim of educationalists. Although, as we have endeavored to show, morality is not altogether the artificial product of postnatal education, yet a child's bringing up has a great influence in the formation of its moral habits.

But the reverse is also seen. A child bereft of its parents, who had been possessed of a high moral standard, is brought up by others without any regard for its moral welfare, and with continued bad examples before it, does become a moral individual by reason of the power within it, being the result of the moral tendencies placed there by its parents before its birth, which power nullifies the immoral effect of its environment. Thus education and environment may sometimes be acting against, and sometimes with, hereditary influence. It is obvious that the greatest effects are produced when both these influences are in harmony.

A child's existence begins at the moment of conception, and at that instant certain hereditary traits of its parents' characters are imbued in it practically for life. But it is at this period that a child should enter upon its education, for in spite of the fact that certain tendencies were implanted in the embryo at the moment it came into existence by the fertilization of the ovum, the nine months of a child's prenatal life are the most momentous of its career, especially as far as its character is concerned, and this period can be used by its mother not only in doing away with, or reducing to a minimum, any probable bad traits which she may think it has inherited, but also in implanting into it other tendencies and also increasing those already there, which she may consider calculated to be for its future good.

We do not put the idea of prenatal education forward as being a new theory. What can be effected at the time of conception and during the prenatal period was known to the patriarchs, for Jacob produced speckled and ring-streaked animals at will. We believe that many mothers are acquainted with the power they possess in this direction, but how few make any use of that knowledge for the benefit of their offspring.

Tendencies towards evil doubtless exist in all, but the mother has tremendous power to counteract, and even, perhaps extinguish these tendencies, by seeing that during the three-quarters of a year that passes before her child's birth only the best and purest ideas are in her mind. There is then every chance of the offspring being itself possessed of a tendency towards what is moral, and have an innate detestation of all that is immoral. How careful mothers should be of the books they read, the thoughts they think, and the company they keep, during motherhood. There is very little doubt that during the prenatal period the mother has power to inculcate into the mind of

her child what she likes, and she may thus make it whatever she may desire it to become in after life. When mothers act up to the extent of the power they possess it will then become true in the fullest degree that "she who rocks the cradle rules the world."

Of course while this power can be used by mothers for the production of the highest possible good, it can be as easily used for the production of evil. Thus it is no matter for wonder that criminal parents produce criminal children. That an increase in immorality in one generation is productive of a still further increase in the next, follows as a matter of course.

Postnatal education has little effect in reducing immorality. Decrease of vicious tendencies can only be accomplished by preventing criminals from breeding, and by the leaven of morality being spread by mothers realizing and acting upon the fact that their power over the disposition of their children is exercised with the greatest effect if used while they are yet unborn.

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THE REVOLUTION IN ECONOMICS FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE BIRTH OF SOCIALISM.

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

EVER SINCE commerce, money, merchants' capital, interest, profit, made their appearance in human society, there have been thinkers, who tried to treat of these matters in a scientific way. The first traces of a scientific conception of economic problems, which are known to us by fragments of literature on the subject, are found among the thinkers of ancient Greece, several hundred years before the Christian era.

These men were not brought up in the Mosaic conception, that Adam and Eve

were thrown out of a paradise and compelled to work for a living, after they had made a very natural mistake. Nor were they brought up in the modern conception, that capitalists have always existed and will always exist. In fact, they knew that capitalists were a very recent, and by no means welcome addition to the national life. And they were much inclined to regard these newcomers as a nuisance rather than a benefit to society.

In their day, the efforts made by legislators like Solon to protect the property

of the mass of citizens against the greed of merchants and mercantile aristocrats were still vividly remembered. That the private property of a plutocratic minority should be held sacred, and the private property of the vast mass of laboring citizens left at the mercy of a plutocratic minority, did not seem quite as natural to the public men of Greece as it does to the senators and congressmen of the United States of Rockefeller.

On the other hand, the vast body of laborers in Greece were slaves. Their labor-power was not a "free" marketable commodity. The value of their labor time could not be measured in terms of commerce. Moreover, production was mainly for direct use, and commerce did not reach as deeply into the productive sphere as it did later under different systems of economy.

Under these circumstances, the Grecian economists show neither the exalted reverence of modern partisan economists for the private property of capitalists, nor do they appreciate the vital importance of human labor in the problems of political economy. They deal more with effects than with causes, and puzzle their brains with schemes rather than historical processes. Nevertheless, they make very objective observations and utter many profound ideas, which the partisan economists of modern ruling classes might read with much profit.

Plato, for instance, understood the vital significance of social division of labor for the constitution of the Grecian city. Aristotle realized that commodities have a use-value and an exchange-value. He recognized that money as a medium of circulation performs different functions than money as capital. He even analyzed money as a measure of value and correctly stated that the value of money must be determined by the same means as that of all other commodities. He was of the opinion that money as a mere medium of circulation owed its existence to agreement or law, that it had no intrinsic value of its own, and that its use-

fulness as coin was merely an attribute of its function in the circulation. It was evident to him that the exchange-value of commodities was at the bottom of their prices. And since commodities compare their exchange-values only through their prices, he made them measurable through money, although he held that the value of the different objects measured by money was really incommensurable. But for all practical purposes he thought that money could be used as a measure of what was in fact not measurable. He was looking for a common unit of measurement. But the basis of Grecian society, slave labor, prevented him very naturally from finding in average social labor time the common measure of all exchange-values.

The Grecian economists did the best they could under the historical circumstances in which they lived. So long as the social conditions did not offer them the materials necessary for a scientific solution of economic problems, the Grecian thinkers could not well be expected to arrive at a scientific solution.

During the centuries following the dissolution of Grecian society, the conditions were even less favorable for the development of a science of sociology. Intellectually, the Roman civilization never rose to the intensity and perfection of the Grecian. The mental conceptions of the feudal era, which relieved the disintegrating Roman, fell completely into the toils of a mode of thought, which turned its eyes inward rather than outward and tried to arrive at objective truths, not by an inductive method of research, collecting and classifying experimental facts and making logical deductions from them, but by juggling with introspective speculations and shutting out as much of the actual reality as possible.

It was only in astronomy, and its auxiliary mathematics, that exact methods of observation and reasoning enforced themselves. And these sciences did not extend their influence into the sphere of social relations.

Wherever we meet with any thought touching upon social matters during the medieval period, we find that it is either confined to denunciations of the natural results following from private-ownership of land and means of production, with its attending class-rule, or to dreamy utopias, passionate revolts, despairing outcries. The oppressed classes lived under conditions, which prevented them from developing any consciously organized social movements of such character as would enable them to understand the course of historical evolution and adapt themselves to it as auxiliaries. They generally worked against the prevailing tendencies of social development, not with them. Their revolutions were either short, spasmodic outbreaks, or sentimental and resigned theoretical crusades on the field of abstract ethics.

In short, the requirements for the elaboration of scientific social theories did not exist in ancient and medieval societies. Even the best educated brains of those days were dominated by speculative conceptions, and naturally so. Besides, education was a privilege of the select. Whenever any particularly bright mind showed itself among the oppressed classes, it was generally taken in hand by the ruling classes and educated to serve the interests of caste. If such a man remained loyal to his class, he was killed by the rulers. And such loyal leaders of working-class revolutions were necessarily as much dominated by speculative fancies as the educated men of the ruling classes, for the conceptions of the ruling classes are the prevailing and dominating ones so long as their rule is assured by social conditions.

The first modern attempts to introduce scientific methods into political economy were due to the efforts of the rising merchant towns of Central and Western Europe, from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, to overcome the money monopolies of the ruling princes and great financiers. While these efforts were really a struggle of one kind of monopoly

against another, their theoretical reflection assumed the guise of a defense of natural laws against feudal laws.

The laws of mercantile economy were defended as "natural" laws against the "unnatural" laws of feudal privilege, for the former were declared to be the expression of "free" competition, while the feudal rights were assailed as artificial gifts of class privilege. This is the historical genesis of the distinction between natural and artificial monopolies, of which some modern would-be economists make so much in their frantic endeavors to defend the little exploiter against the inroads of the large exploiter, and which they proclaim as the theoretical basis of "natural" remedies against industrial and financial trusts.

Out of these first theoretical skirmishes between feudal power and merchants' needs arose the theoretical controversies of the mercantilists against the monetary system that was their mother. In these controversies, the superficial notion arising in the brains of the merchants out of the surface indications of commercial processes were pitted against the superstitious speculations of the champions of feudal privileges, who believed in the immanent mysterious power of money as the sole source of social wealth. And since money was as much the idol of the merchants as of the feudal powers, the entire controversy raged about the peculiar forms and functions of money as a medium of circulation, as a measure of value, as a standard of price, as a hoard, as a means of payment, as interest-bearing capital and merchants' capital.

The monetary privileges of princes and a few great financiers stood in the way of the merchants. The requirements of extending commerce demanded imperiously a greater flexibility of a circulation medium. This led as early as the twelfth century to the establishment of deposit banks in the Italian merchant towns, and in proportion as the center of commerce was gradually shifted northward and westward in the course of the follow-

ing centuries, the same institutions appeared among the Dutch and the Hansa towns of Germany.

These deposit banks, in their turn, acquired a monopoly of money, and out of the struggles against the bank monopolies arose the credit system, which was in due time to exceed enormously the scope of the precious metals in the circulation of commodities.

This entire controversy about money, dragging its tiresome length through several centuries, was at first naturally confined to the sphere of circulation. It did not touch the sphere of production, because all the essential interests of the contending parties centered around the control of the medium of circulation. That the value of money itself was not due to any immanent powers of this medium of circulation, but rested in the last analysis upon the productive forces of society, was a conception that did not recommend itself at the outset to the parties most concerned in this controversy. And so the whole theoretical discussion, from the historical point-of-view, began on a lower level than the speculations of the early Grecian economists. The reason for this state of things is easily found in the historical conditions leading up to these controversies. I need not dwell on this point here.

With the further development of the merchant class into a class of industrial capitalists, the sphere of production gradually asserted its influence over the sphere of circulation, and this found expression also in the theoretical discussions. Already in the transition years from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century political economy began to assume its modern aspect and delve into problems of value. In the persons of William Petty, the founder of modern political economy, we come face to face with the passage from mercantilist to classic economist theories. He did not only reassert, in a more perfect form, Aristotle's theory of money and of the value of commodities in general, but he

even declared definitely, that "equal labor" was the common measure of all commodities. But owing to the incompleteness of his theoretical material, and to the undeveloped condition of the working proletariat, he remained in doubt about the practical means, by which this common measure could be made serviceable.

Petty's work served as a basis for the entire mercantilist literature during the next century and paved the way for all subsequent analyses of value. His emphasis upon exact methods of observation in sociology by means of statistical tabulation still stands as a lasting rebuke to all modern compilers of official statistics, which seem to be especially designed for the purpose of baffling unbiased sociological research, instead of encouraging and assisting it.

Just as Petty's work represents in England the first systematic theory of mercantilism so Quesnay's work represents in France the first systematic presentation of capitalist production. Owing to the peculiar historical conditions, under which the bourgeois revolution developed and succeeded in France, the physiocratic system of Quesnay considered the capitalist farmers as the typical representatives of industrial capital. For this reason this system remained one-sided and limited in its application. But it brought out at least one very essential point, namely, that it is fundamentally not a question of mere production, but of reproduction. In other words, the problem is not merely to explain what capital is, but how it maintains itself intact and increases itself.

The physiocratic character of Quesnay's system made it unintelligible to those economists, who developed the typical theory of industrial capital in England, where industrialism assumed its most typical features. Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* marks the definite repudiation of mercantilist conceptions in political economy, still gropes his way rather tentatively through the

mazes of undifferentiated and undigested thought. He falls in many respects below Quesnay's level, particularly in his analysis of the process of reproduction. But nevertheless he shows his genius by seeking a solution of economic problems above all in the sphere of production, making determined efforts to ascertain the actual relations between labor and capital, and examining the influence of the different component parts of capital on the process of reproduction. Here he is necessarily vague and falls into misleading conceptions, which became pitfalls for the next generation of economists. His greatest error in this respect was that he considered the distinction between fixed and circulating capital, which relates in fact to the different manner in which various parts of capital are circulated, as a fundamental distinction in the process of production. This error barred his way to a solution of the problem of value and surplus-value.

But in spite of this error, the most significant part of his work is the emphasis which he lays upon the problems of value and surplus-value. Already some mercantilists had recognized that the increase of capital must be due to an increase in social values. Where does this increase come from? The greater part of the mercantilists imagined that surplus-value arose from arbitrary additions to the prices of commodities. But even Petty recognized that the surplus-value of the whole society cannot come from mere buying and selling. And Steuart declared frankly that the gains and losses of people cheating one another in buying and selling must mutually balance one another, so that the result is the same as though they had sold their commodities at normal prices. On the other hand, social laws cannot be studied by examining a few exceptions, and so it will not do to explain the origin of the surplus-value of entire classes by occasional gains, which a few individuals may realize in commercial competition.

Adam Smith reasserted the theory of

value which was developed in the germ by Petty. In the work of Smith, this theory is made the basis for his analysis of surplus-value. But since he neither perfected Petty's theory of value nor applied it consistently, he got no farther than a frank declaration that ground rent and capitalist profit are deductions from the product of productive laborers, who performed surplus-labor over and above the labor required for their own sustenance without receiving an equivalent for it. This did not enable him to discover the mechanism by which particularly the industrial capitalist class secure control of the surplus-products of laborers and realize surplus-value on them in the shape of money. Neither did he separate surplus-value as a general category from the different forms which it assumes in industrial profit, merchants' profit, interest on capital and ground rent.

Adam Smith represents in classic political economy the transition period from manufacture to manufacture, just as Petty represents theoretically the transition period from mercantilism to manufacture, and Quesnay the transition from agricultural to industrial capitalism.

The next man who marks in England a new historical stage of production is David Ricardo, whose most significant work falls into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He is the typical economist of machine production in industrial capitalism, and, therefore, the typical spokesman of bourgeois political economy in its modern form.

Ricardo based his conception of surplus-value upon the theory of value of his predecessors. He worked out the theory of labor-value more consistently than any of them and applied it to every phase of production and circulation, to labor, capital and money. He emphasized the fact that all exchange-value represents materialized labor, and consequently all surplus-value materialized surplus-labor. On this basis, Ricardo

claimed that the new values added by the labor of the producing workers to the values already incorporated by past labor in raw materials and machinery were divided into capitalist's profits and laborer's wages, and that ground rent was a deduction from the profits of the industrial capitalists. It followed, according to Ricardo, that wages and profits rise and fall in inverse ratio to one another, without directly affecting the general level of prices. So far as prices were subject to fluctuation around the real values of commodities, Ricardo held that these fluctuations were regulated by supply and demand.

All these claims were logical corollaries of his theory of value, and in keeping with his idea that the accumulation of capital and the proportional division of capital into fixed and circulating parts might exercise an influence on the relative values of commodities. But since he made no progress over Adam Smith in this respect, and failed to realize the distinction between the organic composition of capital in the sphere of production and the different ways in which different parts of the value of capitals are circulated, he did not arrive at a consistent scientific solution of the problems of value and surplus-value. Neither did he clearly separate surplus-value as a general category from its particular forms as capitalist profits, landlords' rent, bankers' interest. Above all, he failed to draw the logical inferences from his theory of value with regard to the laborer's share in his own product.

But there were others who did. In Ricardo's time, the industrial proletariat in England had developed sufficiently to create its own theories, and the spokesmen of this proletariat at once proceeded to combat the capitalist class with the theories of its own thinkers.

Just as Petty's theories had been the pivot around which had turned all mercantilist controversies for a century, so Ricardo's theories became the center of more than fifty years of theoretical

discussion, and remnants of his theories survived in a more or less muddled form long after the Ricardian school itself had given up the ghost. It was particularly the middle strata of capitalist society, who sought consolation in certain portions of Ricardo's theories. Either they clung desperately to Ricardo's theory of value and prayed fervently for a system of "free" competition in which all commodities should be exchanged at their real values without all the other "unnatural" features of capitalist competition which strike such cruel blows at the little exploiter. Or they resurrected a portion of Ricardo's theory of ground rent and built on it a scheme for the salvation of the middle class. An example of this last method is still languishing in American society in the shape of Henry George's single-tax ideas which are offered to the working-class in the hope that it may save the little exploiter from his inevitable fate. The grotesque irony of single-tax is that it uses Ricardo's capitalist theory of ground rent as though it were a proletarian theory, that it generalizes Ricardo's economic rent into an indistinct conception of rent comprising many different forms of rent, and that it offers this muddled rehash of a capitalist theory in the interest of the middle class to a working-class, whose interests demand the abolition of all exploiting classes.

The early champions of the English proletariat paid little heed to such platonic expurgations of Ricardo's theories. They took the bull by the horns and assumed from the very outset an attitude of implacable antagonism to all capitalist forms of exploitation. They met Ricardo's theory of value with the following argument: If labor creates all exchange-value, as you say, then labor should get all it produces. If the exchange-value of a product is equal to the labor-time contained in it then the exchange-value of one day's labor should be equal to the value of its product. In other words, wages should be equal to the value of the

product of labor. But this is not so in reality. It is well known that wages, the value of a definite quantity of labor, are always lower than the value of the product of labor. The socialists invited the capitalists to draw the logical inferences from these facts and stop robbing the laborers. The Ricardian school was unable to solve this puzzle and refute by scientific argument this position of the early socialists. Neither were the early socialists able to prove by what means the mechanism of capitalist production managed to reproduce the capital and profits of the capitalists and the wages of

the laborers. A new theory was necessary for the solution of this puzzle. Evidently this could be only a proletarian theory, for the champions of the capitalist class could not well be expected to formulate a theory that would mean the self-destruction of the capitalist class. In short, a new historical class, the proletariat, required a theory of its own which should represent its own interests and erect its own milestone, just as the preceding stages of capitalist development had each erected its own milestone in economic theories. ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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IS MR. ROOSEVELT A FAILURE?

BY HON. S. C. PARKS.

IT IS not intended to discuss this question in this paper at any considerable length, but to make a few suggestions. And first, it is said that Mr. Roosevelt, in his rôle as a *preacher* "of righteousness" and a *lecturer* on political morality, is a success. He holds that in all the relations of life, men are bound by the moral and divine law; that public men should be "sincere" and "consistent"; that "the best of us stumble at times"; and that when a public man is convinced that he has adopted and inculcated erroneous political doctrines, he should "*recant*" his errors.

It is proposed to apply these excellent rules to a few of his most notable acts, and see how his practice corresponds with his teachings.

The President has distinguished himself during the last year by his opposition to the trusts. But the most pernicious trust in this country is the political trust, of which for nearly ten years the President of the United States and his political managers have been the leaders and the head. In speaking of the qualifications

of Mr. Cortelyou for manager of the Roosevelt presidential campaign in 1904, Mr. Root, Secretary of State, said that Cortelyou "had learned the game of politics from President McKinley, who was the most accomplished politician of his time." This characterization of Mr. McKinley as a very skilful and successful political gamester, by one who understood the subject well, is correct. Mr. McKinley and his great manager, Mark Hanna, have never been surpassed in the United States in playing the game of politics. Their winning cards were money, offices and other substantial favors. The money they procured from corporations, trusts, and individuals, and other sources, amounted to many millions. And it has been credibly stated that, when it was considered necessary, in order to insure success, to adopt extreme measures, whole states were bought with it. Mr. Cortelyou became Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager in 1904, and the evidence is conclusive that the corporations and the trusts furnished his committee with a great deal of money with which to

"procure" support for Mr. Roosevelt, the great insurance companies alone contributing hundreds of thousands. Since this has been proved, it has been insisted that this money should be returned to the companies from which it had been corruptly taken. But Mr. Cortelyou refused to return it, and the President, not long after, appointed him Secretary of the Treasury—one of the most important positions in the cabinet. This was unwise and well calculated to shake the faith of the country in him as a "safe and sane" Chief Magistrate. It is a hazardous thing to trust such an office with a political gamester.

Mr. Leupp, the personal and political friend of Mr. Roosevelt, in his campaign biography of him in 1904, when writing of his course in our war with Spain, says that it had always been "a fond dream with him to take part in a war."

"A war" means *any* war, without regard to its origin, objects or consequences. Accordingly, when difficulties arose between our country and Spain over Cuba, Mr. Roosevelt seized the opportunity to make his fond dream a reality, and became one of the most strenuous advocates of war, and continued to be so after (in the language of Mr. Sherman, Secretary of State), "every demand made by him [Mr. McKinley] on Spain was acceded to by the government of that country." The statement of Mr. Sherman is proved to be true by the correspondence between his department of the government and our Minister to Spain, Gen. Stewart S. Woodford. It has been shown so often that our war against Spain was unnecessarily made by our government, and was not for the benefit of Cuba, but for political effect in the United States, that the argument need not be repeated here. Mr. Roosevelt's desire to distinguish himself "in a war" led him to forget the Divine law, and the Sermon on the Mount, and not merely to "stumble" but to *fall* a voluntary victim to his fond and delusive dream.

The strangest thing in that wild delu-

sion was the theory that a man could be a true follower of the Prince of Peace and at the same time a fierce promoter of such a war and a voluntary and bloody actor in it. It would be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. Nothing that Mr. Roosevelt has said or done in favor of peace has canceled the record he made against himself by promoting and prosecuting the Spanish and Philippine wars. In that miserable business he was actuated by the same ambition which has led so many men to "seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth," or "wade through slaughter to the throne."

Last January, in a speech to the Foreign Commerce Convention in Washington, he said: "Do not give any nation any cause for offense, on the other hand, keep our navy to such a pitch of efficiency as to make it a strong provocation of good manners in other nations." That was a remarkable specimen of blowing hot and cold, of preaching peace and provoking war in the same breath. "Good manners" were not in that speech. It was giving all nations good "cause for offense," and was such "a strong provocation" that it is hard to see how any true lover of peace could have made it.

Another notable mistake of Mr. Roosevelt was that part of his speech in San Francisco in May, 1903, in which he advocated a large navy in order to "assure" to the United States the "domination" of the Pacific ocean. This was proposing a plain violation of international law, according to which "all nations have an equal right to the use of the ocean," and none has any right to dominate it. Such a speech would be appropriate for "a demagogue of war," but not for a preacher of political "righteousness" and peace. The attempt of the United States to make good the proposed domination of the Pacific ocean would lead to a war, compared with which the war of the gods as described by Homer, was a mere baga-

telle. The fewer war vessels we have for that purpose, the better for us and for the world. It is high time for the President, in the exercise of those correct principles which he has prescribed for the conduct of his countrymen, to "recant" this dangerous error. For this he has an illustrious example in the Book to which he so often refers in his sermons, lectures and speeches. Job was "the greatest of all the men of the East," but when satisfied that he had talked unwisely, he recanted in a manner which all men in similar circumstances would do well to imitate.

"Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? Therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me which I knew not. . . . I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee. Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak: I will demand of thee and declare thou unto

me. Wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes."

The President's habit of interfering when any question, national, state or social arises, does not indicate a very high order of statesmanship. His messages to Congress and to the people are sometimes very good, but they are so numerous and copious that they are inclined to be a little wishy-washy and tiresome.

His disposition to dictate to the legislative and judicial departments of the government is calculated to interfere with the proper course of legislation and the regular administration of justice. Such a practice, if encouraged by the politicians and acquiesced in by the people, will lead to the transformation of the national government into an elective monarchy, with all power in the hands of one man.

S. C. PARKS.

Kansas City, Mo.

THE VOYAGE OF THE SOUL: AN ALLEGORY.

BY MABEL CUMMINGS NORTON.

THE GREAT Teacher sat by the swirling, onrushing river of Life. By his side a shivering, new-born Soul watched wide-eyed while the Teacher of all selected a lapful of the dry brown leaves about their feet,—the future experiences, the precious lessons of the Soul.

The Teacher looked at the swift waters fearlessly, for well he knew the way led to Eternity. This every man should remember with awe and none with fear.

The Soul, half anxious and half eager, waited for the opening words. Deliberately the Teacher selected a warped leaf—Heredity—and set it afloat in the running tide, a mere speck in the wide expanse of All. How lightly it rode the tumbling surface, and yet, how gradually,

how silently, the swirling eddies in the deep pool of Environment sucked it under.

It drifted into the center of a tiny eddy, a Chance Circumstance, a place paltry in itself but fitted for this one little leaf. How it danced, round and round, faster and faster. The Young Soul laughed: its first boat was afloat and seemed triumphant.

Faster and more hungrily curled the water, and the twisted leaf of Heredity was sucked under in its first trial.

But the Teacher, the Courageous, said to the Soul: "Dost thou not see? Thy boat is only one—it was Heredity. Now that it is sunk in Environment you can go on and need not be forever chained to

this small spot. Had it not been vanquished by this stronger force, you would have been doomed to stay here, stagnant, watching this one ship sail its beaten circle. And look you—you have grown.

The Soul looked into the waters and beheld Growth, then turned its longing eyes up the river which was doubly beautiful by reason of the shadows falling here and there. And so the young thing dried its eyes content. There was gain in the past; there was Promise in the Future.

Then the Teacher, with seeming carelessness selected other leaves—frail crafts, and sent them out to meet their fate. Charity went out, and the faster the eddy of Environment whirled, the faster gleamed the silvery underside of Charity, till the Soul on the bank felt an answering gleam of happiness within itself, and at last, when the leaf drifted on, the Soul followed. It knew not why, nor cared.

Necessity, a straight, stiff leaf the Soul would have rejected, but Life intervened.

"How ugly!" said the Soul.

"How beautiful!" said Life.

"I hate it," said the Soul.

"You are still ignorant," and Life with fingers of wisdom set Necessity afloat. Luxury had dropped of itself into the stream and was long since whirled out of sight. Beauty was obscured by the drift of the river. How unendurable Necessity seemed, what dark places she sought, how she was buffeted by the tide. The wind roared, great storms raged, and when they calmed Necessity was still afloat, still creeping on. The Soul, growing by reason of its effort, was becoming proud of this uncomely vessel. And while the Soul watched breathlessly, Destiny, all unseen, set afloat a sturdy craft, Usefulness.

The tides brought Usefulness and Necessity together; they clung closely and were nevermore seen apart. Steadily onward they drifted and steadily onward marched Life and the Soul.

Sometimes the Soul forgot the Teacher, but the Teacher was always there. At last, after many stumblings and the

deepest agony, the Soul perceived the inward beauty in Necessity and in Usefulness.

Nevermore could it regret Beauty; never could it long for Luxury.

And in a quiet nook in the river the Soul beheld itself grown to full stature, and yet not quite matured.

Then the Teacher spoke.

"Here," he said gently, "is Love," and He held up the largest, the most beautiful leaf of all. It had lain hidden under many others, unperceived by the Soul.

"Oh!" cried the Soul, looking first at the strong tide, then at the tender leaf. "Keep it! See, I will hold it next to my heart where its beauty will never wither."

Life frowned. "Will you never learn? Is Love so frail that it cannot last?"

But the Soul in ignorance and terror clung to the hands of Destiny, sobbing, "Oh! keep it, keep it! The others are all gone. This one keep for me, just this one!"

And Life tore the leaf from the fingers of the Soul and set Love adrift.

Oh, the struggles, the anxiety, the alternating hope and fear, as the Soul watched this most precious of all. How beautiful it was when it glided over the smooth way. How triumphantly it would rise to the surface after a dark and unseen passage.

Whenever Love disappeared the Soul would wring its hands and utter piercing cries. But the Teacher led ever and ever onward, and here and there the tortured Soul caught sight of Love.

Sometimes it sailed with Sorrow, sometimes with Usefulness. Often it raced with Charity. Success sometimes flashed between Love and the Soul, but ever the Soul was seeking this one thing. And at last the Soul was unafraid. Turning to throw itself in adoration at the feet of the All-Wise Teacher, it beheld Him afar off, beckoning at the Gates of Paradise. And running swiftly forward, the Soul went in also.

MABEL CUMMINGS NORTON.

Niagara Falls, N. Y. Digitized by Google

CAR NUMBER SEVEN.

BY MARY PUTNAM DENNY.

"CAR NUMBER Seven—shipment of beef—iced for three days," the shipping clerk called out to Edwin Swanson, foreman of the ice gang.

"Yah," Swanson answered in a half faltering tone; "all right."

"Sure?" the clerk asked with emphasis as he noticed the falter in the man's voice.

"All O. K." the young Swede reassured in a stronger voice, and walked briskly from the counting room-out to the platform that stretched above the great line of cars.

Men were hurrying from the smoking rooms with the barrels of cured hams, others hung the great quarters of beef in the cars, Sumikura the little Jap that presided over the vat of boiling water where the sausages were cooked, ran out with a string of them hanging like pig-tails from his shoulders, to report the marvelous success of a new process for preparing the bologna. Yet Swanson did not notice the hurrying figures; he paced up and down the place for several minutes, trying to convince his own mind that he was sure before he caught the motor for the lodging house out on Q street. He was sure as far as his own hand went, certain that he had given just the right orders to each man, but he was never sure of Jack Holt, the self-appointed leader of the third division of the gang. Jack was a shirk and influenced the men around him to shirk. Swanson was called to the other end of the platform when Jack was icing his department of the car. He swore that he put in just the right amount of ice, but Jack's word meant nothing.

At any other time the question would have scarcely disturbed Swanson, for he had had so many rough turns since he

landed in America and drifted out to South Omaha and the great packing houses,—since he had begun the struggle from running the trucks across the platform to the position as a foreman, that he would not have noticed another knock, only there was someone else in his reckoning to-night—the thought of a slender, fair-faced Swedish girl, with a crown of yellow hair, coming across the ocean toward him.

Edwin Swanson had thought of Thekla as a far-off gleam of light, a vision hidden in the mists that surrounded the homeland, since he had reached America and met with the sudden disillusionment that so often awaits the immigrant. There was no chance of sending for Thekla or of making a home for her as he struggled through the first three years, scarcely earning a lodging and scanty board for himself. Then came the sudden turn, the promotion and possibility of redeeming his promise to the girl. He had scarcely received the first two months' pay when a letter was on its way to Sweden, with the passage money. Now at the thought the face of the man grew dark. If any trouble should come through Jack and the cargo of beef? If when Thekla reached the great Union Station in Omaha, he must meet her empty handed with no food or home to offer?

But the hope that had stirred the spirit of the man for the last three months rose above the dark foreboding, and as he looked up beyond the crowded platform, the great squares of buildings with their divisions of work, the glare of the furnaces, stretched the range of hills that bounded the city, with their rugged outlines against the blue of the sky.

Thursday morning Swanson was almost knocked off his feet as Henry Morton,

the shipping clerk, came waving a telegram: "The whole cargo of Number Seven was spoiled when they opened the car at Philadelphia." Morton paused a moment; the way the Swede took the trouble surprised him. If he had cursed and raved he would not have noticed. But a great silence seemed to settle over the man. He stretched his hand out toward the hills with their thought of freedom and life, but did not speak.

Morton was accustomed to managing the men, scoring them for their mistakes or in an off-hand way introducing the new hands to their work, but he could not understand the silence of this man's life. "There's only one way," he finally said, trying to grope toward the man's deep trouble, "You will have to pay for the cargo. It'll take your wages for a long time, perhaps a year, but then you'd better do it than lose your place. You have probably got a little saved and they will take the rest in payments every month."

Swanson did not answer; the darkness and perplexity completely enveloped him. With a muttered sentence in Swede he turned toward Jack Holt, who stood a few feet away enjoying Swanson's discomfort. Jack knew well enough what the telegram meant; he was mad with jealousy at the Swede because he had outstripped him with his superior push and get-up. Swanson glared at the man for a few moments and then with a wild cry of pent-up madness and despair, he gave him two or three fierce blows.

The next Swanson knew he was in the office of G. H. Lewis, the superintendent, waiting for further orders. After a hurried consultation with the shipping clerk, Lewis turned toward the man: "Your assault on Holt seems to have been wholly unprovoked. We feel that for a time at least you are not fit to be placed over other men. So you must take your old place in the gang." Lewis paused a moment as if to allow the man a breath before he finished his sentence:

"Oh yes, and that last cargo of beef is spoiled: We can't give you much pay for a few months."

"Have n't you anything to say for yourself?" Lewis questioned as the man turned away without speaking.

"Nothin'," Swanson murmured—and began another weary tramp up and down the platform as he awaited his next assignment of work.

"That man's silence is oppressive," the shipping clerk said to Lewis a week later, "The fellows jeer and laugh at him for his set-back, and call him Old Swede, but he does n't seem to notice. All his rage seemed exhausted in those blows he gave Jack Holt. There's just one settled look of silence, of darkness. There appears to be some trouble in the man's life, greater and above any jeer or cuff the men can give."

"Yes," Lewis answered, "His is a strange case. I wish I had more time to study these men. So many types and nationalities. But with all their differences they are real men with their deep troubles and struggles."

George Lewis was a big, broad-shouldered man, with a square chin and hard lines of decision in his face, worn by long years of contact with men—men of every grade and degree. Yet beneath the brusque manner and voice, there sometimes stole a gentler note, and a twinkle of compassion for some fellow down in the race would shine from the gray eyes. He was a strong man and he required strength from other men. The young Swede's silent endurance of his reverse, and what seemed some greater trouble back of it, moved Lewis more than any word of complaint or entreaty.

A few mornings after Swanson stood for an hour in the inner office before the Superintendent's desk. Lewis came in from his hurried examination of all of the work of the great packing-house, and asked, "What's wanted?"

"Could I get off, for an hour this afternoon, to meet the four o'clock train?" Swanson answered.

"Who's coming?" Lewis sharply questioned, but as he looked up the silence in the man's face forbade further interrogation. He picked up a special letter that lay unopened on the desk, and in his absent-minded way studied it for a moment—and then said in a tone of assent—"I suppose, if it is important."

Swanson looked at the unopened letter with the hungry stare of the beggar in the window of a shop. Oh, that it might have some message for him! Just as the man turned to leave the office, Lewis tore open the envelope, "Wait!" he thundered, as his eyes swept over the opening lines and Swanson's hand was on the door. The man groped back toward the desk. "This letter," Lewis said, after he had time to comprehend its meaning, "states that the car of beef that we were troubled about, did n't belong to us, but was from Cudahy's house. The whole affair was a bungle and mistake." Lewis watched the light dawn in the man's face as he spoke, "I've worked among men, long enough," he went on, "to understand them a little, and I knew there was some great question which your sudden reverse made it impossible for you to solve. I regret that those fellows' miserable mistake out there in the East, should have caused you these weeks of silent struggle," and

Lewis, unable to find further words, reached his hand out toward the man.

"Train from the East—hour late,—don't you see the bulletin over there?" the station master exclaimed as Swanson touched his arm and eagerly asked the train time.

But Swanson did not notice him, there was only the thought of Thekla—of the home and care that once more he felt the power of giving her. He strode through the corridors waiting, waiting. When the great hands of the clock pointed ten—five—one minute to four, he was at the iron gate with the watchman.

There was the whistle of the approaching train, the moment of supreme expectancy, the crowd of passengers as they hurried across the tracks, the face of Thekla as she turned with the questioning, bewildered look, the little cry of joy, reaching out her hands with their burdens toward Swanson.

The girl knew nothing as she stood on the platform that afternoon, her fair face turned toward Edwin Swanson in simple trust, of the struggle that the man had won, and Swanson forgot all as he drew her away from the crowd towards a sheltered seat in the waiting room.

MANY PUTNAM DENNY.

Council Bluffs, Ia.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE POET: HIS MISSION AND MESSAGE.

I. THE DAY AND THE NIGHT OF THE POET.

IN PERIODS of spiritual quickening, times when moral idealism dominates the conscience of nation or people, the poet becomes a powerful influence, broadening

[*Note:* "In the Mirror of the Present" Mr. Flower comments on great events—the significant lights and shadows of the present. In "The Editor's Quiet Hour" he will discuss from time to time literary, ethical and philosophical problems that challenge the attention of thoughtful people.]

and enriching life and giving upward impulsion to society. But in times when the ideal becomes subordinate to egoistic domination, when the materialism of the market is more potent than the magic of truth, justice and love in the public consciousness, few poets appear and their message for the most part falls on ears deaf to its music. To the man on the street, engrossed in the greed for gold, the poet speaks in an unknown tongue.

Moral idealism stirs life in its deepest and

divinest centers and awakens all that is best and most profound in the life of man. It quickens the spiritual energies and, as we would naturally expect, calls forth the poet, who is the man of imagination, the revealer, the awakener, the interpreter.

Thus, after our own nation was born, after we had nailed the Declaration of Independence to the mast-head of the infant Republic and committed ourselves to great moral principles that are as eternally true as they are vital and uplifting in influence, our country, infant though she was among the nations, became the moral leader in the governments of the world. Then came forth the poets, messengers who kept alive and long furthered the onward impulse of our idealism that was the greatest upward force in the world politics of the age. Then it was that Emerson and Lowell, Whittier and Longfellow, Bryant and Whitman, appeared as great revealers, interpreters and awakeners. They spoke the message of God to man. They directed the eyes of the masses to the marvels, the mystery and the message of nature and to the great throbbing Life that is the soul of nature and of all living things. They became way-showers of life and inspirers of noble thoughts and glorious deeds.

England also yielded to the spell of the epoch of liberalism and democracy, coming under the impulsion of moral idealism, which in politics resulted in the overthrow of irresponsible and despotic personal rule and the establishment of representative government in so broad and firm a manner that since the passage of the Reform Bill the face of the mother country has been set toward democracy. This wave of idealism that freed the slaves of Jamaica, that gave England the Reform Bill, and that repealed the odious Corn Laws and established Free Trade, was attended by a splendid band of true poets,—bards of nature and human progress. Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley were among these leaders, and they passed the torch to the Brownings and Tennyson.

But hand in hand with the moral idealism that lifted aloft the banner of democracy and broadened and ennobled manhood, came marvelous strides in inventive and scientific discovery, which changed the face of the earth and offered the lure of great wealth to daring souls who would throw aside all things save the passion for acquiring gold. Then egoism arose and grappled with the genius of altruism.

It was the old struggle, in which reactionary thought, class interests and materialism fought against idealism. The lust for gold was pitted against the ideal of brotherhood. Great fortunes were quickly acquired and the vision of the people was shifted from the splendor that lights the crest of the spiritual Alps to the banqueting halls of material acquisition. Gradually sordid concepts gained sway over moral ideals, and as a result reaction, class interests and corruption crept into government and into business life, while moral lethargy stole over church and school.

Naturally enough, such conditions were fatal to genuine poetry. The master note of life did not and could not wake and woo into activity those divine emotions that are the wellsprings of poetry and enduring civilization—the elixir of national life. Scarcely a poet of democracy of the first rank has arisen in America in the past fifty years. Indeed, if we except Edwin Markham, we know of no really great people's poet, no popular singer whose imaginative power has been of the highest order. And Mr. Markham, the exception, the Shasta or Tacoma among our present-day singers of democracy, was saved to freedom's cause by isolation during the formative period of youth from the dominant influence of our latter-day materialistic life. Democracy is able to glory in his great work because he was early environed by that moral sanity and idealism that call forth the divine impulses in man and favor the development of the poetic gift. When a child, his most sensitive years were passed herding flocks in the valleys of the Sierras, encircled by the austerity and sublimity, the grandeur and the beauty of nature; and his intellectual companions at this time were Homer, Milton, Byron and other great poets whose moral strength or enthusiasm for humanity stirred the profoundest depths of the child. Hence his environment was much the same as that enjoyed by the poets of the earlier day who came into the field of activity at a time of moral enthusiasm, when ethical idealism dominated the public imagination. Mr. Markham is, we believe, the one great poet of democracy of the America of the present day,—the greatest poet of freedom and humanity since Whitman left us. As one of England's most critical essayists recently in a personal letter observed, "He is the greatest poet in America, and the greatest poet of democracy in the world."

There are two reasons why poets and prophets are wanting in ages when egoism and materialistic commercialism are rife. The spirit of the day does not appeal to the divine side of life or awaken moral enthusiasm. The waves of influence that sweep over the plastic brain are not profound enough to awaken and call to life the greater and more divinely potential elements of being. Then again, the ear of the people is not attuned to catch and be moved by a divine symphony. This is why the essential greatness of Edwin Markham's poetry is only beginning to be recognized by our people. Only since we have begun to awaken from the profound moral inertia of the past quarter of a century has his worth been even partially recognized. America, even in her short history, has witnessed the day and the night of the poet.

II. THE TRUE POET AND HIS MISSION.

In periods of moral depression there are often many rhymesters and coiners of musical phrases, but they lack the power of the poet. They are imitators. Their work lacks the ring of the true metal. They conform to the laws of versification and are able to make rhymes; but the poet is far more than a versifier or a rhymester. He is endowed with imagination. He possesses genius and, as Schopenhauer well says: "That which distinguishes genius, and should be the standard of judging it, is the height to which it is able to soar when it is in the proper mood and finds a fitting occasion."

The true poet possesses in far larger degree than the ordinary individual the seeing eye, the hearing ear, the feeling heart. His true mission is that of revealer, interpreter and awakener. Let us elucidate.

Most people go through the world more or less asleep,—dead to the wonder, the beauty and the witchery that environ them. The splendor of the dawn and sunset, the sublimity of the mountain, the mystery and majesty of the sea, the beauty of the wayside flower, the eternal yet ever-shifting panorama of nature, so rich in food for the normal imagination, are but dimly realized or felt until the poet comes on *rapport* with nature. He sees and feels the glory and the spell so vividly that he awakens the people to the wonder all about them, that swathes nature in a shining robe of glory. By making the blind thus see he has enriched the lives of

millions. He has fed the starving imagination of the world that was hungry in the midst of plenty, that was starving because it failed to see the bounty at its feet.

Nor is this all. The poet enters the holiest of holies of life. He is the high-priest of God. To him is given the privilege of seeing the glory of the Infinite, the light of Shekinah in the holiest of holies. He approaches the throbbing heart of the Infinite and feels the pulsation of Being. To him it is given to behold the heights and depths. He is as one who is taken upon a mountain top and given the vision to see the kingdoms of the earth with all that they possess. He has the power of penetration and projection. He becomes cosmic in his consciousness and feeling. He realizes the solidarity of life and the interdependence of all living things. He knows that an injustice to one is a wrong to all. Hence he becomes the voice for the oppressed, the helper of those who are under the wheel. With Shelley he cries:

"I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power, for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannize
Without reproach or check."

Victor Hugo has graphically described the function of the poet in the presence of human misery, of ignorance and of injustice, when he says:

"These burdened ones are silent; they know nothing, they can do nothing, they think nothing: they simply endure. They are hungry and cold. Their indelicate flesh appears through their tatters. Who makes these tatters? The purple. The nakedness of virgins comes from the nudity of odalisques. From the twisted rags of the daughters of the people fall pearls for the Fontanges and the Chateauroux. It is famine that gilds Versailles. The whole of this living and dying shadow moves; these spectral forms are in the pangs of death; the mother's breast is dry, the father has no work, the brain has no light. . . .

"The group of little ones is wan. This whole mass expires and creeps, not having even the power to love; and perhaps unknown to them while they bow and submit, from all that vast unconsciousness in which Right dwells, from the inarticulate murmur of those wretched breaths mingled together proceeds an indescribable, confused voice, a mysterious fog of expression, succeeding, syllable by

syllable, in the darkness, in uttering wonderful words: Future, Humanity, Liberty, Equality, Progress. And the poet listens, and he hears; and he looks, and he sees; and he bends lower and lower, and he weeps; and then growing with a strange growth, drawing from all that darkness his own transfiguration, he stands erect, terrible and tender, above all these wretched ones—those of high place as well as those of low—with flaming eyes.

"And with a loud voice he demands a reckoning. And he says, Here is the effect! And he says, Here is the cause! Light is the remedy. He is like a great vase full of humanity shaken by the hand within the cloud, from which should fall to earth great drops,—fire for the oppressors, dew for the oppressed. Ah! you deem that an evil? Well, we, for our part, approve it. It seems to us right that some one should speak when all are suffering. The ignorant who enjoy and the ignorant who suffer have equal need of instruction. The law of fraternity is derived from the law of labor. The practice of killing one another has had its day; the hour has come for loving one another. It is to promulgate these truths that the poet is good."

Again it is with the poet's eye that the great Frenchman sees when he pleads for the utility of art, for the Beautiful-Useful—pleads for art to be made the servant of humanity in the upliftment of all the people:

"Some pure lovers of art, moved by a solicitude which is not without its dignity and its nobility, discard the formula, 'Art for Progress,' the Beautiful-Useful, fearing lest the useful should deform the beautiful. They tremble to see the drudge's hand attached to the muse's arm. According to them, the ideal may become perverted by too much contact with reality. They are solicitous for the sublime if it descends as far as to humanity. Ah! they are in error.

"The useful, far from circumscribing the sublime enlarges it.

"Art is the azure; but the azure from above, whence falls the ray which swells the wheat, yellows the maize, rounds the apple, gilds the orange, sweetens the grape. Again I say, a further service is an added beauty. At all events, where is the diminution? To ripen the beet-root, to water the potato, to increase the yield of lucern, of clover, or of hay; to be a fellow-workman with the ploughman, the

vine-dresser and the gardener,—this does not deprive the heavens of one star. Ah! immensity does not despise utility,—and what does it lose by it? Does the vast vital fluid that we call magnetic or electric flash through the cloud-masses with less splendor because it consents to perform the office of pilot to a bark, and to keep constant to the north the little needle entrusted to it, the gigantic guide?"

"The poet-seer," says Mr. Francis Grierson in his fine essay on *The Celtic Temperament*, "does not give us a mere impression, a definition of something felt exclusively by himself, but he interprets.

"To the superficial student Nature is a sealed book. The quasi-poetic mind can never be made to comprehend the relation that exists between nature and man. 'A landscape represents a state of the soul,' says Amiel. But it requires a writer with a soul to say so. Out of twenty persons who may admire a landscape, hardly one has any idea of the psychological relationship of color and form with the mental state of the beholder. In nature, as in art, people are most attracted by the trivial and the insignificant.

"Few can feel and appreciate the *ensemble* of light, color, shadow and form manifest in the visible world in any place or season."

And it is the function of the poet to reveal all this; to interpret nature to the soul; to show the oneness of life, the sanity, the solidarity and the unity of being. The function of the poet is one—service. He is the revealer, the interpreter, the awakener. But his mission may lead him along various paths. He may hold the magic mirror of his own imaginative perceptions up to nature, that the people may see with his eyes. He may take us to the peaks of the Himalayas of philosophy and there reveal life in its profoundest and most august manifestations. He may awaken the public conscience to the misery of the masses, born of injustice and the attempt of man to forget that he is his brother's keeper. But whether he is a Homer, a Dante, a Milton, a Wordsworth or a Bryant, a Browning or an Emerson, a Hugo, a Lowell, a Whittier or a Markham, in all cases his function is to reveal nature and the moral order to the consciousness of man in a compelling way.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE MENACE OF IRRESPONSIBLE JOURNALISM.

Poisoning The Wells.

IN OLDEN times some of the most depraved, cowardly and brutal tribes among the nomadic savages were wont to poison the wells used by other tribes either stronger than the poisoners or possessed of wealth greatly coveted by them. The unsuspecting victims, their women, children, and animals would partake of the water and then when the poison had done its work, the criminal hands would proceed to despoil the dying of their goods or take possession of their territory. It is needless to say such action was so abhorrent to the better nature, even among ignorant savage peoples, that the authors of this monstrous crime were shunned and ostracized.

Man in his slow ascent has left this exhibition of fiendishness behind him, but unhappily after the lapse of two thousand years of Christian ethics, American civilization is to-day exhibiting another phase of moral criminality very analogous to this supreme exhibition of obloquy of the most depraved savages of earlier times.

The press of the nation is the wellspring of general information. It is daily molding the thought of millions of people; but with the deadening of moral perceptions and sentiments of right and justice, which has advanced with the aggressive strides taken by the industrial autocracy, the press of the land has begun to fall under the moral blight of sordid greed and is becoming more and more the tool of the feudalism of privileged wealth which has already so largely corrupted government and degraded the business ideals of the nation.

The Grave Trust Imposed on The Press of The Nation.

The press is, we think, the greatest educator and molder of opinion and ideals in the Republic. The church holds sway over a portion of the people all of the time, but far more are influenced by it sporadically or on occasions only. The great free-school system and other schools, colleges and universities exert a

marked and very important influence on the child, but by many immature minds its lessons are regarded as irksome or necessary evils. Now while the church is open once or twice a week and the school ten months in the year for the young, the daily press of the land speaks to the millions 365 days in the year, to old and young and to an audience eager for its message. Hence it will be seen to be the most insistent and ever-present of all popular educators. Its function is of inconceivable importance to democracy, to advancing civilization, to individual development and the happiness of the people. If it is true to its sacred trust, free institutions, just government, the sacred rights of the individual, and the steady unfoldment of an ever-maturing manhood are assured; but in so far as it betrays the trust, in so far as it is false to the high demands of free and just government, the basic principles of democracy or the rights of the people, and in so far as it prostitutes its tremendous power for the injury or the undoing of an individual or people, by false representations and attempts to deceive the public to the hurt of its victims, it becomes an engine for moral disintegration and a menace to the cause of democracy, for it poisons the wells from which the millions draw the information that shapes their opinions and their ideals. And just as the water of the wells in the desert, when pure, are life-sustaining to the tribesmen and the travelers, but when poisoned are death-dealing, so the daily press that prostitutes its power to betray the people to predatory wealth, or that wantonly and recklessly assails individuals, poisons the thought-world of the people and thus strikes a death blow to democracy.

Recent Illustrations of The Prostitution of The Press in The Interests of The Industrial Autocracy.

THE ARENA on several occasions has found it necessary to expose corporation journals that pose as respectable, safe and sane organs of public opinion, but which are systematically striving to deceive their readers and betray

the interests of the people for the benefit of the public-service corporations and other divisions of the industrial autocracy that is so determinedly striving to gain complete control of the government. Happily, of late other leading publications have sounded the alarm. *Collier's Weekly* on May 4th published a startling *exposé* of the systematic way in which tainted news is being doled out to the people.

Not satisfied with feeding the people with diseased, tainted and filthy meat, as was the custom of the beef trust, or with poisoning the food of the nation with adulterations and the use of injurious drugs, as was done by various other branches of the feudalism of privileged wealth which supplied the food of the people; not satisfied with charging the American people from \$4 to \$11 a ton more for iron and steel than it charged the British consumers for steel delivered in London as does the steel trust, thanks to its hold on our government; not satisfied with raising the price of every necessity of life which a trust or monopoly controls, advancing prices altogether out of proportion to any increase in wages that has been given where labor has been well organized, now the industrial autocracy deliberately and systematically engages in sending out tainted news—news that is false and misleading and is sent out only for the purpose of advancing the secret ends which are inimical to the interests of the people or the cause of just and righteous government.

So evident is it that the commercial feudalism has determined to poison the wells of the nation that it is of first importance that all thinking people be warned or put on their guard; for the most alarming feature of this poison campaign is found in the deceptive manner in which a large proportion of the reactionary press is disseminating the tainted news. Go where you will, you will find evidences in the press of this democracy-destroying influence.

When the plutocracy decided to destroy Governor LaFollette, and the boss-ridden machine of the Republican party was found inadequate to turn the tide of public favor against the brave and intrepid champion of the people's rights and of pure government, editorials and news matter were sent out over the state and published wherever papers could be induced to accept them, all furnished from one central depot of misinformation and all

aimed to weaken or destroy the people's leader. The circumstance that they failed was due to the fact that happily the people discovered in time the game which their enemies were playing, so their effort went for naught.

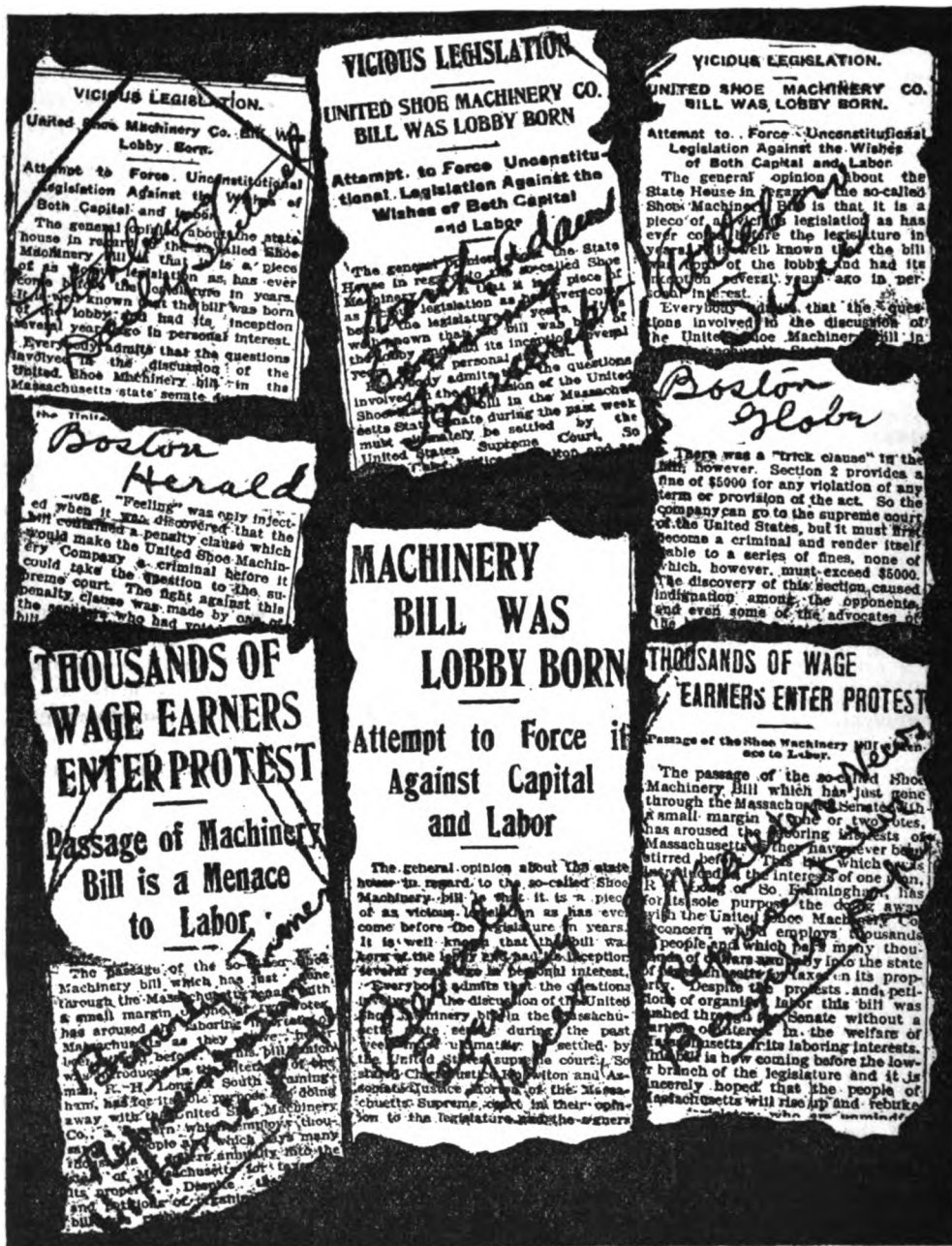
Prostitution of The Massachusetts Press.

Over a year ago THE ARENA published an *exposé* of an attempt on the part of one of the great public-service companies to render possible its ends in regard to certain legislative matter, by seeking to warp public opinion and deliberately deceive the readers of the Massachusetts papers. This was done by prostituting the purchasable papers of Massachusetts by paying them to publish as important news matter or as editorials, carefully written briefs or advertisements that had been prepared for the corporation in question. It was shown that a large number of Massachusetts dailies thus deliberately betrayed the confidence of their constituents, who never dreamed that the columns they were reading as impartial news matter or as editorials reflecting the opinions of the paper, were nothing more than the hired advertisements of a grasping corporation, inserted in the press for the purpose of misleading the readers.

This year another flagrant example of this nature has come to light. The chief offender in this instance was the Shoe Machinery Trust of Massachusetts, and the newspaper prostitutes, happily, were thoroughly exposed by the *Boston American*,—so thoroughly, indeed, that the corporation failed in its design and the legislation demanded in the interests of the people was effected. But for a time it seemed that the lobby and the political machine would be as powerful in securing the corporation's wishes and in defeating the ends of good government as they have been for so many years since the corporations have become the power behind the political machine, and to a large extent also behind the press, of Massachusetts. Indeed, but for the *Boston American* there can be little doubt but what the Shoe Machinery Trust would have triumphed. When it seemed that all that was necessary would be the usually effective persuasive influence on the people's representatives and the complacency of the purchasable editors of the press, the publicity bureau of the trust became active. Advertisements were sent out for the purpose of appealing to different

elements in the different communities. All the matter sent out was to appear either as editorials or as news matter. One editor on the witness stand in a case where a legislator, who had taken a sum of money with the promise that he would vote for the trust

measure, was being tried for bribery, swore that he received \$40 a week for editorials favorable to the trust, whenever editorials satisfactory to the representative of the Shoe Machinery Trust were written and published in his journal.



The accompanying cuts, published by the *American*, show how the trust and the mercenary press sought to control public opinion in the interests of the corporation by deceiving the reading public.

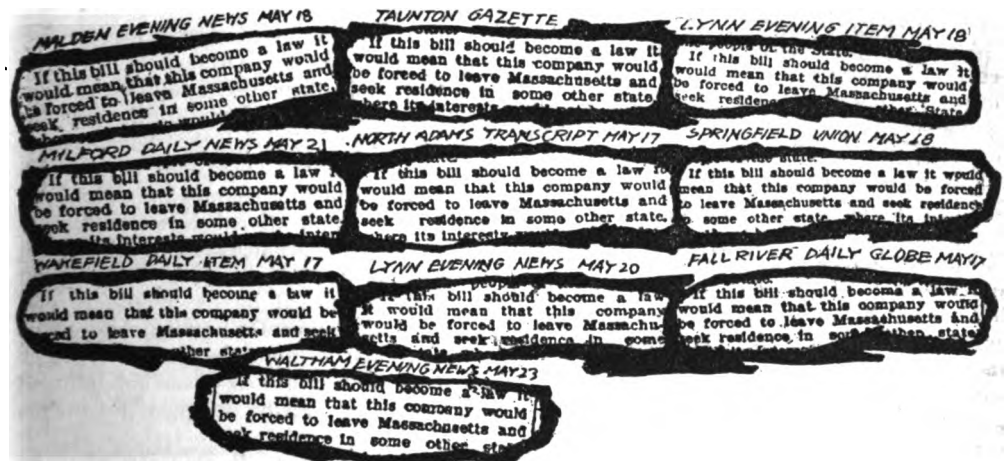
To the credit of the *Boston Post and Traveler* be it said that they, like the *American* refused to prostitute their columns, even for pay, in the interests of the trust; and the timely exposure by the *American* and the evidence brought out in the trial of the legislator for bribery so aroused public sentiment that the legislature did not dare to defy the people, and the bill was defeated. Incidentally it should be noted that the trust, which was buying newspapers to deceive the unsuspecting reading public by publishing its advertisements as original news matter, was deliberately falsifying in order to gain its point. The advertisements in question, as will be seen by referring to a cut which ac-

falsehoods calculated to deceive their readers, in order that the shoe machinery monopoly might defeat the legislation demanded to better safeguard the interests and rights of the people.

How The Feudalism of Privileged Wealth is Extending Its Poison Campaign.

This clear-cut exhibition of how the venal press is betraying its trust and seeking deliberately to mislead and deceive its confiding readers for hire, is typical of what is going on all over the land. Indeed, so successful has been the industrial autocracy in further bulwarking itself and in defeating the interests and cause of the people by poisoning the wells of public information, that it has recently extended its sphere of activity.

In the *exposé* by *Collier's Weekly* on May 4th, to which we have already referred, and which was given largely to describing some of



companies this article, declared that "if this bill should become a law it would mean that the company would be forced to leave Massachusetts and seek residence in some other state." Yet on June 5th, after the passing of the measure by the legislature, President Winslow issued a statement in which he said: "The United Shoe Machinery Corporation has never had any intention of ceasing to manufacture or supply shoe machinery in Massachusetts."

Here we see that the Massachusetts papers prostituted their high function by publishing for pecuniary benefits, as simon-pure reading matter or as editorials, deliberately penned

the means by which "the interests" succeed in getting their political and economic propaganda into the news columns of the papers all over the country, it was shown that agencies have been organized for the purpose of systematically educating the people against public-ownership by the dissemination of misleading news items.

"These agencies," says *Collier's Weekly*, "secure the publication of articles and propaganda favorable to 'the interests' which employ them by a careful keeping in the background of the identity of their employers. . . . Of these agencies the one which has been and now is employed by the most important

corporations, goes by various names. In Boston it is the Publicity Bureau, in New York the Press Service Company, in Washington the National News Service. . . . In all of these guises their business is the manufacture of public opinion favorable to the corporations and interests which employ them. They hire themselves out to change public sentiment. Most often it is to quiet the clamorous indignation which some corporation has brought upon itself by the revelation of its wrong-doing; occasionally it is to sow the seeds of corporation propaganda, to fertilize the public mind for the friendly reception of some long-planned move in corporation aggrandizement."

Collier's next proceeds to make an amazing revelation of how this service deceives the people. Several extracts are given from newspapers, one an attack on F. C. Howe's article in *Scribners'* on municipal-ownership. Another bears the heading "Regulation of Railroad Rates Is Strongly Opposed," etc.

Another *exposé* of the startling manner in which the industrial autocracy is thus deliberately poisoning the minds of the people by the most glaringly false items that bear all the evidence of being authoritative and reliable, was given in an editorial in the *New York American* of May 24th, in which the writer thus summed up facts which are of so serious a character that they should arrest the attention of all thoughtful people and lead them to unite in a determined and aggressive campaign for the overthrow of the great criminal interests that are not only striking at the pocket-books of the millions and the prosperity and happiness of America's homes in order further to enrich the few, but are necessarily undermining the moral rectitude of the nation and striking at the vitals of free government.

"The tainting of the nation's news," says the editorial referred to, "to serve the interests of the public utility corporations seems to have reached a point where it calls for defensive action on the part of the public.

"The columns of some newspapers have long been systematically debauched by the circulation of lying reports concerning the failure of public-ownership and the good deeds of corporations. Most careful observers are perfectly familiar with that fact. Now the art has been carried to new and more dangerous lengths.

Economists and men of repute in the

universities are induced or tricked into making an utterance favorable to corporation rule. This utterance, with all the emphasis that can be given to it, is printed in pamphlet form and distributed through the mails to all the householders of the country. Very often the remarks are taken from their context or twisted from their true meaning, and the country is flooded with them before the truth can be made known.

"In Washington, which is the conspicuous center of trust-made literature, the Government printing office is made to serve the same ends. When some Senate committee is conducting a hearing in regard to charges made against a railroad, for example, an advocate of the carriers will send in a communication cleverly defending the corporations he serves. This letter, independent of the testimony offered to controvert it, is printed separately as a Government document and as such begins an itinerary of misleading education.

"The railroads have secured the services of several economists. Ostensibly these men are expressing their own opinions. They frequently address such organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science. On such occasions even newspapers alert against the character of the matter sent out by the National News Service at Washington, the Municipal-Ownership Publishing Bureau of New York, and similar organizations created by the predatory corporations, are frequently beguiled into giving space in their columns to reports of such addresses, cleverly passed off as unpurchased utterances, and really designed to further trust interests.

"Correspondents at Washington are supplied with such literature. The indirect method employed by the corporations to distort public opinion has all the cunning of the most masterful minds. Beyond question it is the most adroit and effective weapon ever devised against reform. It has already resulted in the preserving of many threatened special privileges and promises to keep alive many more."

The press which does not scruple to sell its news and editorial columns to the highest bidder, and thus plays the harlot with its sacred trust when the bidder is a great public-service corporation or a monopoly seeking to further its ends and defeat the public interests by deceiving the people, cannot be ex-

pected to be conscientious when it comes to dealing with individuals. Now the press has a power which is possessed by no other agency in setting up and casting down individuals or business enterprises; and it is a sorry commentary on the present condition of the American press that great and powerful newspapers are often found publishing not only in their advertising columns, but in their editorial or news departments and special columns devoted to what is supposed to be simon-pure reading matter, articles of the most amazing character, when the facts in relation to them are known. In this connection we call attention to the cut which we reproduce entitled "Successful Brokerage

sible financial news departments in the city of Boston, and which has a large following because of its high reputation and long years of efficiency.

"The astute Royall valued the *Herald's* endorsement so highly that he not only had it reprinted in the columns of that newspaper, but in others, as a paid advertisement.

"The James Royall referred to, who has been posing in Boston for some time as a 'banker and broker,' was three times indicted in the state of Illinois as a criminal operating a bucket-shop game; was convicted and forfeited his bond; was arrested and convicted again, and finally fled from that state to avoid a possible term in prison, soon afterwards opening up in Boston as an alleged 'broker.'"

After a full detailed account of this man's career, the *Traveler* adds:

From "About Town" column Boston Herald.
SUCCESSFUL BROKERAGE HOUSE.

Mr. James Royall, the well-known stock broker of 22 Exchange street, tells me that during the years in which he has conducted his establishment the volume of business he transacts daily has grown very largely. This can be readily believed by the writer, as at no time during market hours are his offices otherwise than crowded by customers. In fact, it is generally conceded that Mr. Royall conducts a larger business than any house in his line in Boston with one exception. He has direct wire connection with every important financial centre in the country, and the service he offers is all that can be desired in promptness and courtesy. Mr. Royall has more than a score of years of successful experience in financial affairs to his credit, and has gathered about him at his Boston office a large coterie of clients, many of whom operate on an extensive scale.

House." It is an advertisement that was published in various Boston papers, after the content matter had appeared as simon-pure reading matter in the "About Town" column of the Boston *Herald*. The publication of this notice in the *Herald* greatly surprised many people, as the reader will readily understand after perusing the following extracts from an editorial leader in the Boston *Traveler*. In calling attention to the cut of the advertisement, the *Traveler* said

"This handsome complimentary notice was republished from the columns of the highly respectable Boston *Herald*, which is supposed to conduct one of the most respon-

"The facts as to Mr. Royall's record were printed fully in the *Traveler* over a year ago, and they are well known to people in the financial district, as well as to a large portion of the public. The Boston *Herald* claims that it accepts for publication in its columns only the most substantial advertising. How the *Herald* can, therefore, allow its pages to be used for the publication of such stuff, by endorsing the business of a man convicted in Illinois as a criminal, is something to be explained to its readers, to whom it owes some obligation and who have a right to inquire. When the *Herald* says that 'Mr. Royall conducts a larger business than any house in his line in Boston, with one exception,' it should state something of what the line is. Again, the *Herald* says, 'Mr. Royall has more than a score of years of successful experience in financial affairs to his credit.' The recital of Royall's business career outlined above scarcely justifies such a statement."

But such laudation of such character as is indicated from the above, in the editorial and reading columns is but one phase of the way certain newspapers attempt to set up or cast down persons at will, without regard to the facts involved or the law of justice and equity. In the January *ARENA* we called the attention of our readers to the systematic and unwarranted, because false and misleading, attacks that were being made in the New York *World* against the revered founder and head of the Christian Science movement

In our May issue we called attention to the equally reprehensible concerted campaign of misrepresentation being carried vigorously forward by certain papers. Among these journals the two principal offenders were the *Boston Herald* and the *New York World*. The *Boston Herald* day after day published with great scare headlines, articles calculated to prejudice judge or jury when the case came to trial, because they were circumstantial presentations of alleged facts so colored and artfully presented as to convey the impressions which the adroit attorneys who were engaged in the persecution of the venerable leader of the Christian Science movement desired to instil into the minds of judge, jury and public. These articles not only assailed high-minded and honorable men who had long stood before the community without the shadow of scandal being cast upon their names or their actions, but it was even intimated that they had resorted to forgery and cuts were published of tracings of signatures, to try and prove that Mrs. Eddy had not signed certain documents. Then, when the news supply ran short, the *Herald* resorted to something that has rarely been resorted to by a paper pretending to be a news journal. It devoted the first column on the first page—the news page—to the republication of an article that had long before been published in a medical journal—an attack on Christian Science, which after having appeared in the journal in question had been issued in pamphlet form. This on two successive days was given in the *Herald* in the first column on the first page, as if it were some new news-matter.

The New York World as Instigator of The Suit Against Mrs. Eddy.

Since the publication of the May *ARENA*, facts have come to light of a most astounding character, that seem clearly to indicate that the originator of the suit brought ostensibly by Mrs. Eddy's relatives was the *New York World*. In the January *ARENA* we showed conclusively how this paper stood discredited and disgraced in the eyes of the fair-minded and truth-loving public, owing to its reckless publication of statements in regard to Mrs. Eddy's physical and mental condition which had been thoroughly discredited by leading citizens of Concord. Doubtless the *World* smarted under the humiliation of the thorough exposures of the falsity of its charges, made

through various public organs, but whether this was the prime motive or whether there were secret financial considerations acting as an incentive, it would appear evident from the *World's* own admissions and certain letters in connection with the case, that the *World*, and not Mrs. Eddy's relatives, was the sinister influence which inaugurated the movement, and, indeed, induced the relatives to consent to bringing the suit in the name of the "next friends," or, as Mrs. Eddy aptly termed them in an interview which she gave to the *Boston Globe* in June, "next enemies."

In the *World* of October 28th, appeared the statement that "legal action to ascertain the full truth is practically assured." And on March 22d the *World* said:

"The foundations of this action were laid months ago in the public disclosure of gross deception at Pleasant View, where a human dummy was employed in the impersonation of Mrs. Eddy.

"International interest was aroused and in the wide conflict of opinions the real facts were clouded in doubt and uncertainty.

"At this juncture public-spirited citizens decided that legal proceedings of the most dignified character were vitally necessary to establish the truth.

"The selection of a man to direct legal proceedings of such great importance to those immediately interested and to society at large was a work of great difficulty.

"The choice fell upon William E. Chandler, New Hampshire's distinguished statesman for nearly a half-century.

"George W. Glover was found in his home at Lead City, South Dakota, impoverished and utterly hopeless."

Again the *World* said:

"Duty impels Mrs. Eddy's son to fight in his mother's behalf. After years of discouragement, through poverty, George W. Glover, a western miner, welcomes the powerful friends who have come to his aid."

Then followed in the *World* the whole story of the getting of George Glover to agree to the litigation in which it was necessary to interest him. The doubt about obtaining his coöperation and the things which it would be necessary to say to him are all set forth.

In the *World's* article it was admitted that

Glover's aid "was sought," and the writer further stated that:

"It was with the knowledge of all these facts that an agent entrusted with the mission of placing before Glover his legal opportunity, left New York for Lead City on the night of November 22d. This agent brought with him two letters upon which he placed great stress for the successful outcome of his visit to Mary Baker G. Eddy's son."

The *World's* confession shows how the tempter proceeded to seduce Glover. The editor of the *Daily Patriot* of Concord, New Hampshire, in an editorial *exposé* of the New York *World*, after giving an extended and detailed account of the leading and discreditable part taken by the *World* in this case, published the following:

"The above reveals the argument that was brought to bear upon Glover 'his legal opportunity.' Opportunity for what? Opportunity to become rich. Opportunity to exploit the money, a dollar or a penny of which he never earned. The agent was to play upon Mr. Glover's weakness and cupidity. He was to leave no stone unturned to obtain Glover's consent to become a party to the suit. And Chandler has been engaged as a lawyer in the case largely because he was of New Hampshire, and his pleadings with the son to aid the New York *World* in the persecution of his mother would be more effective because he was a New Hampshire man.

"Who was the agent that was sent with Mr. Chandler's letters to Lead City to secure Mr. Glover's approval and consent? We believe and we have reason for believing that the agent was Mr. Slaght of the New York *World*.

"Senator Chandler agreed to give to the case the sanction of his standing, and daily, since the case became his care, his interest in it has deepened and broadened.

"As at first, the success of the initial step was due in the greatest part to the suggestions conveyed from Senator Chandler to George W. Glover, so now the augury of success in the courts is that so learned and fearless a statesman and lawyer will conduct the case to his fullest ability.

"As facts were evolved in the West, it was clearly shown that the idea of enlisting

the services of Senator Chandler was nothing short of an inspiration. Glover was New Hampshire born, and it was thought that narrowed though his perspective might be through lack of education, unable even to read, he must surely know of Senator Chandler as one to command a hearing no matter what the question might be. As eventually proved, Glover did indeed know of Senator Chandler, had been able to follow his career, and watched him as one who had added to the fame of his native state.'

"How difficult it must have been to have gotten Mr. Glover to lend his name to this action. What falsehoods may have been practiced; what sophistries indulged in; what influences brought to bear, and yet, the *World* and one or two other publications have sought to make the public believe that this action was a just one, and that it was instituted by her son on the plea of justice and fair dealing.

"And now we come to the letters referred to in one of the preceding paragraphs, one of which Mr. Chandler was induced by his employer, the New York *World*, to address Mr. Glover. The letter follows:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 22, 1906.

"My Dear Mr. Glover:

"I have consented to act as legal counsel concerning certain questions which arise in connection with Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy. They are stated in a letter from me to Mr. — who will call upon you and can show you my letter to him.

"It is important for private and public interests that these questions should be investigated, and met and fairly and justly disposed of as questions involving doubts, which from large and commendable motives all good citizens and especially all relatives of Mrs. Eddy should help to solve and settle. Therefore, please be sure and give Mr. — a full hearing, and possess yourself of all the facts which he will be able to give you.

"Very respectfully,

"WM. E. CHANDLER."

"To whom had Chandler 'consented'; not Glover for Chandler had never seen him. Who employed Chandler?

"Then follows the letter which Senator Chandler spoke of in his letter to Mr. Glover which he, Mr. Chandler, had given to the agent, who, we said, we had reasons for believing was Mr. Slaght, one of the New

York *World's* representatives. Clearly it is a reply to a letter from Mr. Slaght to Mr. Chandler.

“WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 22, 1906.

“My Dear Mr. ———:

“I consent to act as counsel concerning certain questions which arise in connection with Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy. It seems clear that there are serious doubts about several points.

“1. Mrs. Eddy may be detained in the custody of strangers against her will.

“2. She may be so nearly worn out in body and mind as a confirmed invalid, that she is incapable of deciding any questions whatever, according to any will or pleasure of her own, and necessarily, therefore, incapable of managing her business, and property affairs.

“3. Being thus restrained or incapable without relatives near her, she may be surrounded by designing men, who either have already sought or may hereafter seek to wrongfully possess themselves of her large property, or induce her to make a disposition of it contrary to what would be her sane and deliberate intentions, if she were in perfect possession of her liberty and mental faculties.

“These doubts have arisen in connection with investigations recently made. Beyond all question, steps should be taken to solve the doubts, to correct wrong if it exists, and to establish the right in every respect.

“This new work should be done if possible, in coöperation with Mrs. Eddy's son or any other relative who may be impressed with his duties in this regard; and if the relatives do not move, it should be done by such right-minded citizens as are in sympathy with the commendable movement. Yours truly,

“WM. E. CHANDLER.”

“Let us look at the last letter a moment. Mr. Chandler tells Mr. Slaght that he consents to act as counsel. Then we must believe that Mr. Slaght employs him, and if Mr. Slaght, then the New York *World*, and if the New York *World*, then the suit is not one to right wrong or protect weakness, but to punish all who dared to disagree with the representatives the *World* sent to Concord to secure a sensational story. It will be noticed that in Mr. Chandler's letter, he does not say that Mrs. Eddy is detained in custody, or that she is nearly worn out in body and mind, or that she is surrounded by designing

men, but that she may be. Had Mr. Glover read it as carefully as you and I have read it, and had observed that Mr. Chandler was not neglecting his legal opportunity, his name would never have appeared as one of the plaintiffs in the case.

“If any further evidence were needed to prove that the New York *World*, and not Mrs. Eddy's relatives had instituted this suit, it could be satisfactorily shown by the fact that before the papers had been filed in Concord or before a word had been given the Associated Press, touching the proceedings, the New York *World* had a representative in Concord who, in advance of all others, even in advance of the Concord paper, had wired the entire story to New York or had left it in the *World* office in New York before coming to Concord.”

Since the institution of the suit and the persistent publication by the Boston *Herald* and the New York *World* of the reckless and misleading articles which represented Mrs. Eddy as a prisoner, a wreck physically and mentally, Mrs. Eddy has been interviewed by Mr. Arthur Brisbane, editor of the New York *Journal* and one of the ablest newspaper editors in the world, and Mr. Brisbane found Mrs. Eddy possessed of her full mental vigor, keenly alert, intelligent and evincing a degree of mental and physical vigor rarely found in persons who have passed the eightieth milestone.

The editor of *Human Life* also had a long interview with Mrs. Eddy, and his testimony is similar to that of Mr. Brisbane; while in June, the Boston *Globe* commissioned one of its well-known writers, Mr. Edwin J. Park, to visit Concord and interview Mrs. Eddy. This he did and the result of his interview was published in the Boston *Globe* of Sunday, June 16th, in an article that occupied about five columns of the *Globe* and was headed as follows:

“Mrs. Eddy is Keen, Alert. Globe Man Finds No Sign of Mental Weakness. For 40 Minutes Church Head Talks Fluently, Incisively. Shifts Topics Easily, Reads and Writes Without Glasses. Calls Next Friends ‘Next Enemies.’ Declares Herself to be ‘Compos Mentis.’”

In the interview Mr. Park said:

“I was admitted to her study, and sitting

in front of and close to her, I had for 40 minutes an opportunity for uninterrupted conversation with the famous woman and for observation of her.

"In the interests of strict accuracy I desire to state at this point that most of the talking was done by Mrs. Eddy, and that my rôle was principally that of a most interested and earnest listener. The principal part I took in the conversation was occasionally to propound a question. Mrs. Eddy talked fluently and incisively. At no time was she at a loss for a word or an idea in conveying her meaning to me.

"Considering her age—she will be 86 years old the 16th day of July—Mrs. Eddy's memory for dates, names and circumstances seemed to me to be marvelous.

"Apparently every faculty of Mrs. Eddy's, with the single exception of her hearing, is unimpaired. To my mind, one of the most remarkable things she did this afternoon was to read without glasses. When I entered her study she was reading with the naked eyes a typewritten letter from J. B. Mosely of Macon,

Georgia. It contained a message of sympathy and good cheer and Mrs. Eddy was much pleased by it. She read the letter to me, and later she read to me a selection from her book, *Science and Health*, printed in small type, as an answer to a question I had propounded to her. Still later, in my presence, she took a copy of *Science and Health*, which she presented me, and wrote in it my name and 'Compliments of the author, Mary Baker G. Eddy.'

"When she came to write my name she took my card in her left hand to make sure of the initial and read the card, without glasses, as she had the typewritten letter and the extract from the printed book."

Since the effort has been made to show that Mrs. Eddy at the present time cannot

write even her own name in a clear, legible manner, we reproduce her inscription of Mr. Park's name and her signature as given in the *Globe*.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon this personal case because it is unique, we believe, in the history of American journalism. It shows to what a dangerous extent reckless newspapers will go in attempts to discredit high-minded, loved and respected citizens. Here we find an elderly woman, peacefully and peaceably conducting her work, surrounded by her friends and the persons whom she herself has selected to be her companions and to help carry forward

Mr. Edmund J. Park

Compliments
of the author
Mary Baker G. Eddy

the great work to which she has consecrated her life,—a woman eighty-six years of age; and she is suddenly made the victim of a prosecution originated, not by the relatives in whose name the suit is brought, any more than was the suit brought in the interests of Mrs. Eddy, as the "next friends" claim. It is difficult to conceive of a more outrageous thing than the pernicious activity of a great newspaper in hounding and harassing an aged woman, as has been the case in this instance. Most elderly persons who had passed the eighty-fifth milestone would have been completely crushed, would have been killed by the suit, the slander, the calumny and the persistent venom manifested by the newspapers and attorneys in the suit. The fact that Mrs. Eddy in the middle of June gave this forty-minute interview which is

given in the detailed account in the *Boston Globe* of June 16th, after all that she must have gone through during the past year from her persecutors, indicates that she is a woman of remarkable mental ability and strength of character. The circumstance that her superior mental virility and physical endurance have enabled her to rise superior to what would have caused the death of most persons under similar circumstances, does not in the slightest degree lessen the moral criminality of the persecution to which she has been subjected.

We have referred at length to the *World's* confession and the evidence that points to its being the original promotor of the law-suit, because of the exceptional nature of the wrong—a brutal, inhuman persecution which has ruthlessly disregarded the rights which civilization almost universally accords to venerable womanhood. Moreover, if the reckless press, the astute hired attorneys and the fortune-hunting relatives should succeed in this case, no one possessing a fortune would be safe from possible like procedure; for if a peaceable woman, enjoying the respect of the community in which she lives and devoting her life to doing good and to promoting a cause to which she has consecrated her life, can be

rudely despoiled of her fortune or denied the right of spending it as she desires, at the instigation of sensational newspapers, notoriety-loving lawyers and fortune-hunting relatives who have never aided in any degree in the accumulation of the fortune, then who might not be similarly persecuted and despoiled?

Here, then, we have a number of typical illustrations of how through the moral degradation that has followed the rise of the industrial autocracy, with the dominance of sordid concepts born of the materialism of the market over moral idealism, the well-springs of public information are being poisoned. And this poisoning is resulting in defeating the ends of democratic government, in impoverishing the many for the enrichment of the few, in lowering the moral ideals of the molders of thought in the field of journalism and elsewhere, and in rendering insecure the sacred rights of peaceable and peace-loving citizens. It would be impossible, we think, to overestimate the gravity of the evils of this prostitution of the press for sordid or personal ends. It is an evil so fundamentally destructive to free government and so sinister in its potential effect upon the individual that no thoughtful or earnest-minded citizen can be indifferent to its steady and ominous advance.

IMPORTANT WORK OF THE HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY OF ITALY.

Movements That Are Making For Social Upliftment.

WHILE there are titanic forces fighting against the democratic ideal in government and life, while avarice, greed and a sordid spirit of self-absorption have seized upon many of the master brains in the business and political world, prostituting God-given gifts to the furtherance of selfish ends that are prejudicial to justice and human rights, there are innumerable forces and factors that are leagued with progress and the higher humanities and that are silently but effectively working for the redemption and upliftment of the poor and unfortunate,—forces that are ceaselessly operating on the submerged tenth and are leveling up the lives of the unfortunate; and one of the most hopeful factors in this connection is that the work is almost

civilization-wide in its scope. Especially is it marked where the democratic spirit has gained a strong foothold.

THE ARENA has on several occasions dwelt at length on different phases of this work. In our last issue Professor Charles Sprague Smith contributed a luminous account of the important labors being carried forward by the People's Institute of New York. At the present time we wish to notice an equally important work which is going forward under Italian skies.

Milan's Object-Lesson in Practical Social Service.

The Humanitarian Society is an organization of practical reformers who appreciate the importance of surrounding the wealth-creators with a healthy, hopeful and inspiring

home environment and giving to each person all possible aids to independent self-support. It receives quite a revenue each year from the thousands of members who each pay one lira into the treasury. Recently it has been enriched by a munificent bequest from a wealthy citizen who contributed over two and one-half million dollars to the society. Its annual income at the present time is about one hundred thousand dollars.

The work of the society is practical and suggestive in character. One object with which it is concerned is the housing of the poor. The society spent over two hundred thousand dollars in the erection of model apartment houses for artisans, on the outskirts of Milan, selecting a district which enjoyed excellent street-car service. From the description given by Mr. A. Holden Byles, the editor of *London Progress*, the interior of these blocks must be as pleasing and attractive as is the exterior, and judging from the pictures published in the last issue of *Progress*, this is saying much.

"There are," says Mr. Byles, "15 blocks, containing 216 tenements, and capable of housing about 1,000 men, women, and children. The rooms are large and lofty, with French windows opening onto a small—and in some cases a large—balcony. Each tenement, if only one room, has its own water-closet, dust chute, gas and water supply. Between the blocks are gardens. . . . One of the buildings is devoted to purposes of public utility; it contains a library and reading-room, theater, gymnasium, and a large common room where the tenants meet to discuss the affairs of the tenements. There is also a school in which are taught drawing, needlework, and machine knitting, the roof of the building being used as a playground. The cost of the teaching and the feeding of the children is defrayed by the city. The rent of the tenements is 95 lira per annum for each room—rather less than 1s. 6d. per week—with a small extra charge for the rent of gas fittings and gas cooking stove. The tenants of these rooms earn on an average of from 3 to 3½ lira a day, and they have formed themselves into a coöperative society for the supply of coal, provisions, etc. Plans have now been adopted for a large public laundry, baths and lavatories."

But the work of housing the artisans in healthful and hope-stimulating quarters is but one of the practical labors that are being

successfully carried forward by the society. It spends each year about forty thousand dollars on education.

"It has established and maintained day and evening technical schools in various parts of the city. . . . The schools are for the children of the quite poorer class, and not only is the tuition perfectly free, but the children are fed. It is intended to give to girls who have just left school (from 12 to 15 years of age) free tuition in designing, dress-making, millinery, embroidery, starching, ironing and cookery. . . . All articles made in the school are sold, and a portion of the proceeds is given to the worker. The girls may remain three years, but many of them leave at the end of the first year; but even then a girl who, without this training, would only earn 20 cents a day, can obtain 70. . . . The cookery scholars prepare the dinners for the rest, but those who do the preparation are allowed to provide themselves with special luxuries."

In an evening school held under the auspices of this society, observes Mr. Byles, "practical instruction is given to youths in all that relates to the production of books—the use of the linotype, lithography, electrotyping, etc.; bookbinding will also be taught when the new building now in course of erection is completed. Other schools have been established, and are managed by this society, in other parts of the city, for teaching the application of art to such trades as marble working, jewelry, engraving and decorating; and many, even of the municipal, schools of a similar kind are liberally subsidized by the *Umanitaria*."

Another important labor of the Humanitarian Society is fostering practical coöperation throughout Italy.

"Through its Agricultural Bureau," says Mr. Byles, "it seeks to extend agricultural coöperation by means of lectures, subsidizing traveling professorships in agriculture, provincial committees for the improvement of stock, and small rural industries. For the furtherance of this work it has established a Credit Bank for Coöperators, which last June had a working capital of 80,000 lira (\$25,200). This bank makes money loans, without interest, to assist not only new societies to meet their initial and in some cases their operating expenses, but also the older societies to perfect

their organizations, and to purchase farm implements for common use. It has also generously endowed an 'Institution of Credit,' which is doing much to support and develop the coöperative movement, both for production and distribution. The contract for new harbor works in Genoa, and of a railway in Northern Italy, has been undertaken by coöperative labor, owing to the assistance given by the *Umanitaria* to this Credit Institution."

Movements like the above speak of the rising

tide of true civilization and the growth of a nobler, truer sentiment in the public mind. They do not strike at the great fundamental social, economic and political evils that must be met and overcome before an ideal society can arise to a noble humanity, but they are accomplishing a vast amount of vitally necessary labor and above and beyond all these things are developing the nobler side of the lives of those who come into touch with the work, whether as helpers or the helped.

EMILY HOBHOUSE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOME-INDUSTRIES MOVEMENT.

The Victory of a Heroine of Peace.

THE SECOND annual report of the Boer Industries and Aid Society, issued May, 1907, is of peculiar interest to friends of peace and true civilization, furnishing as it does a striking illustration of what one woman—one heroine of peace, has achieved by a consecrated life devoted to the cause of humanity, while also showing the value and importance of industrial training that not only in a real way lays the foundation for future national wealth and power, but equips the children of the nation with an effective weapon with which to become independent and self-sustaining citizens.

On two occasions THE ARENA has noticed somewhat at length the fine work of Miss Emily Hobhouse and a few other devoted English women who under her leadership and guidance have devoted life's best energies to teaching the helpless and unfortunate Dutch girls of the South African Colonies how to spin, weave and make useful and valuable cloths, fabrics and carpets for home comforts and commercial purposes. Our former articles were written when the work was in its infancy. Now two years have elapsed and the labors are already beginning to show promising fruitage in many directions, not the least in the wonderful influence which they have exerted in lessening the feeling of hatred and bitterness left by the cruel war waged by the reactionary British Ministry. Into a land devastated and despoiled by that supreme moral crime of Christian civilization—war; into the midst

of a people prostrated and helpless, where fathers, brothers and husbands had been mowed down and taken from the dependent ones, and where hundreds of mothers had perished as one of the grim consequences that ever follow in the wake of war, came Emily Hobhouse, a young English woman animated by the same spirit of devotion to the suffering and the helpless that made Florence Nightingale and Dorothea Dix supreme among the moral heroines of history. She saw the indescribable wretchedness, the fearful poverty and helplessness of the Boer women and girls,—great families of young people with no protectors and no means of sustenance, eager to earn a livelihood, but innocent of practical industrial training and possessing nothing with which to obtain the necessary schooling. Miss Hobhouse opened a free industrial school and offered the girls of the Orange River Colony the chance to learn to spin and weave,—the opportunity to turn the immensely valuable natural products of their country into articles of prime necessity and enhanced commercial value. To this work she consecrated her life, energy and means, enlisting other high-minded women in the labor, not only in England, but also on the Continent and in America. The person outside England who deserves the greatest credit for her ceaseless devotion to this cause is the brilliant, earnest and accomplished Contessa degli Asinelli, whose home at Geneva has been one of the dynamic centers for generating world-wide interest in the practical labor of love.

When Miss Hobhouse arrived in South Africa, she found the vanquished people cherishing little but hate and bitterness toward the British. Her task was at first naturally a difficult one, but soon the despairing and helpless people saw in her a true angel of helpfulness, a messenger of love and up-building, just as the armies mustered by the reactionary British Administration had been messengers of death and destruction. And the helpless ones soon learned to love and lean upon the heroine of peace who had come into their midst. They evinced the greatest eagerness to learn how to spin and weave, how to make things needful for the clothing of the body and the making of the homes that they hoped some day to have more comfortable and cheerful.

Lack of wheels and looms was at first a great drawback, but as many as could be accommodated were taught, and when this work was well under way, Miss Hobhouse founded a similar school in the Transvaal. Here the experiences of the Orange River Colony were duplicated, the great drawback being the lack of facilities and teachers to meet the Macedonian cry.

Of the material success and achievements we shall speak later, but now we wish to note a supreme result—the great moral victory won by this English woman and her companions.

!A Great Moral Victory.

Usually it requires considerably more than one generation even materially to assuage the hatred and bitterness that conquered peoples entertain toward the victors, but thanks largely to two circumstances, one the loving and practical labor of Miss Hobhouse and her friends, and the other the wise and just action of the Liberal Ministry, what would ordinarily require from fifty years to a century to accomplish is being achieved in the incredibly short space of a few years. If England continues the just and truly statesmanlike policy that has marked the present Ministry, and such labors as those of Miss Hobhouse are faithfully pushed forward, the chaos of hate and bitterness will soon disappear and one great, earnest and closely knit people will be found striving for mutual self-help and national greatness. Something of the moral value of this work may be seen from the following extract from a letter recently written by General Louis Botha:

"In starting this industry in South Africa, Miss Hobhouse has done as much as anybody for the coöperation of Briton and Boer, and I feel sure that as the industry grows, so will the good feeling between the English and Dutch spread throughout the whole country."

Industrial Development Being Achieved.

The two parent schools are at Philippolis, in the Orange River Colony, and at Bellevue, near Johannesburg. They are now, says the latest report, "firmly established, and form centers from which Boer girls trained in hand spinning, dyeing, and weaving go out to teach the industry in the farmhouses and country districts."

In the school at Philippolis the girls are taught to spin the yarn and weave it into dress materials and rugs suitable for home consumption. But at Bellevue, in addition to such work, a great deal of much finer work is turned out—work for which there is already a far greater commercial demand than the schools can meet. Here a high grade of artistic excellence has been attained and normal teaching is quite a feature of the school work. Pupils who have passed through the school are now successfully teaching at Winburg, Schweizer Renecke, Ermelo, Potchefstroom and Middleburg.

In a letter from Miss Hobhouse to a European friend, in which she describes a successful exhibition given in Pretoria of the work produced at these industrial schools, she says:

"We took in about £160 (or about \$800). Practically all the good work sold quickly and easily, and certain lines could have been sold over and over again. Trek rugs, for instance, went quickly, and many orders for more were given us. They are woven now in one piece, and are extremely nice for traveling. It was satisfactory that Mr. —, head of large firms in these towns, came and spoke to me with a deep trade interest in the work, and singled out the trek rugs as a line he might usefully take from us. He took up one, and said he supposed we could not offer them under 80s., and was astounded when I said we were selling them for 30s., though I thought that too low. He asked how long it would take me to provide him with fifty, but I hesitate while our big looms are still so few, and our spinners still needing more organization, to enter into contracts with

tradesmen. Later, I hope we shall develop on that side.

"Our tapestry reversible carpets . . . would have sold many times. Mrs. Louis Botha had early secured the best, but a price was offered me for it by subsequent purchasers who wanted to buy it over her head. We took sundry duplicate orders.

"We were very proud of some plaids Philippolis has produced under its Scotch teacher, and also of some cloth both spun and woven by Miss Trichard for her brother's wear. Commandant Trichard is already cled by his daughter. In this lies much promise."

In another letter Miss Hobhouse writes:

"Susie Steyn is really improving in a marked way. A long and very beautiful rug she made for Mrs. H—— obtained great praise at the Exhibition, and a couple of duplicates were ordered. She is a complete orphan, and we are trying to make a rug expert of her, so that she may eventually support herself while remaining a permanent member of the Central School. Her slowness made us at first despair, but all of a sudden the greater deftness of hand seemed to come, and while two months ago she barely made

eight or ten rows in a day, she now does from twenty-five to thirty-three quite as easily. Her table of work lies before me, and I see that in six weeks she knotted some 55,000 tufts, besides the winding, warping, scouring, and dyeing concerned.

"Boschof, in the Orange River Colony, has decided to begin, and have bought from us £30 worth of wheels, and the case is just despatched, I have to select a teacher for them to begin on February 1st."

From the first the work has been handicapped by lack of sufficient funds to purchase adequate equipment, such as looms and wheels, and to secure skilled instructors. Recently, however, the services of an expert dyer and one familiar with the making of fine cloth have been obtained for six months, and a number of the Boer maidens are developing into very competent teachers; so the work is now so well under way that its success is thoroughly assured.

Unless all signs fail the labor inaugurated by Miss Hobhouse is destined to become one of the leading sources of commercial greatness and wealth to the people of South Africa, and a source of wealth that can only operate beneficially on the individual and society, as it will produce an ever-growing stream of wealth resulting from honest industry.

HOW AUSTRALIA CARES FOR HER ORPHAN CHILDREN.

NO SECTION of the globe has made more pronounced forward strides along the path of lofty humanitarianism of justice and wise statesmanship than New Zealand and Australia. If it be a mark of far-seeing statesmanship to make conditions favorable for all the wealth-creators of a land to own their homes, to be happy and contented under just rule, New Zealand holds the palm among nations for true statesmanship. If the wise state, considering her future interests and the sacred rights of the most helpless mites within her borders, proceeds jealously to guard, protect and foster the helpless orphans in order that they may grow to manhood and womanhood under conditions favorable to moral unfoldment, then Australia is, in this respect at

least, a leader among wise states, for here the orphans whom the State has to care for are not crowded together in houses or asylums and reared under machine-like rules during the most plastic years of their lives, but the State pays for the board of each child in a home that has been thoroughly investigated with reference to the moral atmosphere, the standard of living and other things vitally important for the child's well-being. The child is not permitted in any home where boarders are taken. The State aims to provide for each one a true home. At short intervals the carefully selected commissioners investigate to find out if the child is happy, healthy and developing as it should. When he is thirteen years old he is apprenticed to learn some useful trade, and the State keeps

rigid supervision over him till he reaches the age of twenty-one. As a result, the development of the orphan is in all respects similar to that of a child enjoying ordinary home relations, and in many instances the foster

parents and the child become almost if not quite as deeply attached as though the little one had been born into the home where it is adopted. Here we see civilization blossoming in governmental action.

FINLAND'S NINETEEN WOMEN LEGISLATORS.

HOW OFTEN it has been the small peoples who have lifted high the standard of justice and become the way-showers of civilization. When our great Republic turned from the vision to embrace the clod and gave herself up to the dominance of commercialism, it was the little sturdy Alpine Republic that developed a thoroughly practical and easily workable method for preserving a democratic republic or a government of, for and by the people, under the changed conditions and reactionary pressure of sordid wealth and other unrepugnant influences of our time.

When England's moral enthusiasm began to waver and reaction again assumed the aggressive in her government, it was New Zealand, the New England of the Antipodes, that lifted the standard of divine justice and boldly inaugurated a governmental system having for its fixed ideal the happiness, prosperity and development of all her citizens. These two nations have been practically the way-showers and leaders along the pathway of free and just government.

And now another small people has given the world a needed lesson in the science of just and free government. Finland, like New Zealand, has granted her women suffrage. But she has gone farther and after insisting that the provision for full suffrage to women be incorporated in her constitution, she set to work to place her foremost women in the halls of state to assist their brothers in law-making and government. At the recent election nearly a score of women were chosen to the Finnish Parliament.

The Anglo-Russian of London, for May, contained an extended and highly interesting account of the women's suffrage movement and the campaign that had ended so victoriously for the women. It also published five

small half-tone pictures of women leaders of the five parties, who were among the successful candidates, and seldom have we seen a finer or more thoughtful group of women than is here given.

After suffrage had been granted the women of Finland, the Finnish Woman's Association immediately began a vigorous campaign to educate the women in reference of their duties and obligations. Classes were formed, lectures were given, and mock elections were held. Indeed, a general educational campaign was carried on which cannot fail to greatly stimulate the intelligence of the women of Finland. The question of what the women should do or what they might accomplish was brought up for consideration, and the leading women with one accord decided that there was an opportunity for women to bring into politics a useful influence and impress a lesson that was everywhere needed. This decision was admirably summed up by Dr. Friberg, one of the leaders of the Young Finnish Party who has been elected to Parliament. She said:

"The women felt it incumbent on them to strive according to their best ability to restrain the hatred and lust of power which generally prevail within party lines. For, if the women could not bring some wholly new contribution to political life—whether the innermost spirit or the outward form of this life be concerned—but should only rally auxiliary forces to strengthen the existing parties, then neither they nor mankind would benefit by their interposition. What is most wanted in politics is not an increase in the number of voters merely, but the introduction of independent new forces, of new standards, and new ideals."

YOUNG MEN WHO ARE FREEDOM'S BULWARKS.

Signs of Dawn.

AMID much that is sinister and ominous in the present political situation there are certain signs that to students of history are pregnant with promise of better things. True, now as never before is predatory wealth entrenched in business life and in the citadels of government—entrenched so strongly that in spite of frequent fulminations, threats and promises of popular relief that come at intervals from the White House, the commercial feudalism grows more and more arrogant and oppressive, because of its knowledge of the power it holds through the practical ownership of the dominant political party, as well as leading politicians in the Democratic organization; yet a nation-wide revolt is in progress, led by men who are determined that free government shall not be overthrown in the interests of class rule acting through party machines.

The splendid success that has followed the introduction of direct-legislation in Oregon and elsewhere has been followed by a nation-wide agitation on the part of the friends of a democratic republic, that has already stricken terror to the hearts of the grafters, the corruptionists and other enemies of the Republic who for years have been steadily at work seeking to gain complete control of the machinery of government. These combined forces of treason against popular government have already set their tools and hirelings in public life at work, through the press and on the platform, to attack popular government. On the other hand, however, in almost every community young men are coming to the front with that fine spirit of lofty patriotism that leads men to consecrate life and treasure to the advancement of a noble cause, and these young men are placing their fingers on the cancer in the body politic and directing attention to the evil in such a way as to compel serious consideration.

A Typical Young Patriot in The Present Crisis.

A typical young man of this army which is in a great degree the hope of the Republic in the present war against the industrial autocracy and its ally, the money-controlled

machine, is Mr. Alden Freeman, of East Orange, New Jersey. The environment of this young man favored a life of comparative ease and self-centered gratification of whims and fancies. Many if not most of his companions were absorbed in pursuits whose master objects were either personal enrichment or selfish pleasures. The thought of the nation's peril from an industrial autocracy that through party machines was swiftly destroying the democracy that had cost so much of blood and treasure, concerned them as little as did the peril of the British nation concern the frivolous and self-centered young men of England when Eliot, Pym and Hampden consecrated their lives and fortunes to a forlorn hope, that constitutional government might not perish from the face of the Anglo-Saxon world. Who cares? After us, the deluge. Such is the spirit evinced by a large proportion of our young men when their attention is called to the fundamental causes of political corruption and popular exploitation to-day.

Not so with Mr. Freeman. He has elected to throw his life's energies into the work of bettering political conditions in New Jersey, and especially has he fought the powerful union of industrial autocracy and political corruption that has grown to giant-like proportions in his section of the state. Last year he published an important book which was a *résumé* of his year's work in exposing the methods of Senator Dryden and his confederates of the Prudential Insurance Company and the utility companies and banks in the politico-economic ring that has become so sinister an influence in New Jersey. This book did much to arouse the thoughtful and conscientious element of the state to the gravity of the situation that had been brought about by the industrial autocracy, and it was a powerful factor in rendering ineffective the desperate attempt of Senator Dryden to hold his seat in the United States Senate.

Mr. Freeman on The Present Menace to Free Government.

Recently Mr. Freeman delivered a noteworthy address on "The Demon of Partisanship and How It May be Exorcised,"

which we wish every young man in the Republic to-day could read, not only for its vital and timely thought, but also for the suggestive influence, for many who read it might be awakened from their lethargy and led to see that their duty lay in actively engaging in like service to our mother land in her present peril when the industrial autocracy is at her throat and the money-controlled machine is manacled her limbs to prevent effective resistance.

In opening his speech Mr. Freeman quoted Washington's memorable words relating to the curse and blight of blind allegiance to party, in which the great patriot said:

"If we mean to support the liberty and independence which have cost us so much blood and treasure to establish, we must drive far away the demon of party spirit and local prejudice."

These words, the speaker pointed out, were never more vital than to-day.

"It is not," he continued, "a new idea that animates the so-called reformers to-day. It is not a new conflict in which they are engaged. It is the old, old story of greed and craft—a tale as old as the world itself—of the struggle between the one and the many, between the king and his barons, between the baron and his vassals, between special privilege and the rights of the plain people.

"To-day the issue is becoming clearly defined between the great body of our citizens and those unscrupulous financiers who through the control of vast aggregations of wealth in the shape of corporations and trusts are the actual rulers of the country to-day.

"In the famous speech made by Lincoln at the birth of the Republican party he used these words: 'This thing is more powerful than its supporters—even than the high priests which minister at its altar. It debauches even our greatest men. It gathers strength, like a rolling snowball, by its own infamy. Monstrous crimes are committed by persons collectively which they would not dare to commit as individuals. Its aggressions and encroachments almost surpass belief.' Lincoln spoke of the institution of slavery, which was the special weapon of privilege in his day.

"Are not our liberties to-day equally menaced by the corporate control of our political

life? Do we not see railways and trolley companies kill people in bunches because of a greed which economizes on safety devices? Do we not find even in the administration of our courts one law for the individual and another law for the corporation?

"I am not sure that we are on the eve of the birth of a new party, but I am positive that we are now witnessing the death throes of two rotten political machines which masquerade under the honored names of Jefferson and Lincoln. If either of those great men were alive to-day do you think you would find them participating in party councils with the 'Tom' Platts and 'Sam' Dickinsons of the Republican party or the 'Jim' Smiths and 'Tom' Taggarts of the Democratic party?

"The control of the corporations is a political control. Through 'the demon of party spirit,' as Washington named it, the Belmonts and Ryans, the Hannas and Harrimans manage to divide the good people everywhere into the warring camps of political parties. So far has this policy of separation been carried since the days when our first President warned his countrymen against this particular danger that he clearly foresaw was to threaten the very existence of popular government, that it is frankly admitted to-day that the government of the United States has become a government by party.

"Everybody admits this, and most people will go further and acknowledge that this same government by party is administered *sub rosa* by various political bosses who are in turn merely the tools and agents of the high financiers behind them.

"How the business bosses behind the political bosses pull the wires was clearly shown by Governor Hughes in the insurance investigation. Mr. Hughes made it perfectly clear that, through the payment of campaign contributions, our financial masters control the machinery of both political parties."

Mr. Freeman showed that through the bosses, the partisan machine and the dailies controlled by the interests or the industrial autocracy, the electorate was always being admonished to be true to their party, to be regular, to be faithful to the organization. But this party loyalty, he showed, means absolutely nothing to the bosses when their masters' interests are threatened.

"Party loyalty means little to a political boss; it is a mere matter of business to a practical politician of the old school."

And he cited instances showing how the party bosses of each party rushed to the

rescue and aid of the bosses of the opposing party when incorruptible patriots were found battling for the real interests of the people; and he might have added that what was true of the party bosses was true in a large degree of the daily press.

THE SPLENDID SHOWING OF THE MUNICIPAL LIGHT AND WATER PLANT OF DULUTH: AN OBJECT-LESSON FOR OTHER AMERICAN CITIES.

THE RECENTLY published report of the water and light departments of the city of Duluth, Minnesota, shows that it is not necessary to cross the Atlantic to find examples of magnificent success following municipal ownership and operation of public utilities. The Morgan-Ryan-Rockefeller-Belmont influence through multitudinous channels since it can no longer delude the people in regard to the success of municipal-ownership in foreign countries, is systematically striving to convey the idea that our people are so corrupt and our municipal governments so hopelessly given over to graft, that public-ownership would be a failure in America. The fact that the tap-root of municipal, state and national corruption has been and is the public-service corporations, and the equally evident fact that until the people own and operate their public utilities the persons owning these natural monopolies will own and debauch government in all its ramifications, are carefully ignored; while the old alarmist tactics of the thief crying "Stop, thief!" are indulged in to deceive the unthinking. There is no reason to believe that the people would long tolerate corrupt practices in municipal management of their affairs, if the great bulwark of corruption,—the public-service corporations whose corrupt money and domination of machine and press enables the dishonest and undesirable citizens to obtain political favors and remain in office, was removed.

Duluth offers a striking example of the results that will follow municipal-ownership in this country, as they have followed it in Europe, when the corrupt influence of the public-service companies is withdrawn from politics. Here, according to the Board of Commissioners' report for 1906, "the earn-

ings of the department for the sale of both gas and water, have increased from \$271,105.28 in 1905, to \$309,456.83 in 1906. The expenses of operation, maintenance and interest have only increased from \$244,528.24 in 1905, to \$261,883.86 in 1906. The net surplus for the year, therefore, is \$47,572.97, as against \$26,577.04 for the preceding year."

Both systems, the commissioners point out, are making money, notwithstanding the reduction in the price of both gas and water since the city acquired the plants. In his report the manager, Mr. L. N. Case, shows that since the city has taken over the gas and water-works, there has been a constant reduction in the price of both these public necessities. At the time of the taking over of the gas plant, in the year 1898, the people of Duluth were paying \$1.90 for gas for lighting, and \$1 for fuel. In December, 1898, the municipal plant reduced the price of gas for lighting purposes to \$1.65. In 1899 the price was further reduced to \$1.40; in 1901 it was lowered to \$1.25; in 1902, to \$1.15; in 1903, to \$1; and in 1904 it was reduced to 90 cents for the lighting and 90 cents also for fuel. In 1904 a further reduction in the cost for fuel purposes was made to 75 cents, and in 1905 the price for both lighting and fuel was placed at 75 cents. In 1906 a further reduction for heating on premises and gas engines was made, the price being 50 cents.

The total reduction in charges for water since the city took over the works has been 50 per cent. According to Mr. Case's summary of the results since the city took over these two utilities as shown in a carefully computed table in this report, the net profits to the people of Duluth, through municipal-ownership of her lighting and water plants up to date, would amount to \$1,261,690.24.

SAN FRANCISCO: ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF HOW THE PUBLIC-SERVICE COMPANIES ARE THE MASTER SPIRITS IN MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

WHOEVER owns and operates the public utilities or natural monopolies of city, state or nation, will in time own or dominate the government. The enormously valuable prizes at stake, involving the opportunity for acquiring untold millions of dollars through the possession of monopoly rights which place the people as completely at the mercy of the public-service companies as the citizens of a nation are at the mercy of the tax-farmers, inevitably lead to corruption of the people's government, and ultimately to the practical ownership of the government by the industrial autocracy. And this condition is only intensified and aggravated when the city, state or nation, instead of owning and operating its monopolies seeks to regulate the private corporations. The stakes are so great and the harvest that comes when the monopolies have gained control of the nation and placed their own men in the places of vantage is so fabulous in its potential yields, that millions on millions will be spent to subvert the prostituted press of both parties, to gain complete control of the machines, and to influence the supposed representatives of the people. Whenever in recent years a trail of corruption has been uncovered, it has led to the public-service corporations.

Very much has been made by the journals that are the mouthpieces of the industrial autocracy, about the corruption of Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco, and the circumstance that the mayor happened to be a union labor candidate has been seized upon by the corruptionists and machine men of both parties, as if that circumstance were a conclusive argument against the working people putting forward candidates; while the circumstance that for years New York City, St. Louis and other cities cursed with corruption were manned by Democratic officials, and the people of Philadelphia and other great centers were betrayed in an equally shameless manner by Republican officials, is carefully passed over in silence. Yet all this should suggest to thoughtful men and women that there must be a common

corrupting influence that operates in all our great centers so as to debauch the people's representatives and degrade public service. The exposures in New York, as far back as the reign of Boss Tweed, proved the master source of this corrupting influence to be the union of the unscrupulous boss and his ring with privilege-seeking wealth.

In St. Louis, when Mr. Folk began his campaign against the grafting officials, \$135,000 of money put up by the street-car interests to corrupt the people's representatives was attached in vaults in the city.

The shameless attempt of the gas ring and other corrupt interests, manned by grafters who posed as safe and sane pillars of society, in Philadelphia, has been too recently exposed in *THE ARENA* to call for further notice.

Now in San Francisco the same facts have been revealed. The master influence in debauching Mayor Schmitz, the supervisors and other grafters was the public-service companies. In commenting on these facts the *New York American* on June 20th made the following thoughtful observations, worthy the attention of all people who think:

"Two hundred thousand dollars in bribes thrown into the legislative arena by that eminently respectable corporation, the street-railway company.

"Then came the wheedling, cringing telephone company with more money bags to dump into the pit.

"In other words, it was the public-service corporations of San Francisco, with their colossal bribes, that made criminals of the Mayor and most of the Supervisors.

"For there is no getting around the fact that if those corporations, bent upon securing valuable public rights, had not offered bribes, Schmitz and his associates would have had no opportunity to be bribed; nor to have formed the habit of exacting bribes from little criminals as well as big ones.

"Do n't let the responsibility be shifted. The public-service corporations are primarily to blame for San Francisco's disgrace. And

the pity of it is that so long as criminal corporations are permitted to exist, public officials will be frequently corrupted, because bribes, well placed, swell profits.

"And the securing of profits is the one great purpose for which a public-service cor-

poration lives; the serving of the public is only incidental."

Either the city, state and nation must own and operate the public utilities, or democracy must surrender to the industrial autocracy.

PLUNDERING THE PEOPLE FOR PHILANTHROPY.

FOLLOWING hard on the heels of the announcement that John D. Rockefeller had given thirty-two million dollars to the General Education Board, came the announcement of a big advance in the price of petroleum. On February 11th the Associated Press sent out the following news item from Marietta, Ohio:

"The heaviest single advance in oil ever made by the Standard Oil Company was announced to-day, amber, or deep, oil being advanced to 15 cents per barrel, and shallow oil 5 cents."

On the same day the announcement was made by the Standard Oil officials, of Newark, New Jersey, of a raise of one cent per gallon for kerosene oil.

It is an old story, this raising of the price of oil immediately on the heels of princely donations on the part of Mr. Rockefeller to colleges and churches, and the American people are becoming tired of the philanthropy of the master spirit of the greatest and most systematically lawless and extortionate trust, because they find from bitter experience that almost invariably the corollary of the ostentatious bribes given to silence church and school is the advance in the price of a prime necessity in the homes of the people,—the exercise of an extortion which in effect takes from the millions of poor their hard-earned pennies.

Doubtless Mr. Rockefeller and his fellow law-breakers and extortioners think his donations to church and school a further exhibition of his native shrewdness, as by them he is raised to the pedestal of a great philanthropist. The churches and the schools, which should be great aggressive voices for civic purity and business morality, are for the most part silenced, since they cannot consistently condemn the most persistent and odious law-breaking monopoly in America when they are

the beneficiaries of its ill-gotten wealth.

Moreover, the gifts, princely as they seem and are in size, are but a fraction of what the great machine built up by Mr. Rockefeller can and does extort from the people above what would be a reasonable profit on the money invested; and it should be remembered that these gifts are but a moiety of the money obtained by the captains of industry, who through special privileges, class laws and monopoly rights are able to levy unjust tribute upon all the people. Always the men who make these bequests, and who are master spirits in the great law-defying and corrupt monopolies and corporations, retain ample funds to enable them steadily to augment their enormous fortunes. The corporation treasuries have never lacked for means when it was deemed wise to furnish princely campaign contributions or to indulge in other forms of bribery by which the people have been robbed of their rights and turned over for their continued spoliation by the protected and privileged classes.

The recent large gift of Mr. Rockefeller was well timed. The Standard Oil law-breakers were indicted criminals and were waiting to be tried for serious offenses, and in spite of all the efforts to prevent it, the public conscience was slowly being aroused. Hence, it is very important to mollify public opinion. Dr. Washington Gladden well asked whether Mr. Rockefeller's gift was a benefaction or a restitution, and the Boston *Herald* observed that "it would have been in better taste for the donor to wait until the indictments were tried under which he now rests."

The giving of a tithe of the plunder that is the fruit of secret rebates and other moral crimes and acts of flagrant lawlessness is rendered doubly odious when each donation is followed by additional tribute levied on the millions of America, as has been the case in former years and as is the case at the present time.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Alameda, California.

IN CONSEQUENCE of the public-ownership policy adopted by this city, Alameda is now enjoying the cheapest electric power to be had in the state of California. There is a graduated scale ranging from three to seven cents per 1,000 watts, according to the amount used. The city officials are planning to extend the plant and increase its earning capacity. The following is taken from the report of the finance committee:

"The finance committee at its meeting took up the matter in regard to the demand of the electric-light department, against the general fund for the city lighting for the month of April, 1907, amounting to \$1,409.05 at the charge of \$4.50 per arc light. Your committee makes the following report: Taking the report on file of the electric-light department for the month of April, we find the operating expenses of the plant to be \$3,635.10. We also find the revenue from commercial lighting and power, etc., to be \$3,640.70 which shows the actual cost to the city for its lighting for streets and public buildings to be the nominal sum of \$24.40 or \$8.13 cents per arc light. The city is responsible for the cost of its lighting be it \$24 or \$2,400 and the general fund should not be called upon to pay any more than the deficit in each month whatever it may be. Your committee considers that the electric-light plant should have the credit due it for its successful management in reducing the city lighting to a nominal figure, and it is also due to the interested public who pay the taxes that they have this information.

Danville, Virginia.

DANVILLE is one of the 29 cities in the United States which own their own gas works. The last annual report published shows a production of about 40,000,000 cubic feet of gas, which was sold to consumers at the rate of \$1, and all connections made free. There are but 1,138 consumers. The total receipts for the year were \$38,319, and the expenses,

including 4 per cent. interest on bonds, were \$32,579, leaving a balance in favor of the department of \$5,740.

This city in 1905 built a new filtration plant for the solution of a very serious water problem. Its operation to date has proved very successful and economical, giving the citizens a good supply of pure water. The average water rental is said to be fully 60 per cent. lower than under the old system.

Hamilton, Ohio.

FOR SOME years Hamilton has had a municipal gas plant, which has sold gas in competition with a private company at 80 cents. The price of gas fixed by the city had to be met by the private concern. For the past few months the city has ceased manufacturing gas and bought its supply from the private company at 35 cents in the city's holder. Now the company has notified the Board of Public Service that henceforth it will sell gas to private consumers at 60 cents, and will not sell it to the city at less than 60 cents. The purpose of this of course is to eliminate the city from the field of supplying gas to the public, and it is believed that the city will be forced to rebuild its gas plant and again manufacture its own supply. The Board has decided to combine the new municipal electric-light plant and the new water-works under one roof and is spending about \$300,000 on these plants.

Ranier, Oregon.

THE TOWN of Ranier, Oregon, demonstrated recently the valuable power which the referendum gives to the people in governing their own affairs. A private water company had secured a franchise for the water supply of Ranier, and proceeded to tax the people excessively for this necessity. They exercised the power of the referendum vested in them, revoked the franchise of the water company, and voted bonds with which to establish a municipal system.

Jersey City, New Jersey.

AN ILLUSTRATION of the way in which corporations maintain league with each other in their fight against public-ownership in any and every form is afforded by a recent incident in this city. Jersey City has its own water plant. The Jersey and Suburban Water Company would like to own it, along with whatever franchises it could get. As an entering wedge and for the purpose probably of competing with the city in supplying water to certain large customers, this company had a line of water pipes delivered along the right of way of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The chief engineer of the Water Board discovered this and the Board passed resolutions calling upon the city's law department to prevent the use of the railway company's right of way for a pipe line for the private company, on the ground that the right of way can be used for railroad purposes only and not for the distribution of water.

Medina, New York.

THE BUFFALO, Lockport & Rochester Railway Company is building a line of track through this village. A dispute arose between the company and the village officials over the questions of grade and form of rails to be used. The dispute became so bitter that negotiations were broken off, and the attorney representing the village went to the county seat for an injunction. Meanwhile the contractors put a gang of men at work at night to complete the road. A midnight fire alarm was turned in, and the firemen drove the railroad workmen from their work with streams from their hose and held the field until the injunction arrived.

Wrentham, Massachusetts.

WRENTHAM has decided to install publicly-owned electric lighting and water plants. At a special town meeting called for this purpose the largest vote on record was polled, over two-thirds of the votes being cast in favor of the public-ownership proposition. The *Brookline Chronicle* in its account of this meeting says: "Progressive citizens who favored the projects were overjoyed at the result and during the evening there was an uproarious celebration, with fireworks, bell-ringing and a prolonged blowing of the straw-shop whistle."

Holyoke Ice Plant Vetoed.

THE BILL passed by the Massachusetts legislature authorizing the city of Holyoke to build and operate a municipal ice plant was vetoed by Governor Guild, and the veto was sustained by a vote of 51 to 113. How is that for a case of *minority* rule and *mis-representative* government? This regal governor in his veto said: "If this act should become law it would establish a precedent by following which any town or city in the commonwealth might engage in any kind of commercial or manufacturing enterprise." The lords of Massachusetts are wide awake as to the significance of any measure of this kind as well as the Public-Opinion Bill, and they do not propose to permit any precedent to be established which will interfere in the least with the control of the people's necessities by the corporations.

The Independence League.

THE INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE of New York City has taken up the old municipal-ownership petition originally circulated by the Municipal-Ownership League and given it new life of late. In 1905 this petition had 100,000 names signed to it. During the two weeks preceding the death in June of the League's Bill at Albany, new names were added to the petition at the rate of 15,000 a day.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

THE AGITATION for a municipal lighting plant in Minneapolis is bearing fruit. Mayor J. C. Haynes is positively committed to the public interest in this matter. He is quoted as saying: "As mayor of Minneapolis and as a private citizen, I pledge myself to do whatever I can toward furthering municipal-ownership of the electric-light privilege in Minneapolis, and I predict that this is about to be realized this year." There can be no doubt that Minneapolis is nearer the establishment of a municipal lighting plant to-day than at any time in its history, but the corporations are making their fight by means of reducing rates. Just how far they will go in this no one seems to yet know.

Brookline's Public Baths.

THE TOWN of Brookline, Massachusetts, has one of the finest public baths to be found anywhere. A report covering the use and

maintenance of the baths for the past 10 years has just been issued. The total number of baths taken has been 522,461 of which paid baths were 383,367 and free were 72,530. This valuable public institution is used by nearly half as many women and girls as men and boys. The average net cost to the town has been \$3,097 annually. A splendid public gymnasium adjoining the baths is being built and will be ready for use by October 1st. The committee in charge say that the bath house has been the means of materially benefiting the health of the community and has done a great work in popularizing swimming and bathing. "The hygienic and moral benefit thus brought about can never be estimated but we cannot doubt that it has been far-reaching."

Mexico's Soda Supply.

THE MEXICAN government owns a valuable property in the famous carbonate of soda lakes of the Bay of Adair, near the Gulf of California.

It declines to dispose of these lakes to any one, President Diaz believing that they may become sources of enormous income to the country, just as the nitrate of soda beds are to Chile. What it may mean to the soap and glass industry of Mexico may be judged when it is stated that at present manufactured soda, one of the principal items of cost, sells for \$75 per ton in ports of this country, while the same article from Adair Bay may be delivered for less than one-third of that price. An estimate of an engineer is to the effect that there is enough soda on top of the ground to produce 100 tons daily for seventy-five years.

Court Decides Against Detroit.

THE SUPREME COURT of Michigan has handed down a decision blocking the efforts of the city of Detroit to solve its street-railway problem in the interests of the public. The question of the right of the city to lay tracks

in the city streets and lease them to street-railway companies came up in the municipal-ownership campaign last fall. An ordinance was passed appropriating \$10,000 for the building of a piece of track to be leased by the city to an operating company. When an attempt was made to lay the tracks an injunction was obtained. The lower court decided that the city could not lay the tracks and this decision has now been confirmed.

A Federal Court Decision.

A DECISION important to the cause of municipal-ownership was handed down the last of May in the Federal court for the district of California. The case was a suit of the Edison Electric Company against the city of Pasadena to prevent Pasadena from acquiring and operating its own electric-lighting plant. The following points were claimed by the Edison Company:

First.—The city is not empowered to engage in the business of furnishing electric energy to the inhabitants for commercial purposes.

Second.—The furnishing of lights to the inhabitants is not for a "public use," and consequently does not come within the terms of the city charter, authorizing a bonded indebtedness.

Third.—The rights of the Edison Electric Company under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution were violated.

Under this contention it was set forth that the city and the company would both be engaged in the same business, and therefore ought to be on the same footing. In the case of the city, however, its property would be exempt from taxation and consequently the Edison Company would be denied equal protection and its property be taken without due process of law.

Each of these points was overruled by the Court and the city is left free to proceed with its electric-lighting enterprise.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

One Year's Progress.

A MOST remarkable record of progress has been made in the direction of Direct-Legislation during the past year. Battles have been won at many points, and many a campaign has been waged that has strengthened the forces for future combat.

The chief visible gains are as follows:

1. As a result of the campaign of education and questioning carried on by the National Federation for Peoples' Rule at Washington, 109 members of the incoming Congress elected last November are pledged to the Advisory Initiative and Referendum on eight specific questions of national policy.

2. The People of Montana at the November election ratified the Initiative and Referendum amendment to their Constitution by a vote of 8 to 1.

3. The people of Delaware in November voted 6 to 1 to advise their legislature to adopt the Advisory Initiative and Referendum.

4. The Supreme Court of California, following that of Oregon, sustained the constitutionality of Initiative and Referendum proceedings in California cities, and later sustained the validity of the Recall.

5. The Maine legislature passed a joint resolution submitting a Direct-Legislation amendment to the Constitution to the people.

6. The North Dakota legislature also referred a constitutional amendment for Direct-Legislation to the people.

7. The Missouri legislature did the same as Maine and North Dakota.

8. The Oregon and Montana legislatures passed important acts for carrying into effect the Initiative and Referendum provisions of their constitutions.

9. The Montana legislature passed an act providing for and immediately establishing the Initiative and Referendum in cities and towns.

10. The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention incorporated Direct-Legislation in the Constitution for the new state.

11. Several more states have passed bills for the choice of United States Senators by the people.

12. Colorado, Iowa, and a number of other states have passed bills establishing direct primaries.

13. Campaigns for Initiative and Referendum bills have been waged in twenty states in several of which one house was won.

14. New Referendum State Leagues have been organized in Minnesota, Washington and other states, and many locals have been added to the list, the movement bringing labor unions, farmers and business and professional men together.

15. The Initiative and Referendum have been incorporated in the charters of Wilmington, Omaha, Lincoln, Des Moines, and a number of California cities.

16. There has been a considerable amount of referendum voting upon local questions voluntarily referred by city councils and state legislatures.

17. Direct Legislation has become a national issue, with the La Follette Republicans and Bryan Democrats on the one side, and the Lodge-Cannon-Aldrich Republicans and reactionary Democrats on the other.

The Portland Election.

MUNICIPAL elections were held throughout Oregon on June 3d, the chief interest centering about the contest in Portland. Mayor Harry Lane a staunch advocate of the direct-legislation system was reelected by a plurality of 644. Sixteen amendments to the city charter were voted upon, eleven being carried and five defeated. The amendments that were carried provided for the issuance of bonds for water-works, for parks, for docks, for a bridge, for fire protection, and for street improvements. An amendment giving the city council power to create a free employment bureau and one providing for the annexation of additional territory were also carried. It is worth noticing that the amendments car-

ried providing that a remonstrance of four-fifths of the property owners may defeat street improvements, regulating the sale of delinquent property by the city treasurer, and creating the office of sergeant of police, both received as many votes pro and con as other less technical questions.

The defeated amendments were as follows: to increase the salary of the City Engineer from \$2,400 to \$3,000; to increase the salary of the City Attorney from \$2,400 to \$3,600; to increase the salary of the City Treasurer from \$2,400 to \$3,000; to increase the salary of the Municipal Judge from \$1,800 to \$2,400; and to increase the salaries of the City Council from \$25 to \$100 a month.

Five measures brought forward by the initiative were also voted upon.

1. An act to create a board of engineer examiners was defeated by 678 votes.

2. An act for the regulation of electrical wiring done by corporations at a liberal scheme of expense to the city was defeated by 754 votes.

3. A franchise to a private gas company extending for 25 years was carried by 1,579 votes.

4. An act increasing the license fee of liquor stores to \$800 per annum and limiting the number of saloons was carried by 584 votes.

5. An act further regulating the saloon system was carried by 1,763 votes.

Mayor Lane's election is a victory for the people. He is a grandson of General Joseph Lane, first territorial governor of Oregon, and has an excellent public record. The *Oregonian* says that the "interests" spent money freely for his defeat, and adds, "There was a common belief, too, that the Republican machine was striving desperately to rehabilitate itself and that the interests were powerfully backing that effort. Your franchise corporation, your trafficker in public privilege, and all the predatory gang of greed and grab have no politics. They play always with the winner. In this instance they have worked or tried to work their ends through the Republican party and they have done their full share toward wrecking the party."

The Plot Against Oklahoma.

THE SCHEME to deprive Oklahoma of statehood until after the next Presidential election is still being promoted from Washington. The President permits undenied

statements to be published declaring his antagonism to the new Constitution. The quicksands of this opposition however have shifted from the Initiative and Referendum to home rule for cities and from home rule to railroad legislation and from railroad legislation to the alleged gerrymander. The Federal Court injunction against the holding of an election which was secured by two local Republican politicians is still in effect at this writing. This is Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity for drawing a square issue with Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan addressed the Democratic convention in June and spoke in terms of highest praise of the work of the Constitutional Convention. "You have the best Constitution of any state in the Union and a better than the Constitution of the United States," said Mr. Bryan. "That is not extravagant praise. All the other states have stood as your models. I want to compliment the cornfed lawyers of Oklahoma upon having puttied up all the holes shot into the constitutions of other states by trust and corporation lawyers. Let me suggest that you take as your campaign keynote 'Let the people rule!' . . . The nearer you get a government to the people the better it will be. I prefer to risk the many rather than the few. You have made a Constitution your people can control."

The Michigan Federation.

A CONVENTION of the Michigan State Federation of direct-legislation forces was held at Grand Rapids, June 14th, and attended by delegates from the State Grange, the State Federation of Labor, the State Association of Farmers' Clubs, the State New Era Voters' League, and the State Progressive Voters' League. The following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas the Michigan legislature has not only refused to submit a constitutional amendment for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to the voters, but has also denied the ballot to the voters of Michigan for an advisory vote; and whereas many of the members of the legislature stand for the supremacy of the representative, instead of the supremacy of the will of the people as expressed by the ballot; and whereas in the interests of our commonwealth the two-cent railroad-rate bill, the primary law, the binder-

twine plant bill and the repeal of the infamous Baillie law, although excellent, are as nothing compared to the supremacy of the ballot; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by this Convention of Direct-Legislation Forces, that all voters be advised of the real issue, and that every candidate for Constitutional Convention honors be questioned and given opportunity to appear before his constituents and express himself on this vital question, that said voters may vote intelligently upon his candidacy."

The following questions were adopted to be submitted to all candidates for the State Constitutional Convention.

1. Do you believe the will of the people as expressed by ballot should control the vote of representatives in the legislature?

2. Will you, if elected, use your vote and influence at every opportunity to submit to the voters separately a section in the draft of the new constitution providing for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall?

RALPH ALBERTSON.

THE CONDITION OF COÖPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

THE CO-OPERATIVE movement in the United States is widely scattered, unaffiliated, and of many divergent types. The several attempts to hold coöperative congresses have been uniformly unsuccessful in securing adequate representation or a lasting organization. There are therefore no central headquarters to which reports are made, and it is not possible to obtain reliable and comprehensive statistics of the movement.

CALIFORNIA ROCHDALE STORES.

Fourteen new Rochdale companies were organized in California during the past year, the earthquake put several out of business, and a few have failed, leaving a total of 70 stores now doing business. The shareholding membership of these Rochdale stores is about 6,000, and the money invested in them is \$750,000. Such reports as are published are encouraging and indicate prosperous conditions. These stores are all federated in the Pacific Coast Rochdale Union, and maintain a Wholesale store in Oakland, but they do not make reports uniformly to the union, nor trade very constantly with their own Wholesale. The Wholesale did a business of \$250,000 last year notwithstanding the total destruction of its plant in San Francisco by the earthquake. Its net gain for the year is \$1,353. Fifty-three memberships of \$1,000 each in the Wholesale are held by coöperative corporations, and sixteen by individuals.

ROCHDALE STORES IN OTHER WESTERN STATES.

In the states of Washington and Oregon there are about 30 prosperous Rochdale companies, and most of them are affiliated with the Pacific Coast Rochdale Union. In Kansas and Oklahoma there are over 50 of these stores with only a loose central organization and no Wholesale, and yet they seem to prosper. Iowa, Michigan, and Ohio also have about a dozen each. Coöperative book and students' supply stores organized among students on the Rochdale plan are reported from 18 universities and colleges.

THE RIGHT-RELATIONSHIP LEAGUE.

The form of organization for distributive coöperation that is meeting with favor most readily in the Middle States is this League's plan for organizing the farmers into County Coöperative Companies, having such branch houses and departments as are found necessary. There are 10 such county companies, having a total of 32 stores and a paid-in capital of \$233,720, in the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota. There are other county companies also in Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Kansas. The League maintains offices in Minneapolis and is conducting an aggressive campaign for growth. It has recently incorporated "The Interstate Common Good Company," looking toward the

establishment of a Wholesale, and a closer federation among the various stores.

COÖPERATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

Ten years ago the New England states were ahead of the other sections of the country in the number and success of their coöperative organizations. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1896 reported 26 flourishing Rochdale societies and 28 coöperative creameries in this section. To-day other states have far outstripped New England in the Rochdale movement, but, although the progress in New England has been far short of that which was expected, the gains have been considerable. The number of coöperative creameries remains at about 30. The distributive societies have increased from 26 to 44, and have something over \$600,000 of invested capital. Twenty-three of these societies report an aggregate membership of 11,413, and 21 of them sold goods amounting to \$1,311,827 during the past year.

ELEVATOR AND SHIPPING COMPANIES.

The greatest progress in coöperative organization made in the United States during the past year is to be found in the increase of coöperative elevator and shipping associations among the farmers in the Middle West. Since the beginning of this year, according to the *American Coöperative Journal* of Chicago, there have been more than 50 new coöperative elevator companies organized in the state of Iowa alone. This is largely attributable to the courage inspired by the new railroad-rate law. As the average capital of these coöperative elevator companies cannot be less than \$6,000, this is a movement of some financial importance.

One line of coöperative elevators having headquarters at Kansas City has given up this year a struggle begun five years ago for independence from the domination of railroads and the Grain Trust. Aside from these there has been uniform success among the older coöperative companies as well as a very rapid organization of new ones. In northern Iowa there are about 200 coöperative elevators with about 30,000 farmer members, where three years ago there were but 18 elevators. In Illinois, where three years ago there were but 27 there are now 150. Nebraska has an equal number, and Minnesota, Washington, Kansas, Indiana and the Dakotas all have considerable numbers of these coöperative

elevator companies, some of which engage also in the lumber trade. One Kansas company with 1,000 members has recently increased its capital to \$1,000,000 in shares of \$10. There are probably over 1,000 of these coöperative elevators, doing an annual business of more than \$25,000,000 at an average cost which is estimated at 1 per cent. Besides these there are several very large Farmers' Coöperative Shipping Associations numbering hundreds of thousands of members who coöperate more or less systematically in buying supplies and tools and in selling produce.

COÖPERATIVE CREAMERIES.

Minnesota leads the states with over 700 coöperative creameries; Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois following with less but considerable numbers. Nearly every state has a few. Massachusetts reports 28. While no figures covering the entire country are at hand, it has been estimated by careful authorities that there are above 3,000 of these associations in the United States. The average output of a Minnesota creamery is valued at about \$15,000. If this be taken as a fair average for the country a total of forty-five million dollars' worth of butter and cheese comes from these coöperative creameries annually. One Nebraska creamery has a \$200,000 paid-in capital, and has a daily output of 40,000 pounds of butter, 5,000 gallons of ice-cream, and 25 tons of ice, utilizing and shipping the produce of 5,000 farmers.

GRANGERS' AND FARMERS' UNIONS.

The Granges, notwithstanding their erstwhile decadence into mere social and literary clubs, have of late reawakened to the opportunities of industrial coöperation. From state after state come reports of renewed buying and selling coöperation on the part of these patrons of husbandry and the extent of it to-day no one can tell. The Michigan State Grange Coöperative Bureau reports an enrolment of 3,500 members, and one coöperative seed purchase last year of \$11,000. The New Jersey Granges reported coöperative purchases varying from \$2,697 to \$43,243 during the year. The Patrons Coöperative Corporation of the Maine State Grange purchased \$275,000 and banked \$100,000 in the year, and one local grange in Maine did a business amounting to \$100,000.

The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union claims 20,000 local societies in the

Southern and Western states, with an estimated membership of 1,500,000 distributed in 28 states. These Farmers' Unions coöperate to a large extent in buying supplies, in marketing products, and in finance. They have established 250 cotton warehouses in Texas alone, and have their own flour mills in Oklahoma. Complete statistics cannot be obtained as yet.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA FRUIT EXCHANGE.

The Southern California Fruit Exchange, a coöperative association with offices at Los Angeles, markets nearly \$10,000,000 worth of oranges and lemons a year. The association is composed of a large number of local associations mostly within 60 miles of Los Angeles, and maintains its own selling warehouses and agents in all the principal Eastern cities. Its great success has stimulated the organization of similar associations among the growers of raisins, prunes, wine and other products in various parts of the state, of the extent of whose business there are no adequate statistics.

COÖPERATIVE FIRE INSURANCE.

Especially in the West does this form of coöperation seem to be successful. Coöperative fire insurance companies are usually organized by Grangers and other farmers and confine their activities to the county in which they are organized. There are 20 of these county companies in California. Missouri reports over a hundred coöperative fire insurance companies carrying \$90,000,000 of risks. One New York county association, as a sample of what may be found in the East, has been in existence 17 years, carries about three millions of insurance, and has averaged a cost of \$1.10 per \$1,000 per year. In Maine there are three companies carrying \$25,000,000 of insurance and having a membership of one twelfth the population of the state. It is estimated that there are over 3,000 coöperative fire insurance companies in the country having about 3,000,000 members. The average cost of coöperative insurance is put at 24 cents per \$1,000 as against \$1 per \$1,000 reported by the census as the average rate for all companies in the United States.

COÖPERATIVE FINANCE.

It was estimated on the basis of an investigation made in 1903 that there were over 5,000 coöperative credit and banking institu-

tions in the United States having over 1,500,000 members and doing nearly three and one-half millions dollars of business. The number is growing constantly. There is a wide variety in the form and organization of these institutions. In New York state 262 building and loan associations report for 1906, 43½ millions of assets and operating expenses of only 75 per cent. while the expenses of the National Banks in the same state were 2.56 per cent. In Massachusetts there now are 133 coöperative banks with 104,482 members and 42½ millions assets. The expense ratio in Massachusetts for 1906 was 43 per cent. The county Granges in Pennsylvania and other states are establishing their own banks.

COÖPERATIVE TELEPHONE COMPANIES.

Notwithstanding the strong grip which the telephone trust has upon the cities and the long distance service throughout this country through franchises and patents, there are many coöperative telephone companies operating successfully in villages and rural districts in various sections. There is one or more of these companies in nearly every state, while in Kansas, Nebraska, and California there are many. The members are nearly all farmers. There is no association or federation of these companies, and the only source of information about them is the newspapers. There have been probably not less than 1,000 of these companies, but the encroachments of the trust upon their territory, aided by the desire for long distance connections which only the trust could furnish, has reduced their number in some states.

COÖPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

Outside of the dairy business there is very little coöperative production in the United States. The most important enterprise in this field is the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, manufacturers of plumbers' supplies, who distributed nearly \$200,000 in dividends this year to workers and customers. There are the celebrated barrel factories in Minneapolis still doing a successful business. There is a successful coöperative woolen mill in Montana and one in New Mexico. Oklahoma has several coöperative cotton-gins and several flour mills. Coöperative ice plants are reported from several places, and we have reports of two tailoring shops, two glove factories, one button factory, one fence factory, one olive-

oil mill, and one mine. The building of expensive apartment structures in New York City on the coöperative plan, by people who can invest about \$20,000 each for an apartment home is attracting wide attention. At least six magnificent structures have been built in the best sections of New York on this plan.

SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

There are a few coöperative laundries, meat markets, lumber and coal yards, and livery stables. Coöperative Home Buying companies have in some instances proved honestly managed and successful and are proving the value of coöperation along this line. In five states the milk producers have coöperative associations for selling wholesale to the city dealers. There are said to be a large number of coöperative associations for selling wholesale to the city dealers. There are also large numbers of coöperative irrigation societies among the farmers in certain Western states.

The Coöperating Merchants Company of Chicago, a coöperative wholesale society which is owned equally by 450 retail stores, did a business of over half a million dollars and paid \$15,000 to members as dividends.

The Filene Coöperative Association is an organization of the employes of one of Boston's largest stores for mutual benefit and participation in the management of the store. It has had a prosperous year, and is one of our most promising experiments in the direction of industrial democracy.

The Coöperative Association of America is the most distinctively American organization in that it is a peoples' trust. The Association has assets of over a quarter of a million dollars. It owns the largest department store in Maine, and has some valuable real

estate. It maintains a financial bureau and an educational bureau in Boston. The employes of the department store manage the business coöperatively and have the past year given themselves a month's vacation on pay, and have voted to themselves a 15 per cent. dividend on their salaries.

SUMMARY.

It has been estimated by Professor Frank Parsons, a leading authority on this subject, that there are in the United States about 8,500 societies for coöperative production and distribution with nearly one million members, and doing a business of something like \$150,000,000 a year. While it is impossible to give more exact figures than these there is every evidence that there has been a steady growth in every line during the past year. Apart from the Granges and the farmers' associations there are about 400 successful coöperative stores in the country. But this is but a small part of the coöperative distribution of the United States. The strength of the movement is among the farmers. In coöperative elevators alone the farmers have invested probably \$10,000,000 and the investment is bringing in large returns. By adding the estimated members of societies in the various fields of industrial development specified in this report, all of which are truly coöperative, we have a grand total of something like 12,000 coöperative organizations, representing an enormous aggregate of membership. If we should add the mutual life insurance members and the mutual benefit association to the list we should include as coöperators in at least some one particular of their industrial lives almost one-half of the people of the United States.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"HAVE WE PASSED THE ZENITH OF OUR INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY?" A CRITICISM BY BOLTON HALL.

MR. J. W. BENNETT in "Have We Passed the Zenith of Our Industrial Efficiency?" says, that Bulletin No. 57, Department of Commerce and Labor, which summarizes a census of manufacturers for 1905, indicates unmistakably impaired efficiency on

the part of our manufacturing population. He extracts from the Report that:

More capital is being used per wage-earner; a larger superintending force is required for the same number of workers, and still the net value produced per wage earner or

salariéd employé, shows a decided decrease.

In other words, each worker is producing less than he was five years ago, although he is using more expensive machinery in the process.

To summarize concisely, omitting duplicates:

All manufacturing industries show decreased efficiency.

(a) Less value produced per worker.

(b) The use of greater capital per worker.

(c) More expensive superintendence; less efficient superintendence.

(d) Less net value produced per \$1,000 capital employed.

(e) Higher miscellaneous expenses.

Our industrial efficiency is impaired:

By the enormous profits which we pay.

In interest on increased capitalization, and in rents.

By the indirectness of our processes.

Waste due to spoiling of products and discarding outgrown machinery and processes.

Impairment of individual responsibility, and stifling of individual initiative.

He appears to omit entirely the most important factor,—monopoly, which not only extorts a part of the product, but what is far more important, prevents the use of natural and other facilities.

The facts are set forth by Mr. Bennett

clearly and brightly, a rare faculty, but admitting them all, it does not follow nor even seem probable from them that "there is an unmistakable retrograde movement."

Mr. Bennett entirely overlooks (1) the fact that improved machinery makes possible the employment of much less efficient labor. The children in the new Southern mills are producers needing much superintendence; for instance, a man to kick them when they fall asleep. (2) The fact that most of the "increased capital" is not capital at all, but increased capitalization.

Mr. Bennett says, that "the whole mass of freight charges represents friction in our industrial system." It could hardly be said that the freight upon oranges from Florida to Massachusetts represented friction. It in fact represents enormous economy.

Finally Mr. Bennett omits to mention the restrictive influence of monopoly; as the productive coal or timber lands for instance are gobbled up and the prices of their product raised or the lands held out of use entirely, capital and labor are driven to poorer fields and yield a smaller return per dollar and per head in spite of increased efficiency.

In fact, increased efficiency will increase the gross production—and increase the rent and increase the area of available land held for idle speculation. ■ ■ BOLTON HALL.

"THE BRITISH CITY": A STUDY OF THE BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY.*

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. THE MARCH OF PRIVILEGE AGAINST POPULAR RIGHTS.

THE MASTER spirits of the political machine and their confederates, the industrial autocracy, have long been accustomed to sneer at the labors of reformers. Their attitude of contempt for the rights of the people and for the demands of free government was concisely expressed in two brief sentences, one uttered by Boss Tweed when he felt he had a master hand on the judiciary,

the city officials and the political organizations of New York City, and all the dailies, with one exception. "What are you going to do about it?" he sneeringly asked. The other characteristic utterance, attributed to the elder Vanderbilt, "The people be damned!" voiced the contempt for the people and the sense of security felt by the political boss and the master spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

And this security, in so far as the political manipulators were concerned, was born of the knowledge that they could at any time command vast campaign funds from the

*"The British City." By Frederic C. Howe. Cloth. Pp. 370. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

privileged interests, who have never hesitated to subscribe liberally, with the distinct understanding that such contributions should be used as a bribe and that one of the considerations must be the naming of men acceptable to the commercial feudalism, so as to render certain the protection of the privileged classes in their continued plunder of the people. The great public-service chiefs and monopolists felt secure in that they knew that they owned the machine. They also owned or controlled a large majority of the great opinion-forming daily papers in every metropolitan center, and they were ramified in every branch of government.

Securely entrenched and with this union of interests, the political machine and the industrial autocracy have steadily marched forward for over a quarter of a century; but recently the arrogance, the oppression and the corruption of the confederation—the conspirators against free institutions for personal or private gain—have been so flagrant that a popular reaction has set in. Men everywhere are beginning to think for themselves. The exposures of the prostitution of the press and the disclosures of the presence of bureaus of misinformation that are systematically sending out tainted news for the purpose of poisoning the public mind in the interests of corporate and privileged wealth and of destroying all incorruptible and intrepid leaders in the ranks of free government, are serving to arouse the voters to the fact that they have been the dupes of cunning and unscrupulous combinations bent on enrichment and power through corrupt practices and special privileges.

But even greater than the exposures of graft, corruption and systematic moral criminality on the part of the master spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth has been the work accomplished by the ever-growing group of patient investigators, earnest, high-minded, patriotic thinkers and scholars, who could not and would not be seduced by the lure of gold, place or power; the conscience-guided men and women who, seeing the supreme peril of democracy, the steady march to the position of absolute mastery of the industrial autocracy working mole-like under the cover of democracy, and the degradation of civic life, have subordinated all thought of self and personal advancement to the divine cause of justice and the preservation of those fundamental principles on which democracy or free government must rest.

Among the incorruptible, conscience-guided sons of justice and human rights that have stepped resolutely to the front in the hour of democracy's extreme need stands Dr. Frederic C. Howe, who has justly taken a commanding position in the foremost ranks of genuine reform. His splendid work on *The City the Hope of Democracy* was as we have heretofore shown, one of the most important contributions to the literature of free government made in recent years. And now comes a companion work which in many respects is even stronger and more valuable at the present crucial stage in the battle that is being waged between privilege and the people.

II. WHY THE WORK IS INVALUABLE TO ECONOMIC STUDENTS.

The British City is a work that no one interested in fundamental democracy, in economic advance or pure politics can afford to ignore. It is far more than a comprehensive survey of the modern British city, embracing the overshadowing issue of public-ownership of public utilities; for Mr. Howe is more than a critical, painstaking economic investigator. He has the broad vision of a true statesman and the faculty of getting at the foundation of any issue he discusses, that marks the philosopher.

It is difficult to see how any fair-minded and thoughtful citizen can fail to be convinced of the positive and unmistakable character of the success of public-ownership in Great Britain, after reading this book, which is the fruit of some months of careful, painstaking investigation, primarily as a Commissioner for the United States Bureau of Labor. Here, with every facility placed in his hands for complete and comprehensive study of the subject, Mr. Howe was able to make a careful and authoritative investigation. The facts revealed and his conclusions are luminously set forth in the present volume; but the range and scope of the vital thought embodied in the work is far greater than is indicated in its title. Mr. Howe shows how the city is the vital center of democracy throughout Great Britain, the leavening force that is slowly permeating the state. He shows how the lines of battle are being drawn in the mother country between the masses of wealth creators and the privileged classes, the people and the aristocracy; and inasmuch as the battle of democracy is at heart the same in every land, this book has peculiar interest to

all men who revere the principles of the great Declaration and the ideals of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Furthermore, the volume contains luminous applications to present-day American problems and conditions that obtain in our political life.

III. WHY THE BEST CITIZENS DO NOT HOLD OFFICE HERE AS THEY DO IN ENGLAND.

Thus, for example, the hirelings of the public-service corporations, with tiresome iteration, declare that while doubtless England can secure leading citizens to act as city officials, it would be impossible to obtain the services of such citizens with us. Mr. Howe incidentally refers somewhat at length to this objection when discussing the condition of English cities, in such a way as to throw an illuminating searchlight on the fallacious sophistry of the apologists for the industrial autocracy and the manufacturers of tainted news. After showing how the men of most commanding business ability are eager to secure the honor of political preferment in the cities of Great Britain, our author continues:

"It is, of course, said that such men could not be elected in America; that they are excluded from political life by its badness. As a matter of fact, the thing that keeps honest men out of politics in America is not the people, not our undeveloped ideals; it is the franchise corporations who complain of their absence. Analyze the politics of any of our large cities, or even of our states, for that matter, and this fact becomes manifest. In New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cincinnati and St. Louis, conditions are the same. Everywhere the boss, the party, the machine, are identified with the big business interests centering about the street-railway, gas, and electric-lighting companies. The corrupt bosses are the brokers of franchise corporations. The trail of corruption leads not to the people, but to the office of the banker and the broker. It is these who nominate the 'safe and sane' councilmen, tax assessors, and mayors. They do not choose the honest and efficient to rule. Their business is not consistent with honest government. Franchises are not obtained in the open—they are bought and sold in the office of the brokers of privilege, who make use of the party organization as a means of delivering the goods.

"Moreover, the class of men who are found in the English city, in America cannot, and dare not, enter local politics. They are identified with interests adverse to the city. They are kept out of politics by fear, by business and social pressure, by that intimate class-instinct that distrusts democracy because democracy believes in the destruction of the privileges which they enjoy. The American city is thus bereft of its best talent. The banker, the broker, the business man, the lawyer, are all divorced from the city. Their pecuniary interest is elsewhere. We have tried the impossible in America. We have placed franchises worth millions on the gaming table of politics to be awarded to those who will take them through political manipulation. We have done this, and wonder why the talent of the community did not enter the City Council.

"Municipal trading, far from promoting jobbery, has insured its absence. For the councils have no franchises to grant. To a considerable extent they have become their own contractors. There is thus no powerful interest desiring corrupt administration, no identity of interest between the financial classes in the community and the council. In addition to this, the work of the council is of such commanding interest that big men are eager to serve the community. These are the great gains from municipal-ownership. It identifies the big business connections with the city rather than against it. This fact unites all classes in an insistent desire for good government.

"Taken as a whole, it is doubtful if contemporary politics in any portion of the world presents a more disinterested, honest and efficient body of public officials than are to be found in the Town Councils of Great Britain."

IV. POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN AMERICA CHARACTERIZED.

Seldom has the master issue in American politics been presented so clearly or the exact situation so concisely stated as in these lines from the opening pages of the work:

"At the very heart of our institutional life, whether of the city, the state or the nation, some interest is to be found struggling to control the machinery of government for its

own advantage. Back of the boss and the party organization are hidden powers which inspire their activities. The caucus, the convention, the party platform have become the tools of privilege for the shaping of its ends. Running through what seems to be the personal or partisan controversies of the President with Congress, the struggles over the organization of Committees of the House, the tyrannous control of the Speaker and the Rules Committee, the skirmishing of the Senate, its reactionary procedure and Senatorial courtesy, are the economic business motives of the interests which really rule at Washington.

"In the commonwealths the same is true. Into the party organization of every ward or township run the ramifications of the railways, the franchise interests and other privileges, woven into a systematic unity through the party and the spoils of office. By means of this organization legislation is made responsive to the will of the business interests which control the state rather than to the will of the people themselves. In the cities the struggle is for franchise rights, the control of the courts of justice and the taxing machinery for the furtherance of their designs. The warp and woof of our politics is close woven with the desire for privilege, which has taken possession of the agencies of democracy for the promotion of its interests. The great constitutional questions which are before the courts, the legislation that is pressing for action in Congress and the State Assemblies, all bear the stamp of the economic struggle between democracy and privilege that is now uppermost in America.

"This issue overshadows all others. It obtrudes from every page of the press. It is present in every party conference. Monopoly, or the desire for monopoly, the creation of franchises, grants or subsidies, the exemption of property from taxation or regulation—these are the motives which run throughout our politics to the exclusion of almost every other consideration. Democracy is like a majestic organ from which a splendid symphony is awaited. It has been attuned to the ideals of builders, who dreamt of the concord of harmony it would produce. But the organist knows little and cares less for the dreams of the makers. It is he and not the organ that makes the melody. And he has degraded the instrument to the production of dance-hall music. So, back of the many

political agencies, that have been laboriously created for the expression of the popular will, are to be found the interests which have compelled democracy to respond to the creation of privileges that must be paid for by the labor of the people.

"The struggle for government by the people, or government by organized wealth, is the struggle of the immediate future

"The almost universal instinct of man is to avoid effort, to live if possible without labor. This is the motive that underlies the surface phenomena of all history. It is the one note that is common in the contemporary politics of all countries. Back of the spectacular controversies of parties, the by-plays of Kings and Ministries, of Parliament and Congress, is the struggle of the few to get upon the backs of the many. To live without labor means that one must live by the labor of others. This is the motive of privilege. It is the instinct of monopoly. It is the meaning of protective tariffs, of railway, franchise and mining grants, of land monopoly, of subsidies, of indirect taxes upon consumption, of unjust taxation in any form. It is the lust of something for nothing that makes of the House of Lords and the United States Senate instinctive obstacles to democracy. At their doors democracy is beating in the name of humanity.

"It is not merely the personal honesty of those who rule that makes government good or bad. It is the economic interests which they represent.

"Special privilege can only be enjoyed by a few. It must be paid for by the labor of the many. Democracy, on the other hand, is inspired by the desire of equal opportunity for all. And this seems to be the ideal of the city, wherever democracy has awakened to its powers."

V. THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT AND THE SUPREME ISSUE CONFRONTING DEMOCRATIC LANDS.

Mr. Howe shows that under the present order, with the Parliament of Great Britain barring the way to progressive democracy and the aristocracy sitting on the backs of the people; with the privileged classes or the industrial feudalism the sinister influence in our politics, and, indeed, the real masters

here, whose henchmen are found in situations of vantage everywhere in government, and especially strongly entrenched in the United States Senate; with the Anglo-Saxon peoples in the Old World and American enjoying "all the formulas of liberty, but little of its substance," we are facing conditions that must be squarely, fearlessly and wisely met, and our guiding ideal must be the old and fundamental demand of democracy,—equality of opportunities and of rights.

"The well-being and happiness of the people," he well observes, "should be the most important question before any government. The existence of poverty, on a wide scale, should banish every other question until its cause is explained. Every consideration of Christianity, of humanity, of long-sighted statesmanship should place this problem first in the program of any party. Questions of armament, of colonial administration or expansion, of war or of peace should be ignored until some explanation is found and some solution is offered for the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty, of national decay alongside of unparalleled luxury, of overflowing prisons and workhouses in a civilization that has made all nature tribute to the ingenuity of man."

And it is in the city of Great Britain that our author finds the true beginnings of genuine democracy. There, as here, he holds, the city is the hope of free institutions.

"It is," he tells us, "through the machinery of local self-government that democracy in Great Britain is emerging. Progress is bound to be painfully slow. There will be disheartening reactions, such as have recently happened in the elections of London, but the movement will always be onward. The contest for industrial freedom is one of the most Titanic of modern times. For the organized power of those who control the economic foundations of the British nation is not unlike that of the ancient *régime* in France."

VI. INCREASED INDEBTEDNESS FALLACY EXPOSED.

The volume is largely devoted to an exhaustive examination of the actual results of public and private-ownership operating side by side, as observed by the author in his painstaking personal investigation of the

cities and towns of Great Britain. At the outset he calls attention to the fallacy that has been most persistently put forward by the hired agents of the public-service companies, in spite of the fact that it has been so completely exploded and the dishonesty of the contention fully exposed. Increase of taxation of English cities,—this has been the alarmist cry set forth in so circumstantial and apparently honest a manner by the kept editors of daily papers, who are nothing if not special-pleaders for private interests, and in pamphlets and speeches by various attorneys and lobbyists for the interest, that many unthinking people who take their opinions without question from subsidized dailies and parrot what the parrot editors have been paid to say, have come to regard public-ownership as something fearsome. Increase of indebtedness of British cities has been heralded and dwelt upon as a terrible example of the burden which public-ownership imposes on the rate or tax-payers. Perhaps a few of the writers who have lent themselves to the misleading statements and fallacies based on the same were ignorant of the subject matter they discussed, and therefore were not guilty of consciously or deliberately deceiving their readers; but such cannot be charged against a large number of these writers. A glance at the facts involved will quickly show how pitifully the readers of the subsidized press and the victims of the tainted-news bureaus have been deceived.

In the Middle Ages a *laissez faire* condition prevailed in regard to cities and towns. Little or no attention was given to proper sanitation or the general health of the people. Drainage was almost entirely neglected and the general weal of the masses was ignored, with the result that terrible plagues broke out, sweeping off vast multitudes and extending their ravages to the remotest ends of the realm. In similar manner, there was little attention given to the moral or intellectual condition of the poor. Public education was ignored. Parks and beauty breathing spots were almost unknown in the poorer parts of the cities. But with the advance of civilization and recognition of the duty of society to all her members and the appreciation of the interdependence of the units in the social organism, there came a new social conscience or an awakened sense of responsibility, and since the age of democracy this has steadily grown in the more civilized and liberal lands, with the result

that municipal and general taxes have steadily and greatly increased, to the immense well-being of all members of the social organism. Great Britain is no exception, and that the great proportion of the increased expense in the city government in recent decades has been attributable to this fact is thus clearly shown by Mr. Howe:

"The increase in local indebtedness is not a fair barometer of the growth of municipal trading, although it is one of the main arguments against it. In the twenty-three years from 1875 to 1898 the local debt of Great Britain increased from \$451,708,530 to \$1,275,105,731. Of this sum, however, only \$426,212,937 was incurred for what are called trading enterprises. The balance was for education, for improved sanitation, or was imposed upon the local authorities by acts of Parliament. . . . At the present time the local obligations chargeable to those enterprises which are termed productive amount to \$1,197,951,000. A considerable portion of this sum, however, is for clearance and housing schemes, for bath houses, docks and markets which are undertaken for other than commercial reasons.

"The bulk of the indebtedness for trading enterprises is for street-railway, gas, electricity, and water undertakings, most of the tramways and electricity supplies having been acquired within the last ten years. The extent to which municipal trading has supplanted private-ownership in these industries is evidenced by the following table. The statistics are for the year 1903.

Kind of Enterprise	Public Undertakings		Private Undertakings	
	No.	Total Capital.	No.	Total Capital.
Water	1,045	\$830,914,491	251	\$197,850,964
Gas	356	173,919,089	454	375,348,489
Electricity	334	155,728,000	174	133,838,760
Street-railways ..	143	199,061,278	154	83,660,551
	1,777	\$779,632,858	1,033	\$790,688,724

The indebtedness in the form of natural monopolies, is as Sir Oliver Lodge on one occasion aptly pointed out, not an ordinary debt, but rather an immensely valuable asset; a wise and safe investment that is bound to become increasingly valuable; a source of revenue to the present generation and of ever-increasing riches to those who shall come after.

VII. THE TRUE TEST OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

Very thoughtful and statesmanlike is Mr.

Howe's discussion of the true test of municipal-ownership. While public-ownership has paid, and splendidly paid, in Great Britain from a purely monetary view-point, the statesman views the question from a broader and truer vantage ground. Monetary return is but one object, and it should be a minor rather than a major consideration. On this point our author, among other things, says:

"The monetary test of municipal-ownership is not the true test, although the rate-paying classes of Great Britain are inclined to judge it on this basis; while hostile American critics confine themselves to earnings, lack of proper depreciation, the burdens of taxation, and the purely commercial side of the balance sheet. They would make of the city a thing that pays, for these are the terms they measure life in. But such are not the motives of government, and those who condemn municipal-ownership on this score do not adopt this measure in any other activity. They do not test the schools, the parks, the health, police, and fire departments by this standard. These are not called upon to pay their way. They are supported for other reasons—because of the convenience, the comfort, and the happiness which they bring. And this is the real test of public-ownership. The discussion should be shifted to higher ground. It is not profits, not in the last analysis the rates of fare or charges—it is the well-being of the people that tests the change from private to public control.

"Of no enterprise is this so true as it is of transit. The tramways are the circulatory system of the community, and a conscious city program is dependent upon the ownership of the city's arteries. They control the opportunity to work. They cramp or enlarge the means of education and recreation. The homes men live in are bound up in this question. It is for such needs as these that government is maintained; and it is only when a city controls these agencies for its own good, that a big, comprehensive policy of city building is possible.

"Further than this, the control of the streets by two competing agencies results in constant friction, controversy, and warring of interests. It cannot be otherwise. A city cannot build as it will unless it controls all the structural work which lies under or upon its highways.

"The British cities entered upon the policy of ownership only after the alternative of

private-ownership under state regulation had been fully tried. Great Britain had the most carefully adjusted system of regulation that could be devised; but regulation failed, as it must inevitably fail. The conflict of interest is too great for it to be otherwise. There were two masters—the stockholders of the company, and the people of the community; and the interests of the one were constantly at war with the other."

VIII. FINANCIAL RESULTS IN SPITE OF HAMPERING RESTRICTIONS.

While all the more thoughtful friends of public-ownership will insist on giving monetary return merely its rightful place in considering the superior advantages of public-ownership, even by this standard municipal trading has proved a positive success in Great Britain. How the cities have been hampered by a privilege-ridden and reactionary Parliament; how the House of Lords, the citadel of injustice and class interests, fights every democratic proposition and seeks to thwart the interests of the people at every turn when those interests conflict with the avarice of privilege and class, is fully exposed by Mr. Howe. Space prevents our more than touching on one phase of this fight,—the one that shows how the cities were hampered when they strove to secure the tram or street-car lines.

"The Councils," says our author, "could only enter the tramway business by buying

out the existing companies. For Parliament did not permit competition. It forced the Councils to purchase the existing equipment of the horse-car lines, even though it had become worthless. Thus many cities were heavily handicapped through the initial cost of the horse and electricity equipment. In many towns, too, the Council had to pay for unexpired franchises. Liverpool paid a private company three million dollars to acquire its franchise, and another million for its worthless horse equipment. The city of Manchester paid \$1,600,000 for horse-cars and barns which were of little use, while other towns were similarly burdened in the inauguration of the system."

In spite of the handicap placed on the municipalities, the British cities have steadily acquired their tram service, and with all the disadvantages that they were compelled to encounter they have distanced, even by the financial test, the privately-owned companies. Mr. Howe gives the following facts, the tables being taken from the official Board of Trade returns:

"The following comparison shows the number of undertakings owned and actually worked by the local authorities and the private companies, the data for the public plants being for the year ending March, 1904; and that for the private companies for the year ending December 31, 1903:

	Municipal Undertakings	Private Companies.
Undertakings worked	101	113
Capital outlay of undertakings worked	\$117,440,724	\$104,986,367
Miles of line operated	993	839
Gross receipts	\$28,069,680	\$15,805,988
Operating expenses	\$16,706,184	\$10,997,701
Per cent. of operating expenses of gross receipts.	64.08	69.58
Net revenue (gross receipts less operating expenses)	\$9,363,496	\$4,808,287
Per cent. of net revenue of capital outlay	7.97	4.58
Car miles run	126,289,037	68,612,290
Net revenue per car mile.	\$0.074	\$0.070
Net revenue per mile of line operated	\$9.430	\$5.731
Passengers carried	1,194,782,762	604,559,911

"From this it appears that the gross receipts of the public plants were \$10,263,692 more than the receipts of the private companies. Their operating expenses were but 64.08 per cent. of the gross receipts as against an operating expense of 69.58 per cent. on the part of the companies. In the matter of net earnings the showing was equally favorable. The Town Councils earned 7.97 per cent. on their capital investment, as against

4.58 per cent. by the companies. And this is in the face of the fact that the Councils pay much better wages and allow shorter hours of labor to their employes, while the rates of fares are generally lower. A portion of this advantage is to be accounted for by the fact that almost all of the larger towns have municipalized their systems, while many of the private companies operate in less populous areas. For the Council tramways carried

nearly twice as many passengers as did the private companies with only about twelve per cent. greater trackage.

"Tramway ownership is now accepted as a natural municipal function. By 1906 the total capital outlay of the towns amounted to \$180,580,590, as against an investment of \$102,162,060 by the one hundred and thirty-seven private companies."

Equally interesting and profitable are his discussions of public-ownership of gas, electric lights, etc., but space renders it impossible for us even to touch upon these luminous and convincing phases of the general discussion.

In a chapter entitled "The Greatest Gain of All," Mr. Howe views the question as a twentieth-century statesman whose position is that of the people's servant instead of that of the hired attorney for privileged interests who holds a brief for his employers.

In Robert P. Porter's recent attack on public-ownership, he lays down the following proposition: "The primary duty of a local government is to govern and not to trade, and to this proposition there should be no exception whatever."

"This is the attitude," observes Mr. Howe, "of the British franchise interests, which are organized for the purpose of opposing municipal trading upon the ground that it interferes with the free play of individual initiative. The indictment against the policy of the Town Councils is that trading 'must of necessity lead to stupendous financial liabilities, add to the burden of the rates, weaken municipal credit, bring about inequality of taxation, interfere with the natural laws of trade, check industrial and scientific progress, stop invention, discourage individual effort, destroy foreign trade, establish an army of officials, breed corruption, create an aristocracy of labor, demoralize the voter, and ultimately make socialistic communities of towns and cities.'

"And yet there are no signs that any of these calamities are imminent, unless the increased indebtedness of the towns is of itself a calamity. But the indebtedness for trading is more than offset by the assets, which the cities have acquired, for the trading enterprises have already repaid nearly one hundred million dollars on their undertakings. The tax-payers have not been burdened. Quite the reverse. The reports of the Board of Trade, which up to 1906 were in the hands

of the Conservative party, not to speak of those of the Parliamentary committees themselves, show conclusively that the reproductive undertakings aid the rates to the extent of millions of dollars a year. At the same time the rates of fare upon the tramways and the charges for gas are less than one-half the average charges in this country. The towns seem as efficient and as willing to adopt new devices and to recognize talent as the private companies themselves. There has come, it is true, an army of officials, but so far as they are concerned, they would have to be employed by someone, and when the opportunity offers they seem to prefer the city to the private corporation. As for corruption, it seems to be absent from the British city. This can hardly be said of the political activities of the franchise corporations of America, into whose hands the friends of individual enterprise would have us commit ourselves. As to an aristocracy of labor, this is hardly a menacing thing to a nation in which one million of its people are said to be employed by the cities. An aristocracy which involves an improved standard of living for one-eighth of the population is rather more to be desired than an aristocracy reared upon franchise grants, which in America is limited to the merest handful of persons.

"Municipal-ownership is a moral, not a financial question. Its essential morality springs from the importance of certain services to the life of the community. To justify municipal-ownership through its effect upon the purse is like justifying human life itself through a demonstration that it costs less money to rear a child than it afterward produces as a man. Further than this, the great franchise corporations which occupy the streets are, of necessity, monopolies. They can only maintain the privileges which they enjoy through constant interference with the political life of the community; and a people can only escape from this merger of monopoly and politics through municipal-ownership. Regulation, far from diminishing, only increases the necessity of it. Great Britain demonstrated that fact, as our own cities have done in their water and electric-lighting enterprises. For when a city owns an undertaking, all classes can unite in securing good administration. But when it is in private hands there is a constant conflict between those who own it and those who do

"The British City."

not, over terms, rates, service, and everything connected with its administration.

"This is the ceaseless struggle that is going on in every large American community. A city cannot be half privileged and half free, any more than a nation can be half slave and half free. Either the one interest or the other must rule. A city can rule itself only for the good of all through the ownership of the things that lie at the very heart of the community's well-being.

"We can see this conflict of interest in almost every large American city. The unorganized common people are occupied in fighting back the aggressions of the bankers and brokers, the bench and the bar, the business men and the press, all united in an attempt to control the city and secure for themselves and their friends franchises of great value.

"Corruption, inflated securities, arrogance, oppressive rates and charges, civil strife, are the prices we pay for the private-ownership of a public-service. This is the cost of individualism, where individualism has no place. An affectionate regard for the city, the absence of bulging dividends, the best possible service, and a fraternal sense between all classes of the community, are the returns of the British city from the public-ownership of a public-service. These returns are not susceptible of statistical demonstration. They do not appear in the city budget. They are the higher returns not mentioned in the annual balance sheet. But they are more eloquent than any advantage to the rate-payer. They are the things that make possible a decent city life. They are the only tests we should consider in weighing the gains and losses of municipal-ownership.

"The British city is free from all this. It is free to think of other things, free to have ideals. It is not because the British city has more constructive statesmanship that it has achieved where we have failed. The average Englishman is no more able to administer great undertakings than we are. But the men of talent in that country are free to enter

politics. There is no conflict between their patriotism and their purse. And were the American city to take over the franchise corporations, it would in a short time administer them as honestly and as efficiently as does the British city. Then we should call to the city the talent which is now exiled by interest or fear.

"We have overlooked the fact that all men, from whatever class they come, have within themselves something which responds to the opportunity to serve their fellows. It is the most universal of all forces. It lies dormant in America because of the conflict of interest with patriotism. That, and the hostility of the franchise corporations, exiles the best and invites the worst into the administration of the American city.

"When the American city becomes the most important corporation in the community, when it offers an opportunity to all to use their talents on big things, without fear or the hope of gain, then there will come to us an awakening like that which followed in Great Britain in the wake of municipal trading. And honest municipal administration can come in no other way. So long as millions of dollars are placed in jeopardy by the election of honest councilmen or an idealistic mayor, just so long will those millions be organized for protection against the community. For wherever we go, privilege and liberty are ever at war. This warfare will cease only when monopoly is exiled from politics. And this can be done only through the ownership by the community itself of the great public-service corporations which are now in private hands."

Liberal as have been the quotations we have made from this immensely valuable work, they merely hint at the vast storehouse of facts and arguments presented in this volume and which are the fruit of the author's exhaustive personal examinations of the British municipality and the relation of the birth and onward march of democracy in Great Britain. No social reformer can afford to be without this volume.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

CHARLES E. RUSSELL ON *THE TURN OF THE BALANCE*.

[Note: *The Turn of the Balance*, by Mayor Brand Whitlock, which was the subject of a book-study in a recent issue of *THE ARENA*, is a work of such vital importance from the view-point of present-day political, social and economic conditions, that it affords us pleasure to give our readers the criticisms of the brilliant author of *Soldiers of the Common Good*, Mr. Charles E. Russell.—Editor of *THE ARENA*.]

THE YOUNG fellow Archie Koerner, whose progression down the steep path is told you here with such marvelous and compelling interest, what makes him the thing he is? You see he has good in him, abundant good. He is kind, affectionate, courageous, strong; he can be, when he chooses, of iron will and boundless endurance. So far as another human being can tell, here is one born without a vicious trait, without one depraved quality, with every possibility in him of a good and useful life. And he goes the downward way to the last depths, just as in every American city thousands of other Archie Koerners tread upon the same road. Why?

His father after many years of slavish toil for the railroad company loses his foot one night in the switching yards. A thousand hands are held out to save the company from paying any damages to the incapacitated old man. The company has stays and postponements and demurrers and appeals and finally after years of delay it has a new trial. Not one hand is held out to save the boy from the pit he is walking into. Somebody stole a box of herrings: some boys with whom he was associated. So he goes to the workhouse with the rest, and the workhouse inoculates him daily with evil and turns him loose a criminal and the police kick him into worse things; and then all men and women push and shove and thrust him downward, steadily from step to step until at last society takes the criminal it has made to kill him. About to die he looks back along the horrible descent. There have been no stays for him, no postponements,

demurrers, appeals and new trials. Once he offended; thereafter he has been pushed relentlessly to the bottom and now at the bottom society completes its work by crushing out his life.

His sister, too, ruined by the eminent and respectable brother of her employer: his father and mother moving by ways so sad and to an end so tragic; the whole terrible sum of wasted lives, and ruined hopes and awful pain: Who makes those things in the world? All his life of toil the old man had dreamed some day he might get enough money to go back to Germany to end his days in the old place. He can do no more work now, but he thinks that when the railroad company is compelled to pay him what it owes him he can still go back home. And the railroad company never pays him; it gets a new trial and wears out the soul of the old man with hope deferred and crushes the life out of him as society crushes the life out of Archie. Who makes these things in the world?

He has stolen a revolver, Archie, the workhouse graduate, society's novice in crime, and for that he goes to the penitentiary, where with marvelous skill and care his education in crime is completed. The eminent and respectable youth that ruins Archie's sister steals \$24,000 entrusted to him. He does not go to the penitentiary; he gets no further education in crime, but remains eminent and respectable. And the same district attorney that prosecutes Archie does not prosecute Dick Ward.

All these things are what we know and see and hear about us, but never before have they been driven in upon dullard conscience as here they are shown. At the turning of every page something whispers in your ear "This is the truth at last." It is all true, every word, from the first page to the last. Shocking, this *Turn of the Balance*? Possibly; but when you rise from it inevitably you say that it is time we were shocked: it is time that the reality of the conditions we create here were

*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, *THE ARENA*, Boston, Mass.

brought squarely home to us: it is time that we should perceive just what sort of a hell it is we are creating here on earth.

There has been no such book in any language since Zola's *L'Assommoir*; there has been no such work of conscience and of power at any time by Englishman or American except *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is one long, terrible, unanswerable indictment of modern conditions. It is a finger thrust into the face of each one of us. It is a tremendous, burning message, written by a man whose soul was on fire against evil and injustice. It is a series of absolute pictures, wrought with broad power to hold up to each of us the careless heart of each and shows us what life really is as we make it for others.

So much truth is in this wonderful book! It is not fiction as ordinarily we mean fiction, for here is nothing imaginary. Here are only veritable life, and actual men and living women, exactly as they are and as they think and as they act. Here is the whole panorama of evil-making, the workhouse, the penitentiary, the lawyer bent to win repute by securing conviction, the police, the heedless judge, the vicious jury system, the stupid court procedure, the utterly callous attitude of society, the indifference of the well-to-do, the hypocrites that we all are, the weights that our indifference and hypocrisy load upon our brethren—it is all here. You shall not escape it, there is no defense against it. You shall be convicted against your will, for this writer knows how to pierce through indifference and suppress hypocrisy and seize you by the very heart while he holds before you the mirror that shows us what we really are. From these tremendous situations one upon another following in this breathless succession you can no more escape than you could break from gyves; they have you fast. The father of Dick Ward pleads and twists and turns and violates the law to save his son from punishment: he had a short time before relentlessly punished a young clerk of his that had made a small embezzlement and the young clerk died in consequence. Archie's sister is wooed by a young artisan when Dick Ward seduces her; she might have been a happy wife and mother. Elizabeth Ward is confronted by the young

clerk when he is dying. The honored head of a great department store buys regularly the stamps that burglars steal from country post-offices. The last hours of old man Koerner tear at your heart. And then that story of the criminal that wanted to reform and started upon a straight life, and the public swore away his liberty and sent him to the penitentiary for a crime he never committed—I do not know in literature a story more pathetically told. And all is done so simply—no ornament, no tricks of speech. That is the great strength of the book. From beginning to end there is not one scene that is forced or unnatural or out of place or out of proportion or improbable or inadequate; there is not one sentence or phrase that is overdone or written for effect; of all the many characters there is not one that fails to be convincing. At a technical excellence so great as this I would marvel if it were not for one thing. The man has a message, the greatest delivered by any man since the Civil War. He is not writing for glory, nor repute nor money. He is writing to relieve his soul of an intolerable burden of feeling, and a man with a motive like that can write above all the learned and trained scholiasts in the world.

You cannot afford not to read this book; on the simplest grounds of your own spiritual interests, you cannot afford to miss it. No such sermon has been preached in our time and no such awakening word. You like the truth! Well, here it is, plain, naked, living; the greatest of all truths for you and me. For here you shall see exactly what comes of the conditions we create and endure. Criminal life! Yes, but who makes the criminals? If you and I create and endure the conditions that make crime inevitable who are the real criminals, the burglars and sneak-thieves or you and I? You have not had that matter brought home straight and square in any other book, have you? It is brought home to you here in this most powerful story of these days. No man ever gave you better advice than this: Do not fail to read it. You shall be the better for it: So will the world.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

New York City.

Three Acres and Liberty. By Bolton Hall. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 435. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

I.

AMONG the active and deeply thoughtful reformers who were awakened to a realization of social injustice by the masterly reasoning and moral enthusiasm of Henry George, no one is doing so much practical work along several important lines as Bolton Hall. He is an effective writer on economic and ethical themes. His telling satirical parables which expose the present-day cant, hypocrisy and brutality of the feudalism of privileged wealth, are unsurpassed by any living writer. As a lecturer he is one of the most lucid and fundamental of our practical reformers; but his labors are not confined to pen and platform. He is an organizer and a practical workman as well as a philosopher and a dreamer. He organized the Longshoremen's Union; he was a master spirit in the establishment of the Tax Reform Association of New York; he was the prime mover and leader in the inauguration of the movement for the cultivation by the unemployed of the vacant lots adjacent to New York City; and he has been a leading spirit in introducing the school gardens in some of the chief New York State institutions. He is a persistent worker in his quiet but efficient way, to extend the benefits of out-door cultivation of the soil to convalescent consumptives. Nor does this outline of his labors cover the field of his activity for the moral, mental and physical development and upliftment of those who are at a disadvantage in the present struggle for life and growth.

II.

In his new work, *Three Acres and Liberty*, Mr. Hall has rendered another important service to civilization. It is one of the most practical works that has appeared in years, showing what has actually been accomplished in various localities by the cultivation of vacant lots in the suburbs or of idle land near to American cities, as well as results obtained by workers in the Old World. Mr. Hall's personal labors in promoting the work of the cultivation by the unemployed of the vacant lots outside the Empire City, and the experience of other workers in this practical plan for the maintenance of self-respecting man-

hood during periods of business depression, have been utilized, and to these he has added a vast fund of facts from the recorded experiences of others who have made a study of the subject. All of this data was later carefully gone over by some of America's foremost specialists, such for example, as Mr. E. H. Moore, Aboriculturist in the Brooklyn Department of Parks; Mr. H. V. Bruce, late Superintendent of the New York Cultivation of Vacant Lots; Professor I. P. Roberts of the Orange Judd Company; Mrs. Mabel Osgood Wright, and Mr. Joseph Morwitz of the *German Democrat*.

Thus there can be no question as to the reliability and practical character of the work. Unlike many books that are largely explanatory and instructive in character, this work is written in a pleasing style, luring the reader from page to page, even though the exigencies of life may render it impossible for him to carry into practical execution the plans outlined.

It must not be supposed, however, that the volume is a cultural handbook. There are now many excellent treatises that clearly set forth the necessary facts for the novice in intensive gardening and agriculture. What our author most successfully shows is the thoroughly practical and highly remunerative character of cultivating intensively a small plot of land near a city. Three acres is sufficient for good living; many persons have succeeded on far less.

Here we find given in detail, for example, a remarkable story. It comes from England. The successful worker, a Mr. Vincent, is a waiter in a hotel. Several years ago he lost his health. The wise old doctor whom he consulted told him that if he did not get into the open air more he would soon die. Mr. Vincent leased one-half an acre of land. This was all he could properly cultivate, as he had to spend eighty hours every week serving in the hotel. The land he rented was on the Brighton Race Hill Ridge, and at the time he leased it, the soil was only four inches deep. He has successfully cultivated it for several years and now the soil is a foot deep. In the report which was first published in the London *Daily News* in 1905 and which Mr. Hall reproduces in full, Mr. Vincent shows by his itemized account of all sales and all expenditures that the half-acre had returned in 1905 \$337.18, while the total expenditures, including about \$11.50 for rent and about \$8 for

help, were \$44.26, leaving him a clear profit of \$292.92 for his half-acre. Nor was the price he received for his products exorbitant, as is shown by the itemized account given. Thus he raised 2,660 cabbages, for which he received from one-half penny to one penny each,—that is to say from one cent to two cents a head. Nine hundred and fifty cauliflowers brought him from two cents to three cents each. Twelve gallons of currants brought 32 cents a gallon. His radishes brought him one cent for fifteen, or thirty for a penny, and other produce in proportion.

This story is but one of a large number of typical examples that are given. Many of them are the results of experiment in America on vacant lots or on idle land near our cities. Mr. Hall shows that it is not necessary for a man to go to a remote quarter in order to enjoy freedom and a reasonably prosperous life if he determines to master intensive cultivation of the soil and is wise in selecting his three acres. Indeed, the land near the large cities or in easy reach of them by electric offers special advantages for those who would be independent through loving and faithful care of a little plot of mother earth by the present well-understood method of intensive cultivation, which is clearly explained in numerous admirable treatises.

The volume contains twenty-one chapters, an appendix and an index. In the chapters the following subjects are treated in so lucid and suggestive a manner that no one can read the work without experiencing a serious attack of land hunger: "Making a Living—Where and How," "Present Conditions," "How to Buy the Farm," "Vacant City Lot Cultivation," "Results to be Expected," "What an Acre May Produce," "Some Methods," "The Kitchen Garden," "Tools and Equipment," "Advantages from Capital," "Hot Beds and "Greenhouses," "Other Uses of Land," "Fruits," "Flowers," "Drug Plants," "Novel Live Stock," "Where to Go," "Clearing the Land," "How to Build," "Back to the Land," "Coming Profession for Boys."

There are many admirable half-tone illustrations showing the results of intensive culture near our large cities. This is, we think, one of the most important volumes of the year. We wish every city dweller among our readers would peruse its pages, for we believe that for many it would prove an open door to liberty, health and happiness.

The American Idea. By Lydia K. Commander. Cloth. Pp. 329. Price, \$1.50. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company.

IN THIS volume we have the fruit of three years of careful research for facts at first hand, complemented by a brilliant and searching examination of the question considered, in which the author displays a comprehensive philosophical grasp of the subject that is rarely in evidence in the writings of Americans since the newspapers and magazines have so fostered bright but superficial and flippant treatment of grave subjects. But though the author is fundamental and scientific in her treatment of the subject, there is nothing of the dullness that is a deadly handicap to many earnest and painstaking presentations of serious problems. She has been a journalist too long to be dull or prosaic.

The work, which was suggested by President Roosevelt's plea for large families, contains eleven chapters. In the first the author gives the results of extended interviews and personal investigations, in which the views of many eminent thinkers are supplemented by the observations of a number of leading physicians, enjoying large practices in the metropolis and its suburbs, and the personal views of a still greater number of women in various walks of life.

From a consideration of the question, "Has the Small Family Become an American Ideal?" with its overwhelming affirmative answer, the author passes to the consideration of "Another Form of Race Suicide," wherein she shows that by indiscriminate welcoming to our shores of immigrants from the Old World, and especially by the abnormal stimulation of immigration of the least desirable classes, by misleading representations of steamship companies, the American race, so clearly defined and of such marked characteristics in the early decades of our history, has gradually given place to a vast composite, ill-digested mass of ignorant and idealless life that is swarming to our coast. Especially ominous is the tide of immigration in recent years which has come so largely from the southern races—races that are fundamentally alien to the Anglo-Saxon in character.

In a chapter entitled "Not Degeneracy" Mrs. Commander clearly shows the blunder which superficial thinkers make in confusing the underlying causes leading to a decrease

in the birth ratio in different countries, as in France and the United States, for example. "Social tendencies," she rightly observes, "have social causes, and to understand social phenomena we must discover the underlying causes." And this she proceeds to do in some of the most thoughtful chapters that have been contributed to this important subject.

"When," she observes, "we find the interruption of the working of a great universal compelling law, we must look deep for the causes. We find in this country reproduction, the second law of nature, waning. Yet we are not old, our natural forces are not failing, the day of our vigor is not in the past. On the contrary, we are a young, strong, virile people, in the flush of our fruitful powers. We are at an age when to reproduce ourselves, to throw our young life forward into the future, should be a joy, a delight, the natural expression of our abounding vitality.

"Powerful, indeed, must be the cause that can restrain young life, in the full possession of virile powers, from giving forth its vital forces to perpetuate its kind. The law of reproduction is the second law of life, and ceases to rule only when old age saps the vital powers.

"Only one force in the universe is more powerful than the law of reproduction, only one law is older, only one law opposed to the law of reproduction can conquer it. That is the law of self-preservation.

"Therefore, when we find the United States, a young virile nation, disregarding the law of reproduction, we are certain to find that it is because obedience is being claimed by an older, stronger law—self-preservation.

"If formerly, the large family prevailed, while now the small family is the general rule, it is because under former conditions the large family rendered easier the struggle for existence, while now the small family is the fittest to survive. Paradoxical as it may seem, the nation is disappearing in the effort to survive."

The chapters devoted to "The Larger Womanhood," "The Price of Motherhood," and "The Nation and the Child," merit very careful reading on the part of all thinking people, as does also the discussion in which the author takes up "Social Motherhood." This is perhaps the most vital part of a book that from the opening page to the

end is richly worth the reading,—a volume in which one of the gravest questions of the hour is treated in a most entertaining yet deeply thoughtful and wisely suggestive manner.

Intimations of Immortality. Significant Thoughts on the Future Life. Selected by Helen P. Patten. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

THIS is the best work of the kind that has appeared in anything like the same compass. The compiler has displayed rare judgment and discrimination in her selections. Never, we think, has there been so universal and intense an interest in the problem of a future life on the part of civilized man as to-day. True, there have been ages of blind faith in the past, which have been succeeded by periods of critical investigation, and usually a waning faith in the thought of a future life. So with Christian civilization. After the long period of the Dark Ages, came the light of modern scientific research and the general diffusion of education, and with it rose the critical, skeptical spirit; and one of the first results of the new order was a waning of the old faith in the belief of another life. This has been followed by a healthy reaction. The more thoughtful no longer accept without questioning, but the general interest in the problem has grown instead of waned. The faith of the future must answer the demands of an awakened intelligence. It will be strong, robust, healthy, and it will stimulate intellectual research rather than discourage it.

In this volume the compiler has brought together a rich treasury of luminous thought from various sources, bearing upon the question of another life and representing the results of the musings, meditations and philosophical deductions of poets, seers, prophets and philosophers throughout the ages. How wide is the sweep of the work will be seen when we note the major divisions, which are: "From the Bibles of Humanity," "The Testimony of the Ancients," "The Speculations of Philosophy," "The Deductions of Science," "The Voice of the Church" and "The Vision of the Poet."

In the first division are selections from the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, from the various great Indian sacred writings, and from the Old and New Testaments; and these are followed by selections translated from As-

syrian and Egyptian inscriptions and from various views of the master thinkers among the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Among the philosophers quoted are Francis Bacon, Spinoza, Bruno, Locke, Pascal, Franklin, Rousseau, Hume, Kant, Thomas Paine, William Blake, Fitch, Humboldt, Schopenhauer, Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, Emerson, Buckle, Renan, John Fiske, William James and Maeterlinck.

Among those who contribute to the symposium which appears under the title of "The Deductions of Science," are Alfred Russel Wallace, Charles Darwin, Sir Humphrey Davy, Asa Grey, Max Müller, Professor Simon Newcomb, Cesare Lombroso, Camille Flammarion, N. S. Shaler, F. W. H. Meyers, and Sir Oliver Lodge. While the voice of the church is heard throughout the views of many of the church fathers and the master theologians of the ages, including St. Clement, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Great, St. Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, Fenelon, Swedenborg, John Wesley, Jonathan Edwards, William Ellery Channing, Horace Bushnell, William Henry Furness, Frederick D. Maurice, James Martineau, Cardinal Manning, Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, O. B. Frothingham, Cardinal Gibbons, Brooke Herford, Stopford A. Brooke, Phillips Brooks, Washington Gladden, John White Chadwick, Minot J. Savage, John Watson, and Newell Dwight Hillis.

The poets are represented, among others, by Sir Walter Raleigh, Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Young, Pope, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Shelley, Bryant, Hugo, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Tennyson, Browning, George Eliot, Lowell, Walt. Whitman, Matthew Arnold, Joaquin Miller, Edwin Arnold, T. B. Aldrich, and John Addington Symonds.

This volume is one we can conscientiously recommend. It is one that should be found in every well-ordered library.

Congressman Pumphrey: The People's Friend. By John T. McCutcheon. Illustrated by the author. Cloth. Pp. 126. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. MCCUTCHEON has long been well known as one of the brightest newspaper car-

toonists in the Middle West. In this book, with word and sketch, the gifted young newspaper man has done some extremely clever work in satirizing present political conditions. In a bright, humorous, but clear and effective manner, he shows the methods pursued by predatory wealth and class interests, in and out of government, to seduce the people's representatives who have some native ability, when they are sent to the legislative halls or are placed in positions of trust and confidence.

Congressman Pumphrey is a popular Western orator who, after attaining considerable local fame as a champion of the people's cause in opposition to the aggressions of corporate and predatory wealth, is elected to Congress. He soon meets a very engaging gentleman who turns out to be a prominent lawyer for some of the great interests, and this attorney apparently conceives a great admiration for the congressman. He is also introduced to Senator Octopus, one of the most powerful and influential representatives of vested interests in the national capital. Octopus takes Pumphrey to his heart. Together they go calling in fashionable circles, and the lawyer and the statesman further win the admiration of the Western congressman by their great interest in his wife and daughter, who they are anxious shall enjoy the advantages of the best Washington society.

In various ways Pumphrey is soon enmeshed in the web of plutocracy's spinning, much to the amazement and disgust of the Western constituents, who vainly look for the bills he was to present in order to shackle cunning and curb predatory aggressions. Finally a Western newspaper man turns a broadside against Pumphrey. The congressman, however, invites him to Washington, determined to silence him as he himself has been silenced. In this enterprise, which Senator Octopus and the attorney regard as very praiseworthy, he is seconded by a number of capitalistic gentlemen, who arrange a banquet in honor of the Western editor. The editor, however, fails to fall into the trap, and returning home renews his assaults upon Pumphrey, which threaten the defeat of "the people's friend" in the future election. In his extremity Pumphrey calls on Senator Octopus for help. The senator proves how strong is his arm to help his friend when he shows that the senators from Pumphrey's state are beholden to him for favors, and through those senators he orders the county printing held up for the

county in which the Western editor resides. This means a large sum to the poor printer; indeed, to lose the printing would probably seriously cripple him, and finally, finding that there is no way of escape, the editor appeals to Pumphrey and comes to terms. In this manner his voice is of course silenced, as has been the case in so many instances.

The book, although humorous and bright, is a searching exposé, made by a newspaper man who knows what he is talking about, of the systematic methods being employed by predatory wealth to continue its corrupt rule in government.

The Song of the Boy. By Justin Sterna. Paper. Pp. 18. Price, 15 cents, postpaid. Westwood, Massachusetts: The Ariel Press.

THIS little Whitmanesque poem is brimful of healthful thought. In it the Boy first speaks of joy in living:

"Oh! The joy of being alive!
To be sound of body and brain,
With pulses that leap to strive,
And muscles that crave the difficult feat.
To battle with wind and rain,
To struggle with snow and sleet,
In the tumbling surf to meet
That strongest foe of man, the sea.
To feel her tug at the feet,
And buffet the face with a heavy hand;
To measure strength with her brainless strength,
And in spite of her might, to stand
Or leap or swim at the will's command.
Oh! Life is sweet!"

In like manner he revels in the might of his body, the strength of his brain, in the exhilaration of living and breathing, of thinking and speaking. But anon comes Death, with solemn warning, to which the Boy replies:

"He who has known the joy of the indrawn breath
And the senses that throb and thrill,
And the blood that pulses quick,
He who has known these joys that fill
For half a hundred years,
He should lay them down with a smile
To yield them up to death.
God gave him Life for a while
And the Joy of Life for a space.
Great was the gift. But when he has run his race,
And used them both to the uttermost,
Why should he shrink from Death?"

Conscience also speaks:

"Do you think this Joy of Living?
This body supple and strong,
Gifts of the great God's giving,
Are wholly your own?
Is it for you alone

That your surging blood beats quick,
And merely to draw the breath is a keen delight,
While all around you your brothers
Are weary and sick?
Have they no claim, these others,
To share in your joy?"

And after the Boy has replied, the World, the Flesh and the Devil in turn address him. For a time he seems to waver in his high purpose, till Love speaks, saying:

"Keep me my throne, O Boy!
Great is the joy
Of the supple body's strength and the senses' thrill.
They are right and sweet in their day,
But I am greater than they.
They shall straight give way when I claim my
empty throne.

Lo! I am the Master Joy.

You shall presently own my sway.
O Boy! you have waited me long,
But I may not come at the summons of man.
I must bide my time.
You are right to live in your jubilant song
Of joy in being alive,
But know that each of these lesser joys
You shall desire to sacrifice
In the service of Love. O Boy! Be wise!
Even the joy of the indrawn breath
You shall be willing to yield to Death.
Yea! So the Beloved be blest thereby
You shall gladly die.
Then is it more

Than the Flesh will endure
That you keep your Soul clean?
It has served you well, of a truth,
This Joy of Life and Youth,
Has kept you sane and fine and strong,
Fit to love with the Love that Abides.

The Prelude,—and then the Song!
Behold! I shall come!
What will it matter then that you waited me long?"

And the Boy hears and responds with a will. He will guard the temple of his soul that love may find him strong and clean and worthy.

The writer of this little work is a lady of much ability. We have examined some of her previous writings. They were marked by strength, logic and skill, just as this little volume shows a wholesome, fine poetic imagination.

As Ye Have Sown. By Dolf Wyllarde. Cloth. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a brilliant and convincing picture of society life among the members of the British aristocracy and exposes the follies and weaknesses of the fast set in an unsparing manner. It is hard to think that the Lady Vera Morningtons, the Editha Blais Herons, the Chiffons, and the Caryl Lexiters are the true represen-

tatives of the present-day English aristocracy. Rather should we like to feel that the old Duke of London and Lady Helen Chilcote were the truly typical figures; but the author leaves us no choice but to conclude that these are of a school that is fast disappearing, if it has not already vanished, from the stage of London social life.

In contrast to the unpleasant types presented Miss Wyllarde shows us as representatives of the great middle class such women as Fate Leroy, such men as Eldred Leroy and Gerald Vaughan—characters who might easily stand for the best in any society—clean, well-bred, intelligent men and women who are the backbone of a nation.

Patricia Mornington, the heroine, is also a fine type of English womanhood. She has been reared by Lady Helen Chilcote, a distant relative and has imbibed from her the old-time ideals of honor and uprightness which most of the members of her social set seem entirely to have lost sight of. Patricia has no sympathy with the amusements and vices of her mother's friends and prides herself on the sturdy middle-class blood which she believes runs in her veins, as Giles Mornington comes from yeoman stock and has made his money in manufacture. When, after his tragic death, she finds that the man she has always supposed to be her father has given her the protection of his name only in order so cover her mother's sin and unfaithfulness, she refuses to accept the money which would fall to her if she kept silence, and voluntarily exiles herself from her relatives and finds more congenial companionship among the acquaintances she has made through Fate Leroy and her husband.

The book illustrates in a striking manner the vicious influence of a parasite class which inevitably in time becomes a class largely made up of idlers, lacking in a sensible realization of moral responsibility.

It is unfortunate that the book should be marred by so many typographical errors as are to be found in its pages.

AMY C. RICH.

The Mayor's Wife. By Anna Katherine Green. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 389. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

WE THINK this is the best story written by this author,—better, indeed, than *The Leaven-*

worth Case, which was so popular when it first appeared. It is a mystery story of more than ordinary ingenuity in its inventive resources. But what is true of the other works of this author is equally true of *The Mayor's Wife*. It lacks in human interest. There is none of the compelling imaginative genius displayed that makes the characters of a romance appeal to the reader as real flesh and blood men and women. Romances written by geniuses of a high order—by persons possessing poetic and imaginative powers, almost instantly engage the interest of the reader in the life, fortune and fate of the characters, because the creations appeal to one in the same manner than living personalities would appeal under similar circumstances. It is thus with *The Octopus*, by Frank Norris, *The Second Generation*, by David Graham Phillips, *The Sage Brush Parson*, *Truth Dexter*, and many other recent novels of real imaginative power. Not so with this ingenious and exciting tale. *The Mayor's Wife* holds the interest of the reader, it is true, but it is in the same way that the interest is held in a detective tale; not because we feel any special concern for the parties, but the mystery and the ingenious manner in which the threads of the tale are woven together attract and perhaps fascinate the reader. Persons who enjoy a well-written detective story, with more of general interest and variety than are present in most such tales, will find this story engaging. It is the best mystery tale we have read in months.

The Slim Princess. By George Ade. Illustrated. Cloth. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Slim Princess is one of the brightest phantasies of the season. It is wildly absurd and impossible, holding about the relation to a well wrought out romance which deals with possible persons and happenings, that a farce holds to an old-time comedy. Yet owing to the peculiar genius of George Ade, its brilliancy and vivacity, it will appeal to the fun-loving public who wish to idle away an hour without the trouble of thinking seriously or allowing the deeper emotions to be disturbed.

The Slim Princess lived in an impossible dependency of Turkey where only fat women were sought in marriage. She was thus in disgrace and was ignored and slighted by all

the eligible young men of the land, while the law of the country prevented a younger sister from marrying until the elder had found a husband. Thus the beautifully fat younger sister of the heroine found herself also barred from the matrimonial altar. The father resorted to strategy to get his daughter married off. She appeared at a garden party padded and pillowed, but the attempt was unsuccessful. The ruse was discovered and the Princess found herself in further disgrace. Then appeared on the scene the ubiquitous young American millionaire who wooed and finally after no end of adventures wed the Slim Princess, to the great joy of all.

The story throughout reminds one of the old play, "Fresh, the American," rendered popular some years ago by Raymond's acting of the title rôle.

The Brass Bowl. By Louis Joseph Vance. Illustrated Cloth. Pp. 380. Price, \$1.60. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS story is written frankly with no other purpose than to entertain. The plot hinges on the marvelous resemblance of the hero, "Handsome Dan" Maitland, a New York millionaire, to "Handsome Dan" Anisty, a gentleman burglar. Anisty determines to obtain possession of the Maitland jewels, which are in a safe at the millionaire's country home, on the same night that the latter makes an unexpected visit to his estate. Numerous exciting and more or less improbable adventures follow, in which a beautiful and mysterious young woman figures prominently. It goes without saying that the story ends happily.

The Brass Bowl will hold the breathless interest of the reader who is seeking only to be amused, as the action is rapid and the dialogue well written; but the book belongs to that class of feverish and essentially ephemeral fiction of which we have altogether too many representatives of late.

AMY C. RICH.

Phantom Wires. By Arthur Stringer. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

IN *Phantom Wires* the career of the two chief characters of Mr. Stringer's *The Wire*

Tappers is continued. Readers of the former romance will remember that Jim Durgin and his wife, professional wire-tappers, after a series of exciting episodes in quest of gold by lawless methods, decided to give up a life of crime. They left for Europe. In the present story it appears that after a long and futile attempt to succeed by honorable employment, during which time they have had to separate, seeking labor in different parts of Europe, both return to the old questionable life, seemingly driven on by the Nemesis of adversity. They meet and again engage in criminal acts in the hope of gaining sufficient money to allow them to make another attempt to live honorable lives. The story is chiefly concerned with their daring deeds and hair-breadth escapes, all, or almost all, of which are extra-legal in character, while many of them are so wildly improbable as to over-tax the credulity of the least exacting reader. In the end the couple again emerge from their criminal career, strong in their resolution to lead more worthy lives. A year elapses and the work closes with a picture of Durgin and his wife happily engaged in honest industry. They have learned their lesson—the great lesson of life.

"She felt that he, too, had stumbled upon the timeless and mysterious paradox of existence, that incongruous law which ordains that as one surrenders and relinquishes and gives, so one shall live the richer and deeper."

Later the wife tells her husband that the most beautiful thing in the world is Redemption.

"I think there's nothing ever done, or made, or written of, or sung of by poets, more beautiful than a soul, a poor, unhappy human soul, coming into its own once more! . . . I don't believe there's an adventure or a movement in all life more beautiful than the rehabilitation—that's the only word I can use!—of a man's heart, or a woman's! . . . What can be lovelier than the restoration of sanity and beauty and meaning to a suffering and tortured life? Health after sickness is lovely, and so is healing after disease, and quietness after unrest, and peace after struggle. But that, Jim, is only for the body. It's only for something of a day or two, or a year or two. When a soul is redeemed, it's something that leaves you face to face with—with Eternity!"

With this high note the story closes,—a story, however, that cannot serve to elevate and ennoble the reader, as almost the entire work is given to criminal exploits; while for discriminating readers the palpable improbabilities, not to say impossibilities, of many of the narrow escapes and daring exploits render the book unconvincing and therefore lacking in the first essential of a novel. For people who do not think deeply, who ask only for feverish exploits, regardless of probability and the moral atmosphere of a work, this story will doubtless prove satisfactory, yet we regard it as distinctly inferior to the author's former story.

Jess: Bits of Wayside Gospel. By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Cloth. Pp. 314. New York: The Macmillan Company.

OUT IN Chicago there lives and works a man who in the truest and highest sense is a minister of righteousness. He was one of the master-spirits in making the World's Congress of Religions, that assembled in Chicago during the World's Fair, a pronounced success and something of permanent value to the race. Of late years he has been the master-worker in building up the grandest institutional church in America, The Abraham Lincoln Center of Chicago. This important constructive social center has been fully described by Mr. George Wharton James in a finely illustrated paper in *THE ARENA* for March, so we merely refer to it in passing.

Recently we have been reading a volume of discussions by this master-worker, the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and it contains so much of beauty and worth that it affords us pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the book. *Jess* is the fruitage or the moral and intellectual harvest garnered during a season's vacation enjoyed by Mr. Jones in a ride through Wisconsin on a beautiful, spirited, intelligent and affectionate horse that had been given him by his friends. The first chapter deals with *Jess*, the horse, and is made the vehicle for a fine plea for kind and humane treatment to our poor relations, the dumb animals. Following the opening chapter are ten discourses, all suggested by what the clergyman saw and heard during his pilgrimage along the highways and byways of Wisconsin.

Emerson, it will be remembered, described 'the harvest of beauty that he garnered after

the reapers had gathered the grain from the field, and this work illustrates forcibly the meaning of such a harvest as the idealist and poet Emerson had in mind. It shows what the seeing eye may take cognizance of, what a wealth of true and helpful philosophy it may bring back to the children of the cities from a journey into the country.

The themes discussed in the volume, after the introductory chapter, are: "Realizing Life," "A Dinner of Herbs," "A Quest for the Unattainable," "The River of Life," "Earth's Fulness," "Spiritual Values of Country and City," "The Religion of the Bird's Nest," "Near to the Heart of Nature," "The Peace of God," and "The Uplands of the Spirit."

These chapters are jeweled with thoughts that cannot fail to prove an inspiration to higher living and with lessons that will help all readers to enjoy a fuller and richer life. Space forbids extended quotations, but the following extracts from the chapter entitled "A Quest for the Unattainable" will give the reader a hint of the good things which are found on almost every page. Dr. Jones points out the fact that in this life our dreams and ideals are never fully realized. "There is," he says, "an unanswered prayer, an unrealized dream, in every life. There is a deep-rooted, far-reaching disappointment in store for the noblest children of earth." But does this make him pessimistic? By no means. He has a splendid faith in a still fairer tomorrow for the human soul, where in answer to the eternal law of justice the high dreams and ideals tenaciously clung to in this life shall be fully realized. He holds that:

"The dream will come full circle when it is orb'd in eternity, that no vagrant wish of a loyal soul can be left unfulfilled, no clumsy effort of a consecrated will go unrewarded. As there is a breast prepared for the expectant babe, a light for the eye formed in darkness, a sound for the ear bured in silence, so there is a reality to meet the prophetic gropings of the human soul. The expectations of the earnest, the desire of the good, the dream of the enthusiast, whether in the Bible or out of it, are promissory notes of the Almighty, and his notes are good. Only the fish in the rivers that flow through sunless caverns are eyeless, and only dead souls are visionless. Dying nations look backward. Growing nations look forward. I believe in immortality be-

cause God has given me a prophetic appetite for it. This law is always the compensation and comfort of the poet. . . . This is the faith magnificently stated by the great Victorian laureate of the nineteenth century:

“That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete.”

Very suggestive and true are these lines descriptive of a vast army of lives that are drifting, where, if their moral natures had been properly aroused and trained in youth, they would have manfully pulled on the oars of human progress:

“The most pitiable life is the aimless life. Heaven help the man or woman, the boy or girl, who is not interested in anything outside of his or her own immediate comfort and that related thereto, who eats bread to make strength for no special cause, who pursues science, reads poetry, studies books, for no earthly or heavenly purpose other than mere enjoyment of acquisition; who goes on accumulating wealth, piling up money, with no definite or absorbing purpose to apply it to anything in particular. These are the men that are in the way.”

We conclude our extracts with the following lines:

“The old alchemists, seeking the elixir of life, found what was better, the elements of chemistry. The Spaniard, as the story goes, chasing a mountain goat which he probably did not catch, found at the roots of the shrub that gave way under his grasp as he climbed, the gold of Peru, which was his nearest approach to the Eldorado he sought. Bessemer, in trying to make wrought-iron, discovered the great steel-making process. Columbus sailed in search of India; God showed him America. The Pilgrim fathers came to establish a colony; God made of them a republic. Thus ever does his deliberation overreach our impetuosity. Humanity's anticipation is always smaller than the divine realization. The toy, the coveted picture-book, the education, the position, the living, the farm, the home, the possessions men have dared to hope for, one after another are given. Companionship, sympathy, love, come in the wake of the beatific vision, not in anticipation of it. Dream after dream lures man onward, and all the time he is not dealing with illu-

sions, he is not chasing will-o'-the-wisps, but following the beckoning hand of destiny.

“Then is the lyric dream
Not given to them in vain! Old death-wounds still
Set free the spirit for eternal life;
In every dirge there sleeps a battle-march;
And those slain heroes of the past may tell
How they attained, who only seemed to fail;
And they that fell of old, on those gray fields,
By their red Death, enable us to live!”

“ . . . Let no one dare distrust the forward beckonings. Ignorance places the golden age behind. We cannot, if we would, return to it. Knowledge places the golden age ahead of us. We must strive for it. The simplicity of Eden, whatever it was, is out of the question now. It is past. The triumph of spirit, the reign of reason, the kingdom of love is ahead. We must look forward to it.”

Books like *Jess* exert a refining and uplifting influence on the reader. They fill the thought-world with wholesome, beautiful, spirit-stimulating imagery. They train the mind to take cognizance of all that is fair and wonderful that panorama-like passes before the eye of man, and to reason on the phenomena that are seen.

Railway Problems. Edited by William Z. Ripley, Professor of Economics, Harvard University. Published by Ginn & Company, Boston. Cloth. 686 pages, with maps, \$2.70 net.

PROFESSOR RIPLEY has brought together for the first time in convenient form a score of the most important papers on the railway question by leading railway authorities. Some of the railway classics are here, such as *A Chapter of Erie*, by Charles Francis Adams; *Standard Oil Rebates*, by Miss Tarbell; *The Union Pacific Construction*, by Henry K. White, and *Railway Ownership in Germany*, by B. H. Myer. There are also included official records of the classic cases and decisions, such as the Cincinnati Freight Bureau case, the Hutchinson Salt case, the Eau Claire Lumber case, and the Chattanooga case. A typical railroad pool is described in the Southern Railway and Steamship Association. The leading cases of discrimination are dealt with in the cases referred to; the theory of railway rates is discussed by Frank W. Taussig; and the Trunk Line Rate System, by Professor Ripley. The Southern Basing Point System is illuminated by several im-

portant cases, and export and transcontinental rate cases are given. Several other important papers are included in the book, and it is brought down to date by an article by Frank H. Dixon on the Interstate Commerce Law as amended in 1906.

In a discussion of pooling in his introduction, the editor has this to say:

"Observation in continental Europe where government ownership of railways prevails, strongly impresses one with the economic advantages of entirely unified systems of operation. No devious routing of traffic is allowed. Certain lines best situated and equipped for the business are designated for each kind of traffic, and concentration on them follows to the exclusion of the weak lines,—that is to say, of the lines which are weak for that particular business. No roundabout circuiting occurs because of the complete absorption of all lines into the government system. No independent roads have to be placated. The sole problem is to cause the tonnage to be most directly and economically transported."

Many of the papers in this book are familiar to all who have kept in touch with railway questions, but every such person will welcome the opportunity of having them in this very convenient form. The book is invaluable for college work, and to all who would take up the history of American railways.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Display. By R. E. Spender. Cloth. Pp. 300. New York: John Lane Company.

A WRITER on books has said that the right kind of book leaves a "wholesome and fine feeling in the mind of one who reads it." Judged by this test, *Display* can hardly be said to be the right kind of a book. It is too cynical, too pessimistic. It is an English book and deals with London characters, none of them really genuine or uplifting. Shoddy is the best term to express the character of the society they represent. These shoddy characters are brought together on an expedition to locate the Utopia of Sir Thomas More in Africa. There is much conversation, some of it witty, and the satire is at times very keen and piercing, but one does not relish too much satire even in a satirical book. Before the volume is finished the reader will sigh for something really noble and genuine.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Health-Care of the Baby. By Louis Fisher, M.D. Cloth. Pp. 166. Price, 75 cents net; by mail, 82 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is a carefully written and valuable little book on the care of infants. It should be in the hands of every mother, and especially of those mothers who have been filled with misinformation handed down through generations of ignorance. The book gives details of infant feeding, care of the stomach and bowels, management of fever; and in cases of accident, poisoning, etc., it gives ample advice to be followed until medical help can be procured.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Cruise of the Firefly. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price, 75 cents. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

A Hunt on Snowshoes. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price 75 cents. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

Lost in the Forbidden Land. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 310. Price, 75 cents. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

AS STORIES for boys these books are a great success. They are full of thrilling adventure, there being a continuous performance of hair-breadth escapes. Wolves, bears, Indians and villains are always at hand, waiting the magic wand of the conjurer to call them into being and to discomfort them at pleasure. However close death's call, the boy readers may rest assured that the hero will always escape, and that new luster will continually be added to his renown. Also in all the contests the nobler boys will eventually win, and the story's outcome will be perfectly satisfactory.

Wonderful, vivid and entrancing are these books, and if they had one other element they would be well-nigh perfection. The one element lacking is the possible, but of course this is a small matter with boys, and with Mr. Ellis it is evidently of no account whatever.

As we have three of these books before us we will take a little space once for all to show up some of their absurdities. In one of them two boys start out from home one evening to visit a hunter friend on the shore of the upper

Kennebec. These boys are respectively twelve and fourteen years of age and start on their skates at a time when the full moon rides so high in the sky that the trees on the banks of the river scarcely cast a shadow. This must be near midnight, as the full moon rises about six o'clock, and we wonder at so late a start. Now when they reach the hunter's cabin, strange to say he has not yet returned from his day's hunt. Meanwhile the boys have startling adventures with wolves, and with a great bear which has come out of winter quarters for the purpose. Incidentally a ghost is brought in to add a little cheer to the situation. After adventures enough to cover an hour or two the hunter appears in an impossible place just in time to rescue one of the boys from the bear. They are refreshed with a hearty supper and go to bed to get rested for the next day's hunt.

All this happened many years ago, and yet while the boys were skating for life to escape from the wolves, one of them remarked that the savage beasts were coming after them like an express engine. It matters not to this author that the wolves were driven out of Maine long before express-engines were ever heard of; if he needs wolves or engines, he is going to have them. He also is careful to inform the boys that the forests along the upper Kennebec are of oak and pine, while as a matter of fact one might search over a thousand acres in that region and never find a single oak.

In another story we are told that a boat was repaired with pitch from a hemlock. Now the hemlock is a tree which of all the evergreens has the least amount of pitch in it, and yet on another occasion he has one of these green trees accidentally take fire and burn up. How the thought of it would make a Maine woodsman laugh!

But our object is not to discourage the boys. They will like these stories very much, but they will learn nothing from them except a great many things that are not so.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

A History of the United States and Its People.
By Elroy McKendree Avery. In fifteen volumes. Volume Three. Dealing with a neglected period of American history, a period extending through the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries. Profusely mapped

and illustrated. Price, \$6.25 net per volume. Cleveland, Ohio: The Burrows Brothers.

THE THIRD volume of Dr. Avery's monumental history of the Republic is before us and we are gratified to find that it fully maintains the high standard set in the preceding volumes. After examining this work we see nothing to retract in our former strong words of praise for Dr. Avery's immensely important work,—a history which bids fair to be the most accurate and authoritative story of the Republic that has appeared. The very method of its preparation renders it preëminently valuable to those who desire historic truth. Heretofore our historians have consistently striven to tell the story of our nation, her rise and progress; but the vast accumulation of matter—much of it contradictory in character—rendered careful verification by one person in the time given to the preparation of the history, impossible. Therefore, with the best intentions, the most excellent of our histories are full of errors of fact.

Dr. Avery has brought to his work the modern scientific or critical method. He has spent twenty years on this history, while beyond and above this, he has called to his aid the services of the ablest specialists in all cases where a fact has been in doubt, and no stone has been left unturned in a determined effort to arrive at the historical verity of every question about which there has been any controversy. This of course at times shatters some pleasing romances, as the sunlight dispels the mist; but in history what the reader wants is facts. History, like science, should be "a sheaf of facts"; and this has been the master object of our historian. His work has been prepared with the greatest care and after exhaustive research such as has marked no previous American history. It has then been criticized by eminent specialists, revised and verified with the aid of other leading modern scholars and the latest available facts. Moreover, the author writes in a simple, lucid style, admirably adapted to the unfoldment of an authentic history, while the publishers have spared no expense or pains in their effort to adequately complement Dr. Avery's work with maps and authentic illustrations.

The third volume, which is now before us, leaves little doubt but what the history when completed will be peerless among the stories

of the rise and onward march of the United States. We regret, however, the long time that elapses between the appearance of volumes. It is unfortunate that at least the first half of the work might not have been completed and ready for the press before the publication had been commenced.

Volume three is devoted to what has been happily termed a neglected period of American history,—a period extending through the latter part of the seventeenth to well toward the meridian of the eighteenth century. Behind it lay the stirring, strenuous and oftentimes intensely exciting period that marked the colonization of the New World and the struggle for a firm foothold,—a struggle that sometimes meant war with Indians, sometimes conflict with rival nations, and ever the fierce battle to subjugate the soil and wring from it more than was needed to supply food, raiment and shelter for the isolated bands on the wilderness frontiers of the New World. In the years succeeding the period herein treated we have the great agitation and the overt acts that led to Lexington and Bunker Hill, to the War of the Revolution, the Declaration of Independence and the final triumph of the colonies. It is not strange, perhaps, that the period that lay as a valley between epochs so rich in dramatic interest, so picturesque and stirring, has been hastily passed over by most historians: and yet he who would understand the full meaning of the great day that followed—the day which marked one of the most momentous epochs in the history of government, the day of the birth of modern democracy—cannot afford to ignore the deeply significant facts that preceded the Revolutionary agitation. Indeed, they in a large way give us fundamental facts that in a great measure explain the why and wherefore of the upheaval that followed. It is in this period that the estrangement between the mother and child took place. A deep and for some time ever-broadening friction was noticeable. The mother country had a grievance and refused to see the situation from the view-point of the colonists, and the colonists, on the other hand, felt that the

parent land wished to be oppressive and unjust and resented the attempts at aggression on the part of those who never knew the rigors of the pioneers or the struggles, the privations and the tragedies with which the children of the New World were daily companioned in their titanic labor of making a New England beyond the seas. Then came a breathing spell. The heavy hand of the mother country was relaxed and the bitterness and animosity of the preceding days diminished. But this period of "wise and salutary neglect" on the part of England was to be followed by the dark days that immediately preceded the Revolution.

Volume Three, dealing as it does with this largely neglected period, is of special interest to students of history, and the care and thoroughness with which the facts of history have been examined and sifted before they have been presented, and the lucid manner in which this part of our history is told, make it an extremely important addition to the historical data available to the general reader.

The volume, like its two predecessors, is a model of typographical excellence. The many maps and portraits give added interest and value to the work.

The Lonesome Trail. By John G. Neihardt. Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THE TWENTY short stories which make up this volume have appeared in various American monthlies and are now republished under the significant title of *The Lonesome Trail*. With one or two exceptions the stories are all either tragic or pathetic, and despite their undeniable charm and the vivid manner in which they picture the life of the Indian and the half-breed trapper of the West, they leave a distinctly depressing effect on the mind. It is not a volume to be read through at a sitting. One or two such stories at a time will prove sufficient for the average reader.

Among the more noteworthy of the stories are "Mignon," "The Smile of God," "The Look in the Face," and "The Art of Hate."

AMY C. RICH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED RAILWAYS OF NEW ZEALAND: At the present time when paid associations and prostituted newspapers are busily engaged in a campaign of misrepresentation in the service of the great railway and other public utility corporations, when tainted news is being published from the Atlantic to the Pacific for the sole purpose of deceiving the electorate and preventing it from purging the nation of the greatest source of graft and corruption that has blighted our government, it is well that we have an authoritative word on the government-owned and operated railways of New Zealand, with comparative data relative to railway service under public and private ownership. The author, Mr. A. A. BROWN, is a well-known American journalist who is at present the managing editor of *The Colonist*, the leading paper of Victoria, British Columbia. In order to satisfy himself as to the truth or falsity of the many flattering reports of the march of democracy and the victory of popular government in New Zealand, Mr. BROWN went to that colony and made a painstaking study of the government in its various workings, and especially did he investigate the operation of the government-owned railways of New Zealand, because he was familiar with the threadbare objections urged to popular ownership by the attorneys and hired apologists of the railway corporations. After visiting New Zealand, Mr. BROWN went to England, where he made a comparative study of the privately-owned railways of Great Britain with the people's lines of New Zealand. This paper therefore embodies the results of his observations, fortified by statistics by Prime Minister WARD of New Zealand. The paper is an important contribution to the growing literature favorable to public-ownership.

Theodor Barth: MAYNARD BUTLER, our special staff correspondent in Germany, this month furnishes our readers with an instructive and inspiring pen-picture of one of the great apostles of democracy of Continental Europe. It requires great courage, strength of character and devotion of the ideal of popular government to be a democratic statesman in Germany, where the power of the throne, the influence of government and the aristocracy, and the weight of time-serving conservative society are all cast on the side of reaction; but THEODOR BARTH is a man after the order of the great men who laid broad and deep the foundations of democracy. He is at present traveling through the Anglo-Saxon world to gain material for a new campaign in favor of liberalism when he returns to the Fatherland.

The Dramas of Oscar Wilde: In this issue we publish another discriminating critical essay from the brilliant pen of Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Dr. HENDERSON is justly recognized as one of the keenest and most competent critics of modern poetical and dramatic works which aspire to a permanent place in literature, and his essay on *The Dramas of Oscar Wilde* is a valuable companion piece to the writer's earlier paper on WILDE.

Two Important Politico-Economic Papers: In the May ARENA we published a striking and fundamental discussion by JOHN MOODY on *The Evolution of the Trust: Its Evil Element and the True Remedy*. In our June issue we presented JAMES MACKAYE'S *Democracy and Socialism*, a paper which we regard as the most fundamental and luminous political essay that has appeared in any magazine in recent years. In July we gave our readers two extremely valuable papers, one dealing with the fundamental facts as they relate to the pending struggle between genuine democracy and class government, by the Hon. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Jr. It was entitled *Massachusetts' Historic Attitude in Regard to Representative Government*. The other was an extended examination of leading objections urged against Direct-Legislation. In this issue we present two more papers in this general educational course of politico-economic discussions which deal in a vital way with fundamental political advance along democratic lines and with the master aim of justice to all ever paramount. One of these contributions is a highly suggestive article by PHILLIP RAPPAPORT on *The Sweep of Economic Events in the Light of History*, and the other has been written by Professor ERNEST UNTERMANN, on *The Revolution in Economics from Ancient Times to the Birth of Socialism*. This last paper will be followed by an equally interesting contribution from the pen of Professor UNTERMANN on the philosophy of KARL MARX.

The Curse and Blight of Partisanship: The industrial autocracy or predatory wealth, which is amassing untold millions of dollars every year as a result of class legislation or monopoly power, which under just and equitable conditions would be enjoyed by the industrial millions, depends for its continued sway and further oppression and exploitation of the people, upon the power of the partisan machine over the unthinking masses of voters. The machine is responsive to the party boss and the great campaign-contributing corporations who regularly turn a fraction of their pickings and stealings from the people, into the campaign treasury, with the understanding that certain men favorable to their interests will be placed on guard in government and that they will enjoy protection in their predatory exploits, and also further favors. So long as the money-controlled machine and partisan press can control the voters, the people will get no relief from the

grafters. The peril which WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON beheld with prophetic vision has overtaken us, as is vividly set forth by Mr. C. VEX HOLMAN in his notable and timely contribution on *The Cures and Blight of Partisanship*. Mr. HOLMAN has in recent years been a lecturer in the Boston University and in the University of Maine. He is a prominent lawyer, a man of deep insight, and a staunch upholder of the fundamental ideals upon which free government rests.

Prenatal Education: In a recent issue of THE ARENA we published a charming paper from the pen of Mr. ARTHUR SMITH on *Plant Consciousness*. In the present number will be found an equally interesting and highly valuable contribution dealing with *Prenatal Education*. One of the most amazing spectacles presented by present-day civilization is the indifference shown by individuals and society to the improvement of the race by proper measures for giving the future generation every possible opportunity to become all that full-orbed lives should be. Mr. SMITH's paper will tend to rivet the attention of serious people on one phase of this important question.

Houston and Its City Commission: In this number will be found the second paper by GEORGE WHEARTON JAMES on typical Southern cities and what they are achieving. Mr. JAMES' paper is highly interesting and suggestive, but in Houston we find the same fundamental weakness as is found in the Galveston charter and which we pointed out last month. Only last week we were in conversation with a prominent public-spirited man from Houston, and we asked him what he thought of the commission charter. He replied that so long as they had a commission composed of high-minded, public-spirited, graft-proof citizens, Houston would have an admirable government; but unhappily there was no provision in the Houston charter to bulwark democratic government and protect the citizens in their rights, if a commission became, like the modern machine-made boards of aldermen and councils, the tools of privileged interests; that with the initiative, referendum and right of recall the new government of Houston would be almost ideal. In this connection it is well to remember that the new city government of Des Moines, Iowa, has provided for a commission government properly safeguarded by the initiative and referendum.

WE WISH again to call the attention of our readers to the splendid news digests that are being prepared

expressly for THE ARENA by Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON. During Professor PARSONS' illness Mr. ALBERTSON has prepared the Public-Ownership News Department, in addition to the other special news departments relating to Direct-Legislation and Voluntary Coöperation. Mr. ALBERTSON's intimate association with Professor PARSONS during the past year, in the preparation of the Professor's great works on the railways, and also in regard to Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation and Coöperative work, and his position as Secretary of three of the important organizations working along the lines he discusses—namely, The National Federation for Peoples' Rule, the National Public-Ownership League and the Coöperative Association of America, make his work authoritative in character. No magazine published in America to-day is giving its readers each month so full digests of the news relating to Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation and Coöperation as is THE ARENA.

THE ARENA on the News-stands: Within the past few weeks THE ARENA has been made a "non-returnable" magazine. This means that the American News Company, which is the only concern possessing a great and magnificently-organized machinery for the economical distribution of periodicals to the news-trade, has suddenly decided that it would not handle THE ARENA except on outright orders from newsdealers, who, in turn, very naturally, require outright orders from their customers, in order to save themselves against possible loss on unsold copies. Heretofore for several years it has been the News Company's practice—in which we have willingly coöperated with them—to send to newsdealers the number of copies at which the dealer estimated his probable sales, with the privilege of returning unsold copies. This privilege, through no desire of ours, was suddenly and without warning denied to the dealers. It therefore behooves those of our news-stand-buyer readers who desire that THE ARENA continue its aggressive battle for the right and against the forces of reaction and privilege to do one of three things: (1) Order your newsdealer to supply you with THE ARENA regularly, paying for it on delivery; (2) hand your subscription for a full year to your regular newsdealer, or to your postmaster, either of whom will be responsible for its reaching us, and who will receive his agent's commission; or, if you prefer, (3) send your subscription direct to us. No matter what you are told, any newsdealer anywhere in the world can procure THE ARENA for you as readily as he can any other periodical published. If you want THE ARENA INSIST on getting it.

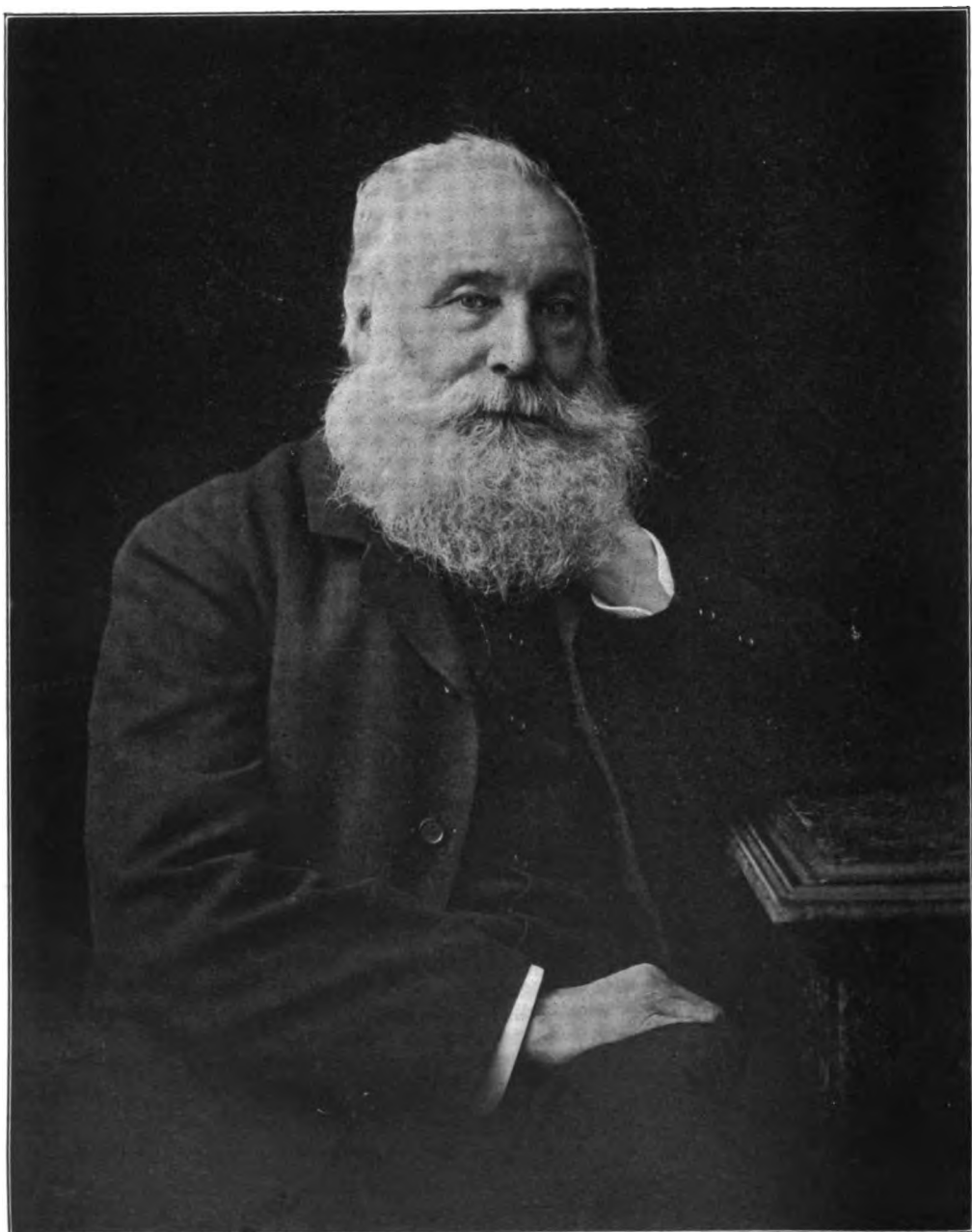


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

SIR WILLIAM PERKIN

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINR.*

The Arena

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THE CABLE TELEGRAPH SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD.

By J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P.

THE QUESTION of the cable systems and their international relationship to each other is one that has a singular interest at the present time to all. Moreover, it is one in which I have been for many years past endeavoring to arouse and educate public opinion; and to-day, when we find that wireless telegraphy is now becoming more and more a powerful factor and competitor with the cables, it will be, I think, an instructive object-lesson if I contrast the past and present of a few of the principal companies, and consider, as briefly as possible, the work and great possibilities of the cable telegraph systems of the world.

Ever since I began my crusade for postal and telegraphic reforms I have had only one object in view, and that is to make the means of communication between our sundered coasts as easy as speech and as free as air. One would naturally expect that such an object would have enlisted the sympathy and support of all self-governing peoples round the world. Experience, however, has long ago convinced me that reforms of whatever nature—postal or otherwise

—can be attained only after years of persistent advocacy, in season and out of season, not only for the educating of public opinion, but for the greater task of enlightening the official minds of our rulers. For it is true that our leaders, political as well as official, have been influenced and indebted to enlightened public opinion in the path of reform. Nor is it to be wondered at, especially in matters relating to the postal reforms which have been already won, for no official department has been in closer touch with the needs and wants of the public than the post-office.

The cable systems in existence have their ramifications to all parts of the civilized world, but we find that instead of being used, as I hold they should, for the benefit of the millions, they have been, and are, being worked chiefly for millionaires and not for the millions of the world.

THE CABLE MONOPOLY.

The cable monopoly can best be understood if the reader will carefully study the following:

LIST OF CABLES OF THE WORLD.

GOVERNMENT.

COUNTRY.	No. of Cables with one or more cores.	Length of Cables in Nautical Miles.
Argentine Republic.....	13	59
Austria.....	47	230
Bahamas.....	1	211
Belgium.....	3	76
Bosnia-Herzegovina*.....	.....	0
Brazil.....	23	42
British Guiana.....	8	25
British India, Indo-European Telegraph Department Government Administration,	157	2,180
Bulgaria (Widdin Cable).....	1	0
Canada.....	27	344
Cape of Good Hope.....	.....	5
Ceylon and India (Joint).....	2	66
China.....	1	113
Dahomey and Dependencies.....	.....	1
Denmark.....	97	286
Dutch Indies.....	12	2,826
France and Algeria.....	44	2,582
France (Principal International Cables).....	9	6,234
Germany.....	91	3,058
Great Britain and Ireland.....	186	2,277
Greece.....	47	455
Holland.....	32	241
Inter-Colonial System.....	5	7,837
Italy.....	36	1,073
Japan.....	104	2,173
Macao.....	.....	.....
Madagascar.....	.....	.....
New Caledonia.....	.....	.....
New South Wales.....	176	52
New Zealand.....	18	286
Norway.....	627	650
Portugal.....	4	115
Queensland.....	20	53
Roumania.....	.....	3
Russia in Europe, and the Caucasus.....	20	543
Russia in Asia.....	1	12
Senegal.....	.....	.....
South Australia.....	3	49
Spain.....	15	1,713
Sweden.....	18	0
Switzerland.....	2	10
Tasmania.....	4	4
Tunis.....	.....	4
Turkey in Europe and Asia.....	21	346
Victoria.....	1	4
Western Australia.....	3	13
Mexico.....	.....	473
Uruguay.....	1	8
Totals.....	1,850	44,988

*Cable under rivers.

PRIVATE COMPANIES.

NAME OF COMPANY.	Ownership	No. of Cables with one or more cores.	Length of Cables in Nautical Miles.
African Direct Telegraph Company.....	British	10	3,039
Amazon Telegraph Company.....	"	15	1,326
Anglo-American Telegraph Company.....	"	18	10,100
Black Sea Telegraph Company.....	"	1	337
Canadian Pacific Railroad Company.....	Canadian	21	151
Central and South American Telegraph Company.....	American	15	7,498
Commercial Cable Company.....	"	14	16,287
Commercial Pacific.....	"	6	10,008
Compagnie Française des Câbles Télégraphiques.....	French	32	12,069
Cuba Submarine Telegraph Company.....	British	10	1,162
Deutsch-Atlantische Telegraphen-Gesellschaft.....	German	5	9,652
Direct Spanish Telegraph Company.....	British	4	720
Direct United States Cable Company.....	"	2	3,111
Direct West India Cable Company.....	"	2	1,278
Eastern Telegraph Company.....	"	156	41,121
Eastern Extension, Australasia and China Telegraph Company.....	"	33	24,351
Eastern and South African Telegraph Company.....	"	14	9,115
Europe and Azores Telegraph Company.....	"	2	1,053
Great Northern Telegraph Company.....	Danish	34	7,781
Halifax and Bermudas Cable Company.....	British	1	860
India Rubber, Gutta Percha and Telegraph Works Company.....	"	2	137
Indo-European Telegraph Company.....	"	10	72
Mexican Telegraph Company.....	American	4	2,322
Pacific and European Telegraph Company.....	British	.....	.....
River Plate Telegraph Company.....	"	6	223
South American Cable Company.....	French	2	1,964
Spanish National Submarine Telegraph Company.....	Spanish & French	1	927
United States and Hayti Telegraph and Cable Company.....	French	1	1,391
West African Telegraph Company.....	British	6	• 1,470
West Coast of America Telegraph Company.....	"	7	1,973
West India and Panama Telegraph Company.....	"	24	4,639
Western Telegraph Company*.....	"	23	18,771
Western Union Telegraph Company.....	American	10	7,623
Deutsch-Niederlandsche Telegraphen-Gesellschaft.....	German & Dutch	3	3,418
Osteuropäische Telegraphen-Gesellschaft.....	German	1	185
Cables being laid:		490	206,144
Central and South American Company.....	American	2	2,211
Commercial Cable Company of Cuba.....	"	1	1,320
Totals.....		493	209,675

* Including London Platino-Brazilian and Montevidean and Brazilian Companies.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

	No. of Cables with one or more cores.	Length of Cables in Nautical Miles.
Government Administrations.....	1,850	44,988
Private Companies.....	493	209,675
Totals.....	2,343	254,663

The undernoted list of the principal cable companies of Great Britain, and having their headquarters in London, presents the status of each, and contrasts the present total capital and annual receipts so far as these can be obtained:

amount to an inclusive monopoly; and instead of being used in the interests of commerce, or to bring the scattered nations of the earth into closer relationship, we find that they are used chiefly for pecuniary exploitation of those who

NAME.	Present Total Capital (at par value) called up.	Length of Cables.	Annual Receipts of Cable Companies of Great Britain, including Subsidies.
	£	N. M.	£
1. African Direct Telegraph Co., Ltd.	254,600	3,089	Does not issue Reports No traffic yet.
2. African Trans-Continental Telegraph Co., Ltd.,	170,320	1,584 miles (landlines)	
3. Amazon Telegraph Co., Ltd.	492,100	1,326	63,849
4. Anglo-American Telegraph Co., Ltd.	7,000,000	10,100	405,512
5. Black Sea Telegraph Co., Ltd. ....	.....	337	Does not issue Reports
6. Cuba Submarine Telegraph Co., Ltd.	220,000	1,162	
7. Direct Spanish Telegraph Co., Ltd.	142,655	720	30,789
8. Direct United States Cable Co., Ltd.	1,214,000	3,111	31,135
9. Direct West India Cable Co., Ltd.	90,500	1,278	116,558
10. Eastern Telegraph Co., Ltd.	7,896,706	41,121	18,313
11. Eastern and South African Telegraph Co., Ltd.,	886,800	9,115	1,147,749
12. Eastern Extension, Australasia & China Tele- graph Co., Ltd.	3,752,400	24,351	Does not issue Reports
13. Europe and Azores Telegraph Co., Ltd.	200,000	1,053	
14. Halifax and Bermudas Cable Co., Ltd.	83,500	850	588,178
15. London Platino-Brazilian Telegraph Co., Ltd.	375,480	.....	Does not issue Reports
16. Pacific and European Telegraph Co., Ltd.	140,000	1,003 miles (landlines)	Does not issue Reports
17. River Plate Telegraph Co., Ltd.	55,500	223	Does not issue Reports
18. Spanish National Submarine Telegraph Co., Ltd.,	258,990	927	
19. West African Telegraph Co., Ltd.	231,090	1,470	6,764
20. West Coast of America Telegraph Co., Ltd.	232,520	1,973	63,483
21. West India and Panama Telegraph Co., Ltd.	1,355,530	4,639	49,982
22. Western Telegraph Co., Ltd.	2,879,300	18,771	64,986
Totals	£27,982,191	125,566	558,415
			£3,163,346

In connection with these figures the reader should bear in mind that the enormous totals represented are controlled by what are known as Cable Rings. These companies are not in all cases rivals; they are so only in name and nothing more. On the Board of Directors of several of them are to be found the names of well-known representatives, whose chief interest is to possess the power and reap the profits of a monopoly. So powerful, indeed, are they to-day that of the thirteen cables to America from Great Britain the cable ring keeps from eight to ten of these idle. Nay, more, some of them have the control of cables to such an extent as to

use them. The Cable Kings, in fact, hold in their hands the powers of life and death, so to speak, and the more important of these astute gentlemen who, dividing themselves into bands, control several of the companies, now reap a rich reward. We have, for example, such bands represented in the "Eastern," the "Eastern Extension," the "Eastern and South African" and the "West African," and others. The following table shows us how the names of the Board Directorate taken from the official returns a few years ago, proves this statement, and how such powerful combinations are capable of controlling the cables of the world. by Google

Eastern Telegraph Co.	Eastern Extension, Australasia and China Telegraph Co.	West African Telegraph.	Eastern and South African Telegraph Co.
Marquis of Tweeddale . . .	Marquis of Tweeddale . . .	Marquis of Tweeddale . . .	Admiral Sir L. G. Heath.
J. Denison Pender	J. Denison Pender	J. Denison Pender	J. Denison Pender.
Sir A. J. Leppoc Cappel . . .	Sir A. J. Leppoc Cappel . . .	.....	Sir A. J. Leppoc Cappel.
Lord Sackville Cecil . . . . .	.....	.....	.....
Chas. W. Earle, Esq.	Chas. W. Earle, Esq. . . . .	.....	.....
F. Alex. Johnston, Esq. . . . .	.....	.....	.....
Chas. W. Strong, Esq. . . . .	.....	.....	Chas. W. Strong, Esq.

The cables of the world are the nerve centers of mankind. My aim and contention is that we should be able to communicate with the United States, Canada, West Indies, Australasia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, China and Europe as cheaply and as quickly as to Ireland. To attain this object I have, for several years past, appealed to the conscience of the Cable Kings to get them to adopt reasonable reductions in their present rates. For it is too true that almost no limit can be put to the exorbitant rates demanded by the several companies controlled by them. Individually some in their ranks are (to my knowledge) kind-hearted, charitable men. Collectively, however, they are as impervious to sentiment—philanthropic, patriotic, or moral considerations—as a leech, a vampire bat or a Bengal tiger. My opposition is based on the fact that the present state of affairs not only constitutes a barrier to commerce, but is also a rank injustice to the poor, the frugal masses of our countrymen and countrywomen, who stock our distant colonies with their children to the number of a quarter of a million per annum. At one time the cable rate of one word ranged from one day's to six day's wages of a farm laborer. To-day matters are not much improved. If, for instance, a laborer in England wished to learn whether his son in South Africa had perished in some terrible mining disaster, he and his family, could only purchase the sad information by sacrificing his wages for a fortnight or three weeks. This is not an exaggerated example, it is a plain fact beyond dispute. Before I entered on a crusade against

these extortionate demands there were even charges of from 16 shillings to £27 shillings a word. As recently as 1899, in the list of the Eastern Companies' rates I found the undernoted charges:

To number of Places.	Rate per Word.
7	Exceeds 8 shillings
21	" 5 "
10	" 6 "
8	" 7 "
6	" 8 "
4	" 9 "
3	" 10 "
1	" 11 "
1	" 12 "
1	" 13 "

The table of charges for foreign and colonial cablegrams, from any part of Great Britain, is even now not very much improved. When we consider what could be accomplished, if the evils of the present systems could be changed, and the benefits that would accrue to all the nations of the world, I believe that only the pen and imagination of the poet could do justice to the subject. And I base my claim for reform in the breaking down of the present cable monopolies for the undernoted good and sufficient reasons:

1. Cable rates are too high and prohibitory.
2. Commerce is hampered and hindered by present monopolies.
3. Cheaper cables would mean Federation and International Peace.

CAN IT BE DONE?

This claim is by no means a visionary one: on the contrary, I submit that it is a very reasonable one and demands the

most serious consideration of all those who are capable of seeing beyond the bounds of their own country.

Just as the locomotive on express railroads is the true civilizer of the age, and the motor has become a competitor with it in the service of speedy communication, so I believe every citizen of the world should endeavor to annihilate distance by means of electric communication and thereby save years of time. What is, for instance, the present state of affairs in writing to Australia? At the present day it takes from two to three months to get a reply to a letter! I have often said, in the words of Charles Lamb, that it is like writing to posterity. Why should it be so? What would the effect of being able to put on every merchants' desk every morning, the four million letters we now send by post? If a man in England, for example, wishes to communicate with a friend or customer in Tasmania, it matters little whether the message is delivered in his own writing or in that of the Tasmanian receiving clerk. But it does matter that in the one case his words are read in a couple of hours, and in the other after a delay of six weeks. Is not this wonder-working, all-pervading fluid—electricity—the key to some of the most perplexing problems before the statesmen of all nations?

As it is mankind are broken up into scattered fragments thousands of miles apart. Our young people emigrate and many lose touch of the old folks at home owing to barriers. We should enable them to communicate as quickly and as cheaply as if they lived in adjoining streets. Our traders are embarrassed and hindered by their distance from the great opening markets of the world. By means of the cable and telegraph we should give them instant communication. Instead of that our cable companies put every barrier in the way for sending messages and the high rates constitute a heavy tax on merchants, and is a standing

menace in international trading. At present the cables are exclusively reserved for the more urgent and remunerative kinds of business.

PRESENT-DAY BURDENS.

1. We pay £1,000 a day to cable to Australia.
2. We pay £1,000 a day to cable to India.
3. We pay £1,000 a day to cable to South Africa.
4. We pay £1,000 a day to cable to China and the East.
5. We pay £3,300 a day to cable to America.

I am, of course, referring here to expenditure from England alone. Other countries are expending larger sums, thus it is that the grievances are a common factor and not one wholly confined to Great Britain. To enable the reader to gain some idea of the present rates, I submit a list (see top of page 231), taken at random, dealing with some of the more important places on what is known in the cable world as the extra-European system.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE?

The reader should bear in mind that although one company's name is given in this list that several companies transmit cable messages to the same places, *but at the same rates*. The so-called competition is a misnomer, the same Directors managing, as I have already shown, several of the most important companies.

But in spite of powerful combines, reductions in rates have been obtained, but only after considerable pressure has been brought to bear. For these reductions we are largely indebted to the Chambers of Commerce in Britain. I cannot do better than illustrate this than by reference to the action of the Incorporated Chamber of Commerce of Liver-

PLACE.	NAME OF ONE COMPANY.	Rate per Word.
Abyssinia	Eastern Company	s. d. 2 3
Alaska	Anglo American Company	2 9
Annam	Eastern Company	4 5
Argentine Republic	" "	4 2
Bolivia	" "	5 9
British Borneo	" "	3 6
Brazil (Pernambuco)	" "	3 0
Burma	" "	2 0
Canada	Direct United States Company	from 1 8 to 3 1
Cape Colony	Eastern Company	2 6
Caroline Islands	" "	4 11
Chili	Western Union Company	5 9
China	Eastern Company	4 5
Columbia (S. America)	Direct United States Company	5 9
Cyprus	Eastern Company	1 0
East Africa (British)	" "	2 10
Egypt	" "	from 1 to 1 4
Fiji Islands	{ French Company Anglo-American Company }	2 6
Guatemala	" " "	from 3 1 to 3 4
Guiana, British	" " "	6 9
India	" " "	2 0
Japan	Eastern Company	4 10
Madagascar	" "	2 8
Mexico	Anglo-American Company	1 6
Natal	Eastern Company	2 6
Newfoundland	Anglo-American Company	1 0
New Zealand	Eastern Company	3 0
Paraguay	" "	4 2
Persia (Bushire)	Indo-European Company	1 9
Peru	Anglo-American Company	5 9
St. Helena	Eastern Company	2 6
Singapore (Straits Settlements)	" "	3 3
Tonquin	" "	4 5
Transvaal	" "	2 6
United States	Anglo-American Company	from 1 0 to 1 6
Venezuela	" "	7 7
West Africa (British)	Eastern Company	from 4 8 to 5 0
Zululand	" "	2 6

pool. They have on several occasions presented memorials to the Post-Master General for reductions in the rates to

India, China and West Africa and the following table shows what has already been accomplished since 1897:

	June 30, 1897.	July 1, 1904.	Total Reduction 7 years. July 1, 1897. May 1, 1901. July 1, 1902. July 1, 1904.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Bathurst	5 11 per word	3 6 per word	2 5 per word
Sierra Leone	6 9 " "	3 6 " "	3 3 " "
Accra and Sekondi	8 0 " "	4 8 " "	3 4 " "
GOVERNMENT STATIONS:			
Gold Coast	8 2 " "	4 10 " "	3 4 " "
Lagos	8 10 " "	5 0 " "	3 10 " "
Brass	9 8 " "	5 0 " "	4 8 " "
Bonny	9 8 " "	5 0 " "	4 8 " "
GOVERNMENT STATIONS:			
Via Lagos	7 3 " "	5 2 Reduction	2 1 " "
(April 30, 1901)		in three years	.....

The Indian rates were reduced from 4s. to 2s. 6d. per word on March 1, 1902; while the China rates were reduced from 5s. 6d. to 4s. 5d. per word on July 15, 1903.

This is proof sufficient that reforms can be obtained only by combined and persistent demands by foreign merchants and traders.

In connection with West African cables, I think it should not be forgotten that the inner history, so to speak, of this enterprise was not a creditable one. After the cable was laid the owners informed me that, as they failed to obtain a government subsidy, they sold their interests to one of the Cable Kings who could obtain it. I refer here to the late Sir John Pender, who I once described as an octopus whose tentacles extended all over the world, so powerful was his interest in the great cable companies. He obtained by his powerful political and social influence, a monopoly of the cable along the West Coast of Africa by forcing from the Government a subsidy for it on the ground that he was going to construct a cable of his own, thus killing competition in this direction. While the vote was in progress I denounced the transaction in Parliament, but in spite of opposition the subsidy was granted.

Here I wish it to be clearly understood that I recognize it would be gross injustice to deprive any inventor or company of the profits and rewards of legitimate enterprise. But at the same time I am prepared to prove that many of the vast monopolies obtained by our Cable Kings have not always been legitimate, while some have been forced by methods resembling fraud and bribery.

It can never be too strongly pointed out that the companies charge prohibitive rates to British possessions, while comparatively moderate rates are charged to foreign countries by the land lines, with which the companies have nothing to do.

When the rates to the United States were reduced to six-pence (12 cents) a

word about 1885, by the spirited action of Mackay-Bennett, the other cable companies, headed by the late Sir John Pender, brought pressure to bear, and once more got the rate raised to one shilling (24 cents) a word. While the rate of six-pence a word was in operation the increase of cable traffic was enormous—over fifty per cent. This is only one instance of the astute policy which characterized all the actions in the cable world where Sir John Pender could exercise his powerful influence. He it was who throttled the competition throughout the British Empire, and constituted himself an enemy of commercial progress round the world.

TRADE STATISTICS.

Let us now compare the trade of the British Empire with foreign countries and colonies, and see how it is related to the amount spent in steamship mail transport and in cabling. The figures are for the year 1904:

Trade of the British Empire with Foreign Countries.

Imports.....	£552,765,000
Exports.....	404,589,000

Total Foreign Trade.....£957,354,000

Trade of the United Kingdom with British Colonies and Possessions.

Imports.....	£150,925,000
Exports.....	135,669,000

Inter-Colonial Trade

Imports.....	61,265,000
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Total Inter-Imperial Trade.....£247,929,000

If we add these totals of foreign trade and inter-imperial trade we have a grand total of £1,305,283,000, which is equal to a percentage proportion of (1) foreign trade of 73.3 and (2) inter-imperial trade of 26.7.

The British government alone pays steamship companies for mail transport about £500,000 per annum; but the inhabitants also pay nearly £4,000,000 per annum for cabling, of which one million goes for American cables.

The governments of the world pay an

enormous sum at present for cabling messages. In regard to the cables to America, including the Canadian service, we are paying for abandoned cables, for superfluous cables, and also for unnecessary working staff and apparatus. In other words, the public is paying a million a year for what could be supplied for £130,000. In fact, if we were to wipe out or destroy our present cable service it would be possible to reconstruct the whole system anew to America for £6,000,000.

BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

Here we have two nations, the former with some forty millions, and the other with seventy-five millions, having a common origin, speaking the same language, and strongly attached to each other. The American imports from Great Britain amount to 37½ millions and the exports are 86½ millions. We find the enormous facilities for traveling no less remarkable, for British emigrants now enter into the States at the rate of 160,000 yearly. The immigration from Britain to Canada is also very considerable. And of the millions in the new world, we know that the bond of sympathy with the old country is very great; whether they be immigrants or American citizens. Parents and friends are left in the old country, and the young sons who go to the States or Canada often settle down and marry, and so form and strengthen the bond of union between the old and the new worlds. Yet of the great total of 100 million people not one family in one hundred *cables one word in a year*. Therefore, I insist it is time we changed this state of matters and made the bonds still stronger by means of cheaper cables.

MY PROPOSED REMEDIES.

From the first I have consistently advocated cheaper cablegrams, because (1) I hate monopolies of all kinds, and (2) I believe in the federation of nations and peoples. I submit that it is advisable at

all costs to put an immediate end to all cable monopolies, and to acquire and extend the existing network of them for the use of the public at reasonable rates.

A few years ago the British government and some Continental governments, bought the submarine cables between England, Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland. Their first act was to reduce the rates from 2½d. to 2d. per word. The result was that 300,000 more words were sent in 1890 than in 1889 and the increased revenue to the post-office on this branch of the service amounted to 47 per cent.

So far as American cables are concerned, commerce is practically throttled. What I propose is that the British and American governments should jointly acquire the property and rights of the existing cable companies, at a fair valuation, and thereby establish a common state monopoly in cable communication. It is feasible and possible. In the interests of the millions in both countries it is an absolute necessity. The carrying capacity of the cables to America amount to 300 million words, and only 25 million words are sent at one shilling (24 cents) a word. If the cables were owned as common state property the full carrying capacity could be used, and it would be possible to send messages and establish a tariff of one penny (2 cents) per word. The result would be an enormous development of trade and an immense increase in the happiness of the masses on both sides of the Atlantic. We have yet to recognize that since the first cable was laid the Atlantic no longer exists. Nor need it exist if, instead of being a monopoly, the cables were common state property.

If the existing cables were purchased by the governments of the world the extraordinary large sums which they now pay for cable messages would go towards the cost of purchasing them. Moreover, if the cables were state or national property it is not impossible that the tariff could be made less than one penny

a word, for no appreciable increase of expenditure accompanies the augmentation of the traffic over a wire which is almost clear profit. If the traffic increased, say twelve times, under a penny tariff, the revenue would be the same as at present; but the state would be satisfied with less than half the present revenue of the companies.

For this purpose I propose that the British Postmaster-General should convene a meeting of the Postmasters-General of the world for arriving at a common basis of action to purchase the existing cables at the market price of the day. For it is abundantly clear to every thinking citizen that electricity will now be increasingly, and very soon exclusively employed, for the transmission of thought. The day is coming when our foreign merchants will telegraph or cable all their letters. It is the spirit of the age we live in. Everything is being done to annihilate space, and we should be able to send a cable to any part of the world as easily as it is to telephone from New York to Chicago, or from London to Paris.

But until that time comes I contend that it would be perfectly easy to provide an alternative land service to compete with the cable companies.

ZONES.

The first thing to be done is to summon together a European Conference to establish a European penny-a-word rate from Aberdeen in the North to Marseilles in the South, and from Lisbon to Moscow. The electric wire runs over every part of Europe; and the internal rates of each State average about one half-penny (one cent) per word. In Queensland, one can already telegraph 3,000 miles for a penny a word. The total length of Europe is about 3,400 miles, and its breadth 2,400 miles. There is really nothing except official prejudice and unwillingness to accept advice from "outsiders," to hinder our having a

European penny-a-word rate, which would be profitable, directly or indirectly, to all concerned, and that, too, without undue delay in carrying out the project. For consider what it means. It means that we have only to connect Fao (Turkish), on the Persian Gulf, with the Indian telegraph system by means of a short cable (or land line) to Kurrachee. We should then be in telegraphic communication with the whole of Asia. A short cable would also be required to Port Said. Then we should require a land line down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore; and short cables to connect Singapore with the Sumatran and Javan systems, and the Javan with the Australian systems. And, finally, we might purchase one of the useless cables, presently kept idle, connecting England with the North American system. It would then be possible to levy the following as initial rates:

INITIAL RATES.

. To any part of Europe, one penny per word.

To Egypt and Canada, three-pence per word.

To any part of Asia, six-pence per word.

To Australia, one shilling per word.

In adopting the "zone" system of minimum rates, it is, of course, obvious that we would depend upon a very considerable development of the present traffic done by cable. But such an increase might be confidently expected and speedily realized. It is probably true that, with such facilities and minimum rates, nine-tenths of the business now transacted by letter would be put upon the wire, for no merchant would waste his valuable time in ordering by letter. As to the effect of such a stimulus to our foreign and colonial trade, let any merchant interested in a reform of the kind outlined, be referred to, and let us have a consensus of opinion tabulated and published. For a start in such a movement we might arrange in London a convention with France for an ex-

change of telegrams at one penny (two cents) a word, a penny being the sum of the two internal rates; and in a brief period the benefits to Anglo-French commerce would be so remarkable as to induce other European countries to join our "Telegraph Union."

With regard to the position of the cable companies, they have always treated the public so harshly and inconsiderately that they deserve no consideration. As a matter of fact, however, they would be able, by adopting the proposed "zone" rates, to secure a share of the increased traffic. Competition is the only policy by which they can be reformed or forced to lower the present exorbitant rates. But with the companies, or without them, it is our urgent demand to see that cheaper electric communication shall be enjoyed by traders in all parts of the world.

Meanwhile I would invite the Anglo-American Company to make an experiment by instituting a Sunday or nightly service at a penny per word for purely social messages, the use of codes being strictly forbidden. I am quite confident that they would realize a profit of £50,000 for the first year's work.

The ten cables from America to Britain could easily carry 300 words a minute, or 18,000 words an hour, or 432,000 words every day. But instead of having cables carrying messages to their utmost capacity they carry only a seventh part of what they could be made to carry.

Again, of the three lines to Australia, we find they can carry 90 words a minute, or 139,600 words a day, or a total of 51,880,000 words for a year of 300 working days. At one shilling per word this would represent £2,594,000, as against the present income of £420,000 for a carrying capacity of 2,100,000 words. Now if even a six-penny (12 cents) rate were adopted it would, if worked to the capacity named above, represent £1,297,000 for receipts against the present paltry income of £420,000.

If the Cable Kings could be made to

see a little farther than they do at present I hold that there is nothing to hinder them, and every call to urge them, to establish at once family cables.

FAMILY CABLES.

It is true that they have arranged, from kindly motives, code words for friendly or social messages. But I am strongly of opinion that social messages should be sent in plain English. Take, for example, an ordinary rural laborer and consider how hopelessly bewildered he would be if he received from his son in the United States, or in Canada, the cabled word "conifer" instead of the hearty words, "A Merry Christmas." The same case applies if the message comes from South Africa or New Zealand. The middle class can no more afford to pay the existing rates than the poorer classes. For of the fifteen millions who left Britain forever between 1815 and 1900, ten millions went to America and the Far West. Last year there came from Britain in America money orders ranging from ten shillings to five pounds, to the "old folks at home," of not less than a total of nearly £2,000,000—the most of it going to Ireland. This is a proof of my contention that the best kind of Federation—that of loving hearts and true—finds its readiest channel of communication through the portals of the post-office.

According to the British Colonial list, there are tens of millions of British-born people residing beyond the seas. There is, in fact, hardly a home in Great Britain and Ireland that has not sent at least one member of it to a distant land. And I venture, therefore, to assert that if the directors of our leading cable companies in Britain will listen to my modest suggestion, and arrange a plan for transmitting cable messages in plain English, without the use of the code, they will not only confer novel, widespread, and exquisite happiness on large numbers of deserving persons, but reveal, as with a

flash of lightning, the innumerable hosts of loyal loving sons that stand ready, all over the world, to prove, in the hour of trial their devotion to the Mother Land.

COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

The Colonial Conference held in London as I write is a sign of the times to all interested in Peace and Progress, and the breaking down of barriers beyond the seas. It is an object lesson to the rulers of the world. For here we find the responsible leaders in distant colonies who have come together to discuss face to face the questions dealing with Unity and Progress, and who find that even the cable is becoming of less and less importance in intercourse with vital, Imperial concerns. It signalizes the beginning of a new era in Colonial Government. Among the questions under consideration that of Imperial cables is certainly not the least. And as it is of world-wide interest I transcribe it: it is the resolution of the Cape Colony and was passed in these terms:

“(1) In the opinion of this Conference the provision of alternative routes of cable communications is desirable, but in deciding upon such routes the question of the strategic advantages should receive the fullest consideration; (2) that landing licenses should not operate for a longer period than twenty years, and that when subsidies are agreed to be paid they should be arranged on the ‘standard revenue principle,’—i. e., half the receipts after a fixed gross revenue has been earned to be utilized for the extinguishment of the subsidy and by agreement for the reduction of rates.”

This resolution is, I hope, the first step for accomplishing the object I have in view, namely, the purchase of the existing cables by the government. It is an object worth fighting for, and in the end it means Progress and Peace.

Our descendents will be amazed to learn how long we abstained from making full, free, and more popular use of electricity wherever possible. And not less so when history records that for generations the mass of the people were content to allow the Cable Kings to impose the crushing tax of over two millions sterling per annum on British foreign trade. Yet, even at this time, if the British and Colonial governments would combine with other Powers to buy up the shares of the existing companies, the Cable Tariff might easily become one of the greatest blessings to mankind everywhere. And there is nothing to hinder a Telegraph Union becoming as popular on the continent of Europe as the Postal Union is to-day.

It is high time to do something for the toiling, anxious, over-taxed merchants everywhere who have done so much for the well-being of mankind in all countries; who will this very day find bread for our workers, and employment for our ships. It is surely high time, also, to do something for that typical figure, the bronzed and bare-armed emigrant toiling in a distant land, and for that other pathetic, bowed figure, the emigrant's old father or mother, left at “home.” It is for this object I ask consideration and support for my proposals now submitted, to the attainment of which I have given my past life and shall devote my remaining years. For it is by electricity and the cable we shall best gain

“The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.”

Above all, it is by this means we shall hasten the speedy realization of the poet's dream—

“That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that.”

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

London, England.

SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE FOR PRESIDENT.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM KITTLE,
Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin.

ALTHOUGH President Roosevelt, in the clearest terms, has declined to become a candidate for reelection in 1908, yet the belief that he will permit his name to go before the National Convention influences a vast number of voters. Such voters do not take into account his sincerity and firmness nor the unwritten law that a President shall serve but two terms. Without doubt, this persistent belief in President Roosevelt's candidacy is due to a firm belief in the man, his principles and his work. But there is also a belief that this work will not be finished on March 4, 1909. Men of all parties hold that the widespread movement to regulate public-service corporations and to restrain the inordinate power of trusts and monopolies, has only just begun. Hence the popular demand that President Roosevelt shall be a candidate for the third term is based on the theory that he is the best one qualified to carry forward that great work.

Mr. Bryan is now the ominous figure on the Republican horizon. He looms up with ever increasing proportions. He is honest, able and stands for the strict regulation of corporations and for the economic rights of the people. If the Republican party shall nominate a candidate favorable to the special interests, Bryan will be elected.

Senator Robert M. La Follette is the logical successor of President Roosevelt. As Governor of Wisconsin, he began and carried forward to a successful issue, the movement to control the railroads. The laws which he secured were in the highest degree constructive measures. In the United States Senate, he is the foremost supporter of the President. He is absolutely honest, has rare ability

and possesses indomitable courage. His popularity is equaled only by that of the President. In the Eastern states, in the whole Middle West, in the Rocky Mountains and in the Pacific states he is loved and admired for his work as Governor and Senator. That work is here briefly described.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

Robert Marion La Follette is of French Huguenot extraction and was born a few miles from Madison, in 1855. His boyhood was spent on the farm where he formed friendships which are still strong. In September, 1906, he spoke at a village near his old home and the farmers for miles around came to hear the friend whose father and mother many of them well remember; and there was pathos in the respectful and almost reverent attention which they paid to the man whose ability and success in life were based, as they well knew, on absolute integrity, earnestness, and high ideals. The speaker was plainly conscious of the affectionate attitude of his audience, and they in turn knew with added power, how potent his life and work had become in American public life. These early boyhood and manhood friendships disclose the real character of the man.

IN THE UNIVERSITY.

He entered the University of Wisconsin in 1874, and during his college course won the championship for his university in an interstate contest in oratory. On that occasion, his oration in Des Moines, Iowa, revealed to his judges and audience a new style of oratory, forceful and earnest. In 1879, he graduated from the general science course and in 1880,

from the law department of the University of Wisconsin. During the years since his graduation, he has kept in touch with great numbers of the alumni and students of the university. Living in Madison, he has been able to meet their leaders, attend their games and address their public meetings. While he was Governor, no victorious football team ever failed to go up to the Capitol and call for "Bob" to address them. A speech by him at the huge university gymnasium was always the occasion of college enthusiasm. During the current university lecture course, he will deliver to the students his lecture on "Hamlet."

AS DISTRICT ATTORNEY, 1880-1884.

In 1880, he began the practice of law in Madison. Although regarded by the politicians as a mere boy who had just graduated from the university, he became a candidate for the district attorneyship of Dane county. The older members of the bar did not take kindly to this sudden promotion. The politicians had other plans. La Follette, in this, his first campaign, appealed directly to the voters. His enemies say that he drove at nights to the farms and towns surrounding Madison, and calling out the voter in the dark, told him mysteriously and with great earnestness, that the ring in power must be defeated. The truth is that the young leader made his first campaign with that directness and energy which have since made him so well known. At the early age of twenty-five, without experience at the bar, he was elected district attorney of the second largest county of the state. He held this office for four years and performed its duties honestly and ably. He prepared his cases with the utmost care. His jury trials attracted most attention and students from the university frequently attended them. Men still remember the talk of the brilliant record he made as district attorney from 1880 to 1884.

IN CONGRESS, 1884 to 1890.

He entered Congress, one of the very youngest members of that body in 1884 and served in the House of Representatives for six years. During his last term, he was a member of the committee on ways and means when McKinley was chairman. The appointment of so young a member was a marked tribute to his ability and McKinley on more than one occasion testified to the efficient and intelligent work of La Follette on that committee.

When he first entered Congress, he was called upon by a millionaire Senator from his state and asked to what committees he would like to be assigned. La Follette mentioned certain committees but was surprised a few days later to learn that he had been placed on the committee on Indian affairs. There were no Indians in his district in Wisconsin and he had made no study of Indian affairs. After the committee had been organized, he was appointed a subcommittee of one to consider and report on a bill to enable lumber companies to acquire vast quantities of timber belonging to the Menomonie Valley Indians. He soon discovered that the bill was framed to steal timber from the Indians. He made an adverse report to the committee. He was at once waited upon by the millionaire senator who was a lumberman and the merits and pressing necessity of the bill were explained to the young congressman who was not convinced by the logic or power brought to bear. The senator called again and again. The chairman of the state central committee of Wisconsin was summoned to Washington and he labored with the subcommittee. But La Follette stuck to his adverse report.

THE MARITIME CANAL COMPANY OF NICARAGUA.

On January 10, 1888, Senator Edmunds from the Foreign Relations committee, reported back to the Senate favorably a

bill to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua. The bill was read twice by title and Edmunds gave notice of debate on the subject the following week. When the bill came before the Senate for discussion on February 24th, Senator Vest of Missouri brought out the fact that the proposed law failed to protect the government of the United States from paying the bonds of this private company in case of failure of the company. He pointed out the fact that in a former bill before the Senate to incorporate a private company which proposed to construct a canal across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, the government of the United States was protected by an express provision from the payment of the bonds of the private company. He quoted Senator Edmunds as then stating that he was in favor of putting handcuffs on the private company by such a provision. Considerable discussion followed in which senators tried to show that the two private companies were different. But Senator Vest was not satisfied and on February 27th, he introduced the following amendment: "Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be held or construed to in any manner involve the United States in any pecuniary obligation whatever other than in respect of the payment of tolls as provided in this act." On this amendment, he insisted on a roll call. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 22 to 21, Senator Hoar being among those who voted in favor of the amendment and Senators Aldrich, Gorman, Spooner, Allison, Cul- lom, Platt, and Sawyer voting against the amendment. The bill without this amendment passed the Senate, February 27, 1888.

Somewhat later, and while the presidential campaign was in full progress, the bill came before the House of Representatives which at that time had a Democratic majority. When the bill was being considered, it was observed that Mr. Phil. B. Thompson of Kentucky, an ex-member of the House and the

soliciting agent of the Democratic National Committee was actively conferring with members of his party on the floor of the House. The bill was brought up again and again but each time, nearly all former objectors were strangely absent. But La Follette and Nils P. Haugen of Wisconsin were among those found objecting to its consideration in the committee of the whole. Not long afterwards, a messenger from the Senate chamber asked them to go to the committee room of the millionaire senator from Wisconsin. They found there the senator and also Mr. W. W. Dudley of Indiana, the chairman of the subcommittee on finance of the Republican National Committee. The two members of the House were told that it was of great importance in the pending campaign that the bill guaranteeing the bonds of the private company should become a law. They asked in what respect it could be so important and were informed that the company had agreed, if the bill became a law, to pay \$100,000 into the campaign fund of the Republican party. It was further explained that Delaware was then Democratic, that by the law of that state, only land-holders could vote and that some of the money would be used to buy up cheap swamp lands to be given to laboring men and thus carry Delaware for the Republican party. The two inquiring members of the House then asked what Phil. B. Thompson had been doing on the Democratic side of the House and they were told that the company had also agreed to pay \$100,000 into the Democratic campaign fund if the bill should become a law. Had the bill passed, there might have been a sudden increase of both Democratic and Republican landholders in Delaware. La Follette and Haugen went back to the House and kept on objecting to the bill which was defeated.

THE SIOUX INDIAN RESERVATION.

In 1890, a bill was pending, providing for a grant to a railroad company, of the

ight of way across the Sioux Indian Reservation in Dakota. An amendment gave to the company sufficient land to control every town-site on the line within the Reservation. La Follette in the committee on Indian affairs, strenuously opposed this bold attempt at legislative confiscation. Shortly before the adjournment of the session, the chairman of the state central committee of Wisconsin said at the Ebbitt House in Washington to Nils P. Haugen, a member of the House from the same state, that La Follette in opposing the railroad interests of the country would soon find railroads enough in his own district to defeat him. Mr. Haugen was at the Capitol half an hour later telling La Follette of the threat. A few minutes afterwards, the chairman of the state central committee was also at the Capitol begging Mr. Haugen not to tell La Follette what had been said. La Follette was defeated at the next election.

A TEN-YEARS' CONTEST—1890-1900.

He was now remanded to private life for a period of ten years. During this time, he held no official position. A powerful ring in his party parcelled out the offices, state and national, and quietly but, effectively determined that on account of his independence and for his opposition to the senior senator from Wisconsin, he should hold no office whatever. In the early nineties, this senator called La Follette to Milwaukee and indirectly offered him a large roll of money if he would betray a public trust, and aid in violating the sanctity of a court of justice. This made a lasting impression on La Follette. He said recently that it changed the current of his life and that he then took an oath that he would fight such men and their system. In 1894, he sent out fifteen hundred letters urging the leaders of his party to nominate as governor an honest man, Nils P. Haugen. But the ring, supported by the special interests and

corporations compassed his defeat. In 1896, La Follette himself was a candidate for governor and a majority of the delegates to the state convention were pledged to his nomination. No one but the corrupt management of the convention knows what deals were made, what official positions were held out as inducements, nor how much money was given in direct bribes to defeat the choice of the people

THE CONVENTION OF 1898.

But La Follette was again a candidate for governor in 1898. Again were a majority of the delegates elected pledged to his support. This time, the crime of bribery was clearly and definitely established. Honest delegates came to his rooms on the night preceding the convention and told him they had been offered money to vote against him. Some of these delegates later in public meetings testified to this fact. A man who is now an ex-governor paid \$700 for a bunch of delegates. La Follette, in numerous speeches in Wisconsin in 1906 said that he had it directly from one of the ring that it cost them just \$8,300 to carry that convention. At midnight, preceding the convention, Charles Pfister, then one of the political bosses, and recently indicted for a crime by the grand jury in Milwaukee, came to La Follette's rooms and said: "We have got you skinned, Bob; but if you will behave yourself, we will take care of you." Quick as a flash came the answer: "I can take care of myself." After the lapse of eight years, Mr. Pfister may be able to see the error in his statement that night if not of all his ways. Since that night, he has lost many thousand dollars on his newspaper, the *Sentinel*, he has seen his friends driven from power and he himself has been indicted for crime in his own city; in November, 1906, the people of Milwaukee, urged by La Follette reelected the honest and courageous district attorney who had prosecuted with vigor,



Photo. by Curtiss, Madison, Wis.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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the millionaire Pfister. In the meantime, La Follette has been elected Governor of Wisconsin and United States Senator and the people of his commonwealth and a rising party in numerous states are waiting for the opportunity of conferring upon him the highest honor in this country.

Twice had La Follette been a candidate for governor and twice had he been defeated. In the long contest in Wisconsin, he says he has been called everything but a quitter. His candidacy by 1898, had become formidable to the ring. The offer from Charles Pfister that night did not spring from generosity, but from fear. From Washington came a tempting offer of a lucrative position in the treasury department to get him out of the state. His law practice had been neglected. He was known to be in debt. Back of that offer was the sordid theory of Charles II.—that every man has his price; with some it is money, with others office. The cynical good-natured laugh suggests an ulterior motive back of integrity in public life. David Rose, the friend of Pfister and the former mayor of Milwaukee well expressed this view and type of mind in his statement: "This dying for principle is all rot."

LA FOLLETTE'S CAMPAIGN IN 1900.

In 1900, he was, for the third time, a candidate for governor. Nearly every congressional district had an opposing candidate. Yet one by one, every opponent withdrew from the contest. The people in every district had compelled their retirement. No such victory over the politicians had ever before been achieved in the state. This result had been accomplished against the greatest Republican daily paper in Wisconsin and against the corporations and leading politicians. When the state convention met, the eloquent advocate of better government was unanimously nominated by acclamation, and was elected governor in the following November.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1901.

The state legislature met in January, 1901. The Republicans had a clear majority in both houses. The platform of their party in 1898 and in 1900 had declared unmistakably for a primary election law. For ten years, the man who was now governor had advocated the principle of direct nominations by the people without interference by the politicians. The people in two elections had voted for that principle. Yet, when the question came before the legislature a powerful corporation lobby defeated the primary election bill and also a bill for the equal taxation of railway property. Hon. A. R. Hall, a member of the legislature at that time and a man of marked integrity, stated over his own signature: "It was boastfully stated by a representative of one of the railway companies just after the defeat of the railroad taxation bills at the last session of the legislature, that no bills had been enacted into law during the sixteen years last past in the interests of the people when objected to by the railroads." Governor La Follette afterwards publicly said that the legislature had been corrupted by every form of vice; that members had been brought to the chambers intoxicated; that there could be no doubt that money had been offered and accepted; but that money was offered and refused was susceptible of proof. Governor La Follette and the people were given a striking object-lesson of the power of a ring of professional politicians supported by a lobby sent by the public-service corporations.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1902.

This defeat called out all that was best in a virile, able and honest man. He sprang to the contest with renewed vigor. He saw that free government is but a name if the will of great majorities definitely registered at the polls can be defeated by money. He informed every voter in the state that their expressed will had been defeated by a corrupt

lobby in the Capitol. By conferences with hundreds who visited Madison, by earnest addresses in various parts of the state, he created a strong public opinion in favor of both a primary election law and a law for the equitable taxation of railway property.

The contest was now before the voters in the election of delegates to the state convention to be held on July 17, 1902. It was fought out with vigor in every voting precinct in the state. The Stalwarts established in Milwaukee what was widely known as the Eleventh Floor League, having a paid staff of organizers and stenographers to make public opinion against La Follette and the plan of direct nominations. The politicians and the corporations bought up three hundred country newspapers and sent out from the eleventh floor of the Hermann building in Milwaukee carefully prepared editorials purporting to emanate from the local editors. They united on a candidate subservient to their interests. They put in practice the advice of the sharp legal practitioner, "When you have n't a case, abuse the lawyer on the other side." They avoided the real issues raised by the governor, and from three hundred villages and cities, they made the state ring with denunciations of the "populist" and "demagogue" who had simply advocated the direct nomination of public officials and the equal taxation of all property. But the strenuous governor was also appealing to public opinion and in the primaries which followed, three-fourths of the delegates elected were pledged to his renomination.

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1902.

The Republican State Convention of 1902 was held in the huge university gymnasium at Madison, the home city of Governor La Follette and the home city also of his arch enemy, Senator John C. Spooner. More than a thousand delegates were present from every part

of Wisconsin. Twice had the party violated its platform pledges to the people; and now more than two hundred delegates were there with unblushing front in the bad cause. These were the friends and supporters of Senator Spooner and of the public-service corporations. But eight hundred delegates were also there to speak in no uncertain terms for a primary election law and for the just taxation of railway property, and to nominate their loved and admired leader. The proceedings were orderly, but there was an air of expectation in the great assemblage for the moment when the governor and finest orator of the commonwealth was to be nominated.

His formal nomination was ratified by three-fourths of the convention and a committee was dispatched to invite the nominee to address the convention. When he appeared, nothing was wanting in the ovation. Before him were the men who for months had denounced his every act. There, too, were his loyal friends from Lake Superior to Illinois, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. His home city saw a great host summoned there after ten years of public service for good government. His wife and daughter and little son, closer to him than any in that great array of close personal friends, were just at his right on the platform. His address had been carefully prepared; but in delivery and eloquence it held the rapt attention of the great audience, and when published in the next morning's papers, had a profound influence in the state. At the close he said: "I do not treasure one personal injury or lodge in memory one personal insult. The span of my life is too short for that. But so much as it pleases God to spare unto me, I shall give, whether in the public service or out of it, to the contest for good government."

In the campaign which followed, La Follette spoke fifty-five consecutive nights and a greater number of times during the days as he went from city to city. On the last night of the

campaign, at Waukesha, he spoke for three hours and his voice was clear and strong. The following, delivered in Milwaukee, on September 30, 1902, is an example of his appeal to patriotism and devotion to duty:

"I would wrong no man and do injustice to no corporation. I believe that every interest that is affected by legislation is entitled to be heard before legislative committees and have its case fairly and fully stated to both Senate and Assembly. Every cause, whether it be a good cause or a bad one, has a right to the strongest presentation of every fact and every argument it has to offer.

"Recognizing this principle of fundamental justice, the public-service corporations were given the opportunity to discuss the bills of the tax commission before the committee on taxation of the Senate and Assembly, sitting in joint and public session for several days in succession. There were present the ablest corporation counsel in the country. These gentlemen argued their cases with the learning and ability to be expected from able lawyers. They were there in the discharge of a plain professional duty, which they performed with honor to themselves and efficiently as well, publicly and before all men.

"But there are lobbyists of a very different class and lobbying of a very different kind in the interest of these public-service corporations. It is a kind of legislative lobbying which demands public attention and public condemnation. It is a kind which seeks the darkness rather than the light; which does its most evil work behind locked doors and drawn blinds; which undermines official obligation, destroys character, sneers at official honesty and calls political integrity 'political hypocrisy.' Long service and critical legislative situation sometimes emboldens it to intrude upon the legislative floors, where personal direction is given to securing the defeat or the passage of bills as the interests of the corporations

dictate. It has favors to bestow with free hand upon 'friendly' officials and members of the legislature. It dealt in railroad passes without limit before they were abolished, and now furnishes mileage books on the sly whenever it can buy legislative service in exchange for free transportation. It has its friendly allies in both political parties and is a part of the controlling force of both political machines. It finds newspapers pliant to its purpose, and correspondents to pursue public officials who are hostile to its measures and its methods.

"But the highest art in legislative manipulation by those powerful interests lies in so marshaling forces back of stronger and better members as to compel them to support or oppose measures in response to the apparently 'independent' wishes of their constituents. In every city and town men who can wield an influence more or less potent are selected by the corporation and their services secured as required. Their connection with the corporation is never made conspicuous—indeed, it is not usually known at all. This enables them to stand ever ready with an 'unbiased opinion' upon the corporation side of any question which is presented. Posing as 'private' citizens the weight of their position and influence in the community is made to appear 'disinterested' and to count strongly for the corporation upon any matter or thing in which its interests are involved, from a railway crossing to the quiet organization of a local and secretly conducted campaign in opposition to railway tax bills. These very discreet and unannounced agents of the corporation are useful in silently directing the sentiment of the shippers of a community in such a way as to promote railway interests. Votes were changed upon the railway bills in the last legislature by drawing upon the shippers who receive special favors and alarming others who were in a position, as they mistakenly supposed, to be injured by threats of advanced freight rates, to bear down on

their representatives in the legislature to vote against the railway tax bills. In consequence, many members were surprised and bewildered at the solicitude for railroad interests suddenly made manifest by certain of their constituents. Could they have known the inspiration and true source of this apparent concern on the part of these gentlemen, and the reluctance with which they acceded to these demands, their letters and telegrams would have had much less weight in aiding to defeat the taxation bills. In some instances, legislators themselves were threatened directly with business annihilation unless they ceased their support of the taxation bills. Members whose business interests were dependent upon reliable, reasonable and customary transportation rates, who favored and proposed to vote for the tax commission bills, assert that they were ordered to vote against them or suffer the consequences of extortionate freight rates which would destroy business. It mattered not that the companies back of the lobby agents might not attempt to execute these threats; it mattered not that to do so would violate express statutes enacted to prevent discriminations; it mattered not that the members might have known that at the end of protracted litigation they would get redress for such wrongs; it was easier for them to avoid such contest and yield to such demands even at the sacrifice of their independence and the future support of their constituents.

"Mark you, this arrogant and reprehensible conduct of the corporation lobby was not employed to defeat legislation conceived in hostility and framed by demagogues to cripple public-service corporations and advance selfish political interests. These threats were made to defeat bills drawn by a non-partisan commission of experts, after patient and thorough investigation, and so conservatively drawn as to exact less than the corporation's proportionate share of the general tax burden. This was not the

desperate defense of corporations fighting with fair and lawful weapons to maintain the right and protect their interests from unjust encroachments. This was the unlawful use of great powers which had been given to them by the state for the general good, and now employed by them to perpetuate wrong against the state. This was compelling the citizen who had been robbed to aid in further plundering himself and his neighbors.

"How unworthy this attitude of aggregate wealth toward the state, toward individual tax payers and private corporations! How mean the spirit! How unpatriotic this defiance of the plain, simple demands of justice! And they control and manipulate legislation and undermine representative government only that they may escape the payment of an equal and just share of the public tax.

"Shame upon the American citizen whose spirit does not rise in indignation against such violation, not only of the common and statutory law, but of every principle upon which American government is founded and every line of the glorious history of our country. We have become a race of degenerates if we do not resent the arrogance of these corporations which owe the state a million dollars a year in taxes and refuse to pay; these corporations which deny the ascertained facts, flippantly reject the finding of the tax commission they asked to have established at public expense, and whose recommendations they promised to accept; these corporations which in defiance of law and morals, would control legislation through bribery and threats. This is not an issue on which to invoke party sentiment. It challenges the manhood and patriotism of every honest citizen of the state. The hour has come for every citizen to take higher and broader ground, to rise above political prejudice and partisan feeling. This is no longer a mere question of which party shall win, or what individual ambition shall be satisfied. The momentous question which confronts the citizen

to-day is whether the voters of this commonwealth shall control or whether they shall bow in submission to a legislative lobby; whether we shall have here in Wisconsin a government that represents the will of the people or a government that represents the will of the corporations; whether the boast that 'no legislation has been enacted in this state during the past sixteen years except with the approval of the railroads' shall be permitted to stand unchallenged for the future; whether every tax-payer of this state shall go on from year to year, as in the past, meekly paying a part of the taxes of these public-service corporations each time that he pays his own; whether, knowing our rights, we are without the moral courage and independence to maintain them.

"Rather let it become our proud boast that no legislation is enacted in Wisconsin except with the approval of a majority of the people, and that when they demand the enactment of a just law their representatives in the legislature hear and obey the voice of the people.

"If the chosen representative does not represent the citizen, his voice is stifled; he is denied any part in government. If majority decision as determined by the law of the land is ignored and reversed, if the expressed will of the people is scorned and scorned again—then the popular government fails, then government of the people, by the people, and for the people is at an end. Its forms may be observed—you may have the mockery of 'elections' and the force of 'representation,' but a government based upon the will of the people, has perished from the earth."

But the Stalwarts did not relax their efforts after the convention adjourned. A state-wide discussion ensued as to whether candidates for the legislature were bound by the state platform which again declared explicitly for the primary election law and for equal taxation. A secret conference of the leading Stalwarts was held at the Hotel Pfister on August 7,

1902. The *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the greatest Republican daily, heretofore, owned by Charles Pfister, was opposing La Follette in its every issue. The result of all this discussion, newspaper agitation and Stalwart conference, was seen in the nomination on the Democratic ticket of David Rose, the friend of Pfister. As Mayor of Milwaukee, Rose had always stood for a "wide-open town," had received the support of the worst elements of the city, and had, in a notable contest over the renewal of the franchise, been the notorious ally of the Milwaukee street-railway company. The railroads now furnished him a special train. His speeches in different parts of the state were coarse attacks on La Follette who, during the campaign never mentioned his name.

The two United States Senators Spooner and Quarles spoke for the Republican ticket but cast their influence against La Follette and in favor of Rose. Nearly every Federal officeholder in the state actively followed the lead of the two senators. All these men cared absolutely nothing for the platform promises adopted by an overwhelming majority in the state convention. They comprised a formidable organization made up of public-service corporations, Federal officeholders and allied politicians. But the voters of Wisconsin in November, 1902, reelected Governor La Follette for the second term by a plurality of 47,599 and also returned a large majority to the lower house of the legislature pledged to enact a primary election law and a law for the equitable taxation of railroad property. The Stalwarts still held the Senate as there were eleven hold-over senators whose records show that they had voted for the corporations. Five of the senators elected, joined hands with the eleven although some of these five signed pledges of support to the platform. These sixteen senators were joined by two Democrats elected. By concentrating their strength in a few districts and for the control of a single

branch of the legislature, the corporations were able to defy the people.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1903.

The legislature assembled in January, 1903. In the Senate, there were eighteen Stalwart members who had thus a majority of three over the fifteen senators who represented the interests of the people. In the Assembly, there were seventy-five Republicans and twenty-five Democrats, thus giving the La Follette Republicans a clear working majority at all times. A primary election bill was promptly passed by the Assembly and sent up to the Senate which refused to agree to the measure. Not until the closing days of the session would the Senate pass the bill and then only on condition that it should not become a law until it had been voted for by a majority of the voters at the general election in November, 1904. The Stalwarts delayed its enactment for one year and nine months and hoped with the aid of the Democrats and public-service corporations to defeat it at the polls. It was adopted in November, 1904, by a plurality of 50,507 votes. On October 5, 1904, Senator Spooner, addressing a large public meeting in Milwaukee spoke as follows: "For myself, I do not intend to vote for this primary election law which is pending before the people. It is radical. I suppose none more radical has ever been drafted." On November 5, 1906, addressing a large audience in Madison, Wisconsin, he said the primary election law was a good measure and marked one of the great advances of the century. His estimate of the intelligence of the people of Wisconsin is equalled by his estimate of the United States Senate where he quoted a dissenting opinion by one of the justices of the Supreme Court as the opinion of the entire Court.

Early in the session of 1903, the Assembly passed the railroad tax bill but it was delayed in the Senate until the railway lobby had defeated a bill to create

a railroad rate commission. The Stalwart majority in the Senate then yielded to the Assembly on the railroad tax bill and passed it knowing that the increased tax could be paid from increased freight rates. This law has increased the taxes of the railroads more than \$600,000 a year. It is based on a most careful and just valuation of railway property by experts on the tax commission.

But the Stalwart Senate and corporations, besides delaying for more than two years the operation of the primary election law, scored a notable victory in the session of 1903. This was the defeat of the bill to create a railroad rate commission. One of the railroad lobbyists stated the case bluntly: "You cannot pass any law which will compel the railroad companies to pay a dollar in taxes additional to the amount they are now paying. All that is necessary for us to do to meet your tax legislation is to increase the freight rates and take every dollar of it out of the people."

Governor La Follette in his first message to the legislature in 1903, urged the public control of transportation rates; and a bill was introduced to create a railroad rate commission. Now was displayed for the first time the open, direct and enormous power of the railroad companies. The principal shippers and manufacturers of the state came to Madison by the hundreds and joined the railroad lobby in besieging members of the legislature to defeat the rate commission bill. They were in earnest and zealous in the service of their masters—the railroad companies. They paid annually immense sums in freight rates and yet they opposed with all their great wealth and power the bill which would have secured just and equitable rates. It was plain that they were favored shippers profiting by secret rebates; or that they were reduced to this service by threat of increased freight rates. The leading business men of the state, converging their influence upon the legislature, defeated the bill.

Governor La Follette immediately sent a special message to the legislature, "warning them of the reasonable increase by the companies in railroad rates in Wisconsin as a compensation for the increase in taxes" and urged a law "to prohibit the railroad companies from advancing their charges beyond the rates in force in Wisconsin." A bill was introduced for this purpose in the Assembly. The railroad companies immediately wired their station agents on every line in the state to call on merchants, manufacturers and shippers to telegraph to their assemblymen to vote against this bill. Yet this dictation by the railroad companies was so bold and so impudent that, disregarding their constituents, the Assembly passed the bill. But it was promptly defeated by the Stalwart majority in the Senate.

Three times had the platform promises been broken,—in 1898, in 1900 and in 1902. Twice had the members of the legislature prostituted their office,—in 1901 and in 1903. But in the executive chair was a man who could not be bribed or silenced. Though defeated again and again, his integrity and courage were still formidable to his opponents. He was a lion but not at bay. He carried on a continuous campaign. He said in December, 1903, after the adjournment of the legislature: "The contest must go on and on and on, until it is settled and settled right."

CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

It has been said that La Follette never fails to have "issues." Certainly, the Stalwarts furnished the issues in the campaign of 1904. They were directly responsible for submitting the primary election law to a referendum vote of the people. This precipitated the whole question to popular discussion. They alone were responsible in 1903 for the defeat of the rate commission bill which was the vital issue in 1904. But the important question is, not whether La Fol-

lette has new issues, but rather, whether those issues are of vital interest to the people.

Extraordinary interest attended the election of delegates in the primaries for the State Republican Convention to be held in Madison, on May 18, 1904. This convention was to elect delegates to the National Republican Convention and to place in nomination a state ticket. La Follette was a candidate for reelection as governor for the third term; and around his personality and principles raged the contest in every voting precinct in the state. Before the primaries, the voters as well as those who sought to be delegates were lined up and well known as for or against La Follette. The influence of the railroads and other corporations was openly exerted to defeat the champion of equal taxation. Every station agent of the railroads was ordered to do his utmost to defeat the La Follette delegates on the day of the caucus. As these caucuses were held on different dates in different counties, train crews were held at given points to elect Stalwart delegates. Superintendents of divisions on both the Milwaukee and St. Paul and Northwestern railroads met at various points their railway employes and plainly told them to work and vote against the La Follette delegates. Money was freely and notoriously used. As the morning papers reported the election of delegates who had been chosen the preceding day in a group of counties, they were as eagerly read as were the reports of battles in the Spanish or Civil War. The vote recorded at these primaries nearly equaled that of a Presidential election.

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1904.

The State Convention of 1065 delegates met at Madison, May 18, 1904. On May 17th, the State Central Committee heard counsel and examined witnesses on every contested seat. 925 were uncontested delegates, their election,

credentials and regularity being unquestioned by either faction. 515½ of these were conceded at all times by the Stalwarts as being favorable to La Follette. The six Stalwart members of the committee, on May 17th, unanimously conceded 20 more delegates from the first district of Grant and Eau Claire counties. The fraud in the contests made by the Stalwarts in these two districts was so palpable that the State Central Committee including the six Stalwart members unanimously voted to seat these 20 delegates. Therefore, the Stalwarts, on the committee at least, where counsel was heard on each side and the evidence carefully weighed, openly conceded the election and regularity of 535½ La Follette delegates. 533 was a majority. Other notoriously fraudulent contests were made. As a matter of fact, Governor La Follette had 574½ votes in the Convention, a clear majority of 84½. On October 5th, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin decided that the State Central Committee was the legal and competent tribunal to decide these contests. The Committee, in deciding such contests to make up the temporary roll-call of the Convention acted strictly according to party practice and precedent.

The Convention met in the university gymnasium at noon on May 18th. At 11 o'clock A. M., the Stalwarts met in a body at the Fuller Opera House and marched together half a mile to the Convention. The temporary and permanent organization was made in the usual way. Every step was in strict conformity with party practice. The first test vote showed that La Follette had 89½ majority. The Stalwarts took an active part in the Convention from noon until 5.45 P. M. They were determined to rule or ruin. At this time, a delegate rose and said: "I wish to announce that a meeting of anti-third term delegates will be held in the Opera House to-night." The Stalwarts then left in a body. La Follette was renomi-

nated for the third term and also elected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention.

THE RUMP CONVENTION.

The Stalwart delegates, some 485 in number, held a bolting convention in the Fuller Opera House, with no formal notice, no roll-call and no regularity. No one really knows how many delegates were present and it is certain that persons not delegates attended and took part in the irregular proceedings of the meeting. It purported to nominate a state ticket and to elect four delegates to the National Convention — Senators Spooner and Quarles, Congressman Babcock and Emil Baensch.

The case was now appealed to the Republican National Committee at Chicago. A formal but farcical "hearing" was given on June 16-17, 1904, in that city. "Gas" Addicks was a member of that committee. For days preceding the trial of the Wisconsin case, Senators Spooner and Quarles appealed to senatorial courtesy to sacrifice the leader of the regular Republican party in Wisconsin. George R. Peck, the attorney of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad, labored indefatigably to defeat La Follette. Walter Wellman stated that the plucky governor of Wisconsin was run over by the "bullgine." Every effort was made by La Follette to secure a fair trial, but without success. It became evident that the National Committee had prejudged the case. Printed briefs covering every material fact in the case were laid before the committee, but they were not even read. This flagrant disregard of the rights of a great commonwealth by the highest tribunal of the party caused immediate, widespread and indignant protest in Wisconsin. Before the committee could report back to the Convention, La Follette issued a defiance to the corrupt tribunal and took an appeal to the voters of his state. Before the election, the Supreme Court

of Wisconsin handed down a decision that the convention which had nominated the La Follette delegates was the regular Republican convention of Wisconsin.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

A campaign of extraordinary bitterness ensued. The Stalwarts placed ex-Governor Scofield as a candidate for governor under the party name of "National Republican." Senators Spooner and Quarles took the platform against La Follette. It was not expected by the Stalwarts that Scofield would be elected. He was put in the field to capture those old-time voters who could not be brought to vote the Democratic ticket. The great majority of the Stalwart votes went to the Democratic candidate for governor, and were so intended by Spooner, Quarles and Scofield himself.

But Governor La Follette carried on a campaign that must have extorted the admiration of his foes. He bought an automobile and used the railroads and carriages to enable him to meet the people. In many cases, the farmers, knowing that he would pass along a certain road, would meet him and call for an address by the roadside. Wrapped in a large fur overcoat and wearing the well-known soft wool hat turned up all around and speeding along the country roads to meet audiences, he presented a striking appearance. For months, he spoke to tens of thousands in the country, in villages and in cities. On Friday evening preceding the election, he addressed ten thousand people in the Exposition Building in Milwaukee for three hours. When he retired at the Plankinton Hotel, he was wet with perspiration and was cared for by an attendant and rubbed in alcohol. The next morning, he was up to take a seven o'clock train for a forenoon meeting. The following Monday evening, he addressed the students and people of his home city in the university gymnasium where three thousand had assembled to hear his last speech before the election.

The next day Wisconsin gave him a plurality of 50,952 votes.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1905.

The third legislature during Governor La Follette's administrations assembled in January, 1905. The important measure of the session was the creation of a state railroad commission to investigate and control transportation rates. Here again, the public-service corporations sought to delay and defeat the bill to establish an appointive commission, by directing the Stalwart minority to work and vote for an elective commission. They suddenly became solicitous of the sacred right of the people to elect all officers. But both branches of the legislature had safe majorities for the interests of the people. Under the law as passed, Governor La Follette appointed three able and honest commissioners. One of the members of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission stated that the Wisconsin commission is one of the very ablest in the country. During their first year of office, they reduced freight rates on grain and cheese and saved to the people of Wisconsin three-fourths of a million dollars.

On January 25, 1905, La Follette was elected to the United States Senate. He received 101 votes out of 123 cast in the legislature. A Democrat received 13 and Senator Joseph Quarles 2 votes. Governor La Follette accepted the senatorship but did not resign as governor for nearly a year.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE IN 1905.

He called an extra session of the legislature to meet early in December, 1905. In a long message outlining needed legislation, he presented the fact that the railroad companies of Wisconsin had brought suit in a circuit court of the state to enjoin the collection of taxes on railway property and "beaten in the circuit court, they have appealed to the

Supreme Court of the state, and announce their determination to protract the litigation by ultimately carrying their cases to the Supreme Court of the United States. The railroad taxes now due the state and tied up in this litigation amount to the large sum of \$1,144,399.30." Governor La Follette urged the enactment of a law compelling the railroad companies to pay their taxes "as a condition precedent to this right to go into court at all," the companies of course retaining the right to recover all taxes unjustly levied and collected. A law was enacted to this effect and approved by the governor on December 19, 1905. From December 1st to 18th inclusive, the companies had paid in only \$513.35. During the forty days following December 18th, the time limit fixed by the act, they paid in the sum of \$1,170,825.84.

AS UNITED STATES SENATOR.

La Follette took the oath of office in the Senate on January 4, 1906. His entrance into that body was made noticeable by the well-known hostility of the senators. Not many months before, a large number of senators at the Republican National Convention had prevented his being seated as delegate although he had been clearly and legally elected. His election by the people of his state, after years of unprecedented struggle with the public-service corporations, was a challenge to all those senators who owed their election to special interests. He was treated on the first day with marked courtesy but was assigned to unimportant committees.

THE COAL LANDS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

His first important discussion in the Senate on March 1st and 2d, related to the ownership by the railroad companies of coal lands in Indian Territory. A bill had been introduced making it easy for the railroad companies to acquire these valuable lands at a nominal cost. The bill was in full progress toward

enactment when La Follette arrested the fraudulent measure. It appeared that two Indian tribes owned 437,734 acres, of which 104,910 acres had been leased. The royalties received by the Indians had been 10 cents per ton, but were now 8 cents per ton. Even at 8 cents, the land was worth from \$200 to \$600 per acre. Joseph Taft, the geologist who made the survey, reported that the land was worth \$400 per acre, or for the total coal field \$175,000,000.

Senator La Follette moved an amendment to the bill providing that neither a railway company in its corporate capacity nor the individual stockholders of a railway company should acquire these coal lands. He showed that 49,460 acres of the coal lands in question had been leased by two railway companies; that the constitutional amendment in Pennsylvania, adopted in 1873, prohibiting any railroad company from owning mining lands in that state, had not in fact prevented such companies from acquiring, through their officials and stockholders, 98 per cent. of the anthracite coal of Pennsylvania. He urged his amendment mainly on the ground that railroads should be public carriers and nothing else. The question was discussed by Senators Spooner, Knox, Lodge and others who said they sympathized with the principle involved but doubted its constitutionality. The Senate in recent years has become an unparalleled school for constitutional lawyers. The amendment of course failed but the discussion was not lost. Subsequently President Roosevelt asked Congress for the power to withdraw government coal lands from entry and sale. Congress with characteristic inactivity where corporations are concerned, took no action in the matter. But the President has since assumed the power and has issued a sweeping order withdrawing all coal lands from entry and sale.

HIS SPEECHES IN THE SENATE ON THE RATE BILL.

His greatest service in the Senate was

his elaborate and masterly discussion of the railway rate bill on April 19th, 20th and 23d. It was the ablest, the most exhaustive and statesmanlike presentation of the real merits of the whole problem of rate regulation given in the entire range of the debate. His speeches bristled with exact and technical knowledge of every phase of the subject; and they disclosed the clearest and broadest grasp of what is most needed in rate regulation. His legal argument to establish the power of the national government over rate-making was by far the ablest given in the debate. The economics of actual transportation, whether on the ton-mile or the train-load basis, the tremendous evils of rebates resulting in the growth of trusts and monopolies, and the consolidation of railroad lines and systems, were presented with a clearness, fullness and power never before exhibited in the Senate. It is perhaps absurd to expect such senators as Spooner, Aldrich, Elkins and Foraker to make a thorough study of rate regulation. They would have no use for the material collected. Their business is to expound constitutional law to show how things cannot be done. But in La Follette not only shippers and merchants but millions of people all over the United States suddenly found that they had in the Senate, for their best interests, a real representative of rare intellectual power and force, of indomitable courage and of absolute honesty.

At the beginning of his first speech, there was a concerted plan by the senators to insult him by leaving the chamber. He said: "Mr. President, I pause in my remarks to say this: I cannot be wholly indifferent to the fact that senators by their absence at this time indicate their want of interest in what I may have to say upon this subject. The public is interested. Unless this important question is rightly settled seats now temporarily vacant may be permanently vacated by those who have the right to occupy them at this time."

Angus McSween, the able Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* has described the effect on the corporation senators after their return to the chamber:

"Upon the faces of Aldrich and the leaders of railroad combination in the Senate there appeared as they watched La Follette and so far as their faces are capable of displaying their inward emotion, an expression almost of fear.

"Against the absolute courage and sincerity of such a man they can do nothing but oppose the brute strength of their number and the fancied security of their position. They tried in their studied purpose to ignore La Follette, and failed because in spite of themselves the breadth of his knowledge, the force of his utterances, the strength and accuracy of his conclusions, all awakened their interest, not because they cared for what La Follette may think or say, but because they know his speech will go to the country and the country will care."

Julian Hawthorne wrote from Washington at the time:

"If all the other senators were his equal in brains, the Senate would not only be the best deliberative body we have ever had, but the best ever had by any nation at any time; and secondly, if all senators were as honest as he and as faithful to the interests of the people, we would have the political millennium without more ado."

HIS AMENDMENTS TO THE RATE BILL.

Senator La Follette offered the following amendments to the rate bill and insisted on the roll-call to show the record of each senator.

1. Amendment to restore the penalty of imprisonment or fine for the violation of the rate law.

NAYS—49.

Aldrich	Crane	Hansbrough	Nixon
Alger	Cullom	Hemenway	Penrose
Allee	Dick	Hopkins	Perkins
Ankeny	Dillingham	Kittredge	Piles
Beveridge	Dolliver	Kean	Platt
Brandegee	Dryden	Knox	Smoot
Bulkeley	Elkins	Lodge	Stone
Burkett	Flint	McCumber	Sutherland
Burnham	Foraker	McEnery	Warner
Burrows	Frye	Millard	Warren
Carter	Fulton	Nelson	Wetmore
Clapp	Gamble		
Clark, Mont.			

Spooner announced that but for a pair he would vote against the amendment.

YEAS—27.

Bacon	Daniel	Latimer	Pettus
Bailey	Dubois	McCreary	Rayner
Berry	Foster	McLaurin	Simmons
Blackburn	Fraser	Martin	Taliaferro
Clark, Ark.	Gallinger	Money	Teller
Clay	Gearin	Newlands	Tillman
Culberson	La Follette	Overman	

Page 6837 of the Congressional Record.

2. Amendment to prohibit any Federal judge, who owns any share of the capital stock, or any bonds of a common carrier, or who accepts or uses any railroad pass or free transportation, to try the case of any railroad in which he is thus interested.

NAYS—40.

Aldrich	Clapp	Frye	Millard
Alger	Clark, Wyo.	Fulton	Nixon
Allee	Cullom	Gamble	Perkins
Allison	Dick	Hale	Piles
Ankeny	Dillingham	Hansbrough	Scott
Brandegee	Dolliver	Hopkins	Smoot
Bulkeley	Dryden	Kean	Spooner
Burnham	Elkins	Kittredge	Sutherland
Burrows	Flint	Lodge	Warner
Carter	Foraker	Long	Wetmore

YEAS—27.

Bacon	Daniel	McCreary	Rayner
Bailey	Dubois	McCumber	Simmons
Berry	Foster	McLaurin	Stone
Blackburn	Fraser	Martin	Taliaferro
Clark, Ark.	Gallinger	Morgan	Teller
Clay	Gearin	Newlands	Tillman
Culberson	La Follette	Overman	

Page 6973 of the Congressional Record.

3. Amendment to ascertain the actual value of all railway property in the United States so as to provide for the Interstate Commerce Commission an accurate basis on which to determine what are just and reasonable rates.

NAYS—40.

Aldrich	Cullom	Hansbrough	Millard
Alger	Dick	Hemenway	Nelson
Allee	Dillingham	Hopkins	Nixon
Ankeny	Dryden	Kean	Penrose
Brandegee	Flint	Kittredge	Perkins
Bulkeley	Foraker	Knox	Piles
Burnham	Frye	Lodge	Platt
Carter	Fulton	Long	Scott
Clark, Wyo.	Gallinger	McCumber	Sutherland
Crane	Hale	McEnery	Wetmore

Spooner and Allison announced that but for pairs, they would vote against the amendment.

YEAS—27.

Bacon	Culberson	Gearin	Overman
Bailey	Dolliver	La Follette	Simmons
Berry	Dubois	Latimer	Taliaferro
Blackburn	Elkins	McCreary	Teller
Burkett	Foster	McLaurin	Tillman
Clark, Ark.	Fraser	Mallory	Warner
Clay	Gamble	Newlands	

Page 7014 of the Congressional Record.

4. Amendment to enable a railway employé in case of injury, to recover damages from the railway company if the negligence of the company or any officer, agent or employé of the company is greater than the negligence of the employé so injured.

NAYS—45.

Aldrich	Cullom	Hopkins	Penrose
Alger	Dick	Kean	Perkins
Allee	Dillingham	Knox	Pettus
Allison	Dolliver	Lodge	Piles
Ankeny	Dryden	Long	Platt
Brandegee	Elkins	McCumber	Proctor
Bulkeley	Flint	McEnery	Scott
Burnham	Foraker	McLaurin	Smoot
Carter	Frye	Millard	Sutherland
Clapp	Gallinger	Nelson	Warner
Clark, Wyo.	Hansbrough	Nixon	Wetmore
Crane			

YEAS—28.

Bacon	Culberson	Kittredge	Newlands
Bailey	Daniel	La Follette	Overman
Berry	Dubois	Latimer	Rayner
Blackburn	Fraser	McCreary	Simmons
Burkett	Fulton	Mallory	Stone
Clark, Ark.	Gamble	Martin	Taliaferro
Clay	Gearin	Morgan	Teller

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LA FOLLETTE'S THEORY OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

La Follette is first of all a man of action and practical; yet he has a philosophy of government. He believes as profoundly as did Jefferson and Lincoln in government of, by and for the people. In all his campaigns he has acted on this trust in the common voter. His life work has been to go directly to these voters and appeal to their judgment and honesty. He strives to awaken the interest and to increase the power and responsibility of the citizen. He believes in the principle of the recall, of the referendum and of direct nominations. He has the best democracy of the frontier blended with the democracy of culture. He belongs to the order of men like Webster and Lowell and Lincoln, rather

than men like Jackson. He would not for a moment subscribe to the doctrine that even an overwhelming majority always decides rightly. His own university and legal training would give full weight to intelligence and judgment. But he has full confidence in the general honesty of the voters and, in the long run, equal confidence in their intelligence. This attitude was clearly expressed in the Senate: "Sir, I respect public opinion. I do not fear it. I do not hold it in contempt. The public judgment of this great country forms slowly. It is intelligent. No body of men in this country is superior to it. In a representative democracy the common judgment of the majority must find expression in the law of the land."

His work for the past fifteen years, has been based on the theory that the actual control of the state and national governments has been taken from the voters and placed in the hands of a very few men. He believes that the enormous power of the few within the last quarter of a century "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." La Follette's mission is to aid in restoring government to the people. He is seeking, not to establish new institutions and new principles, but to restore representative government. His work as Governor and as United States Senator mark him, not as a radical or innovator, but as a preserver of vital American institutions.

THREE ECONOMIC STAGES AS RELATED TO GOVERNMENT.

In his addresses, he illustrates with great clearness the three stages in the management of industries: During the colonial period and for some time after the Revolution, most of the business was by individual management. The capital and labor units were small. Competition was almost unlimited and monopolies were unknown. Then followed three-fourths of a century of industrial revolution and the rise of the Factory System.

The capital unit increased enormously and became the dominant factor in business. Joint-stock companies and partnerships increased in number. The corporation was beginning. The trust was unknown. There was still free competition and it was not yet to the interest of "big business" to make government the instrument of special privilege. The third stage of industrial management began in the last quarter or third of the nineteenth century. Five thousand railroad companies which had been organized during the second period, were now consolidated into six great groups controlling nearly 90 per cent. of the effective railway mileage of the country. Around this vast combination of capital, have grown up trusts, taking possession of whole industries like those of oil, coal, iron, steel, shipping, telegraph, express, and the food products. In the cities the local corporation has taken possession of street-railways, the telephone exchanges and of the water, light and gas plants; and these are merging into unified ownership and management, not only in a given city, but in different cities. Competition is being eliminated. The public-service corporation and the industrial trust are two entirely new political as well as industrial forces of far-reaching importance to representative government.

La Follette holds that corporations and the trusts have taken possession of the city, the state and the national governments. He would restore government to the mass of the people. He believes in that kind of government actually administered by Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. He quotes from two eminent authors to show the marked decline in American government in a period of fifty-five years. Both of these authors were distinguished foreigners, keen observers and sympathetic toward American institutions. In 1833, De Tocqueville wrote: "In the United States I never heard any one accused of spending his wealth in buying

voters." In 1888, Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* devoted a whole chapter to the corruption of government by men of wealth. He described the trained body of paid lobbyists attending the sessions of the state legislatures and of Congress. These lobbyists were the agents, attorneys or employés of the corporations and trusts. Bribery, direct and indirect, was the result. Government ceased to be representative. The real power passed to special interests. "Big business" had corrupted and controlled government. It is the life-work of La Follette to arouse the vast body of voters to take possession of government again and to control within strict limits the power of organized wealth.

Lincoln Steffens, also, has found a direct connection between corrupt city government and the city utility companies. In New York city Dr. Parkhurst, in St. Louis with Governor Folk, in Pittsburgh, Denver and Minneapolis, he found that the police department in each city, having been organized to protect society against crime, was actually protecting crime against society. The police systematically levied contributions upon criminals who willingly paid for protection. But back of this department of graft and the related department of crime, stood the political party with its boss, its politicians, its gang of officeholders and its ward heelers. Above these in turn, were the officers and managers of the street-railway, water, light, gas and telephone companies contributing liberally to the campaign expenses of the party. The criminal classes and the police could deliver the vote of the venal and the ignorant; the officeholders could deliver the franchises and special privileges. "Big business" was at one end of the line and crime at the other to control the government of, by and for the public-service corporations. Ben. Lindsey, the "Just Judge" of Denver, found that the league of these companies and the criminals not only made crime an organized system, but this union of

"big business" and bad business was ruining hundreds of boys and girls in his city.

LA FOLLETTE, A CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN.

La Follette is essentially constructive. He said on July 20, 1906, in Milwaukee: "The country is a quarter of a century behind our industrial and commercial development in constructive legislation. What the country requires to-day is an intelligent, judicious, but energetic period of constructive legislation to enable government to catch up with the 'business interests' which have been giving us 'business administrations.'" The laws which he secured in Wisconsin,—the primary election law, the law taxing railway property, the laws creating the Wisconsin Railway Commission and the state Civil Service Commission were in the highest degree constructive measures of far-reaching importance. His amendments to the rate-bill in the United States Senate were direct and positive measures to make that law effective. He would not only restore government to the people but he would make it efficient and remedial to protect their interests. One administration by him as President of the United States would mark an epoch in constructive legislation safeguarding representative government and restoring the economic rights of the people.

Political leaders have been characterized as reactionary, conservative and radical. These terms relate to past, present and future institutions and laws. The extremes convey more or less of reproach, arising no doubt from the pain of a new idea. The Bourbons, after the battle of Waterloo, were justly called reactionists. They wished to restore the order of things existing before the great Revolution. The present-day Socialists may fairly be termed radicals. They exalt a social and industrial order wholly different from that of the present and only to be realized far in the future.

The Duke of Wellington at the passage of the reform bill of 1832 was a good type of the conservative. He said: "The representative system; just as it stands, is a masterpiece of human wisdom." And yet this system excluded from representation the vast mass of the people, permitted Scotland only three thousand voters in a population of two millions, made more than two-thirds of the House of Commons direct nominees of single individuals, gave representatives to remote hamlets and denied them to flourishing cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds, and was, as Macaulay stated, "a monstrous system of represented ruins and unrepresented cities."

There is a fourth type of mind, neither constructive nor radical, but constructive. Alexander Hamilton was conservative in his respect for the institutions which had stood the test of ages. He was constructive in his measures to confer ample power on the national government that those institutions might have vigor and permanence. Jefferson was conservative in his efforts to preserve decentralization in government and the sovereignty of the states. He was constructive in his administrations and measures to extend and strengthen the principles and institutions of democracy. La Follette is conservative in his profound regard for law and order, the rights of property and the rights of persons and for the fundamental institutions of government. He is conservative in his stand for government of, by and for the people. But he is constructive in his efforts to secure far-reaching legislation that will enable the people to make government the instrument by which to secure legal and economic rights.

His opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States is shown by the following, uttered in the Senate in April, 1906:

"Corporate interests have little reason to expect aid and comfort from the Supreme Court. The opinion by Mr. Justice White in the Coal case, delivered

in February, that by Mr. Justice Harlan in the Chicago Corporation cases, in March, and the opinion by Mr. Justice Brewer in the Michigan Tax case, rendered within a few days are illustrations of the conservation by the Supreme Court of the inherent rights of the people against the encroachments of corporate power. For the great honor of the court and to the preservation of Government, this final tribunal remains as unsullied and ideal to-day as when created by the Constitution. The great interests have not hesitated to corrupt legislation and propose its attorneys for judicial appointment; but its taint has never reached the Supreme Court of the United States."

His respect for the rights of property was expressed in the same speech in the Senate:

"Honest wealth needs no guarantee of security in this country. Property rightfully acquired does not beget fear—it fosters independence, confidence, courage. Property which is the fruit of plunder feels insecure. It is timid. It is quick to cry for help. It is ever proclaiming the sacredness of vested rights. The thief can have no vested rights in stolen property. I resent the assumption that the great wealth of this country is only safe when the millionaires are on guard. Property rights are not the special charge of owners of great fortunes. The ample power of the Constitution is the everlasting bulwark of property rights."

EXAMPLES OF INTEGRITY AND COURAGE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

Senator La Follette is an absolutely honest man. During his first term in Congress he refused to aid a millionaire senator from his state in plundering from the Indians valuable timber lands. He rejected the advice and demands of leading men in his party when they proposed to have the government guarantee the bonds of a private company. In a

committee he defied the railroad interests and was threatened with defeat by the chairman of his state central committee. But the most offensive attempt at corruption was in his legal practice in Wisconsin. This made an impression never forgotten or forgiven by him. His training in the law department of the university and his practice at the bar had given him a high opinion of the value of judicial integrity on the bench. His own character tended to idealize the incorruptibility of the courts. He was called from Madison to Milwaukee by the same millionaire senator whom he had met so many times in Washington. A perfectly legitimate case was presented to La Follette and a large roll of money was displayed during the conversation. After considerable indirection, he was given to understand that besides his legal work he was expected, owing to personal relations, to influence the circuit judge. La Follette left that room as Lincoln left the slave-auction room in New Orleans, with an oath like a prayer, to strike the system a hard blow some day. It should be said that this circuit judge, more than ten years later, was a justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin when the regularity of La Follette's nomination came before the court. It was the turning point of La Follette's career as the National Committee had decided against him. But this eminent judge, owing to his close personal relations with La Follette, left the supreme bench at the time of the trial. No wonder La Follette has a high opinion of judicial integrity.

The next offer was more adroit. He was known to be in debt. He was a friend of President McKinley. His enemies, Senators Spooner and Quarles, were in Washington. From that city came a tempting offer of a lucrative position in the treasury department to get him out of the state. The place was an honorable one and was offered by a friend. But La Follette, keen to this covert indirection, declined the office.

After his first nomination as governor in 1900 he was subjected to a new form of attack. The railroads placed at his command special trains for the campaign and no word of opposition came from the thousands of railway men in the state. The old corrupt political forces were all on his side when they knew his nomination and election were beyond their reach. He found himself in high favor with delegations of the men who had controlled the state for years. They were now willing to give him everything in the way of office and honor. But there was now a governor elected whose regard was steadfastly fixed upon the great mass of the people who could not send up delegations and to whom promises had been made. La Follette fought the good fight and kept the faith.

LA FOLLETTE AS AN ORATOR.

As an orator he appears at his best. His gracefulness in delivery, the strength and vigor of his thought, the purity of his English, his high ideals, and his lofty conception of the integrity and courage of the public official indicate unmistakably the character of the man.

This orator quotes no poetry or literary gems of any kind, uses no figures of speech, has no climaxes, tells no stories, indulges in no humor. Though familiar with all the masterpieces of literature, and lectures on certain plays of Shakespeare, he never refers to them in his political addresses. He uses no historical examples or illusions. He takes the driest subjects,—taxation and election methods—and holds the rapt attention of farmers, laborers, merchants and professional men. If there is any climax in his impassioned addresses, it is when he mentions the public official who neglects or refuses to do his duty.

He has no carefully wrought-out exordium or peroration. His opening is rather in the nature of a courteous greeting merging quickly into the dignified earnestness of his argument. After

the first half-dozen sentences his voice, rich and varied in quality, becomes clarion, resonant, yet musical and far-reaching. His delivery at times is marked with great rapidity and is always dramatic. In grace of manner and action, and in dignity and ease of position on the platform, he satisfies the most critical, yet all in his audience are rather intent on the ability and earnestness of the orator. He is scarcely five feet four inches in height, squarely built, with a large head and a high, square forehead, from which the hair rises partly pompadour. His face is powerfully expressive and earnest. His flashing eyes and square jaw show determination and high ideals. That face, when aroused to action, becomes indescribable, and when once seen can never be forgotten. The leonine head, the body bent slightly forward or held rigidly erect, the hand clenched, the delivery rapid and impassioned, the resonant, clarion voice, and the intense and sincere earnestness, claim more than unrivalled interest. They stir the emotions and form the judgments which control caucus, convention and election.

THE LOGICAL LEADER IN THE COMING CONTEST.

Robert Marion La Follette is an American of incorruptible integrity. He is American in character, in ideals, in energy, in democracy and in courage. He cherishes the priceless heritage of our national life. His constructive ability has been demonstrated after a long contest. He is the ideal American Senator, intellectual, aggressive for the rights of the people and with the highest conceptions of duty in public life. He has passed by regular steps towards the highest position: he graduated from the university and from the law department, was district attorney four years, member of Congress six years, had a wide legal practice for the next ten years, was Governor five years and is now in the United States Senate.

More than a third of a century ago, Garfield foretold in a college address the coming contest between the people and the railway corporations. He then said: "It is painfully evident from the experience of the last few years, that the efforts of the states to regulate their railroads have amounted to but little more than feeble annoyance. In many cases the corporations have treated such efforts as impertinent intermeddling, and have brushed away legislative restrictions as easily as Gulliver broke the cords with which the Liliputians attempted to bind him. In these contests the corporations have become conscious of their strength, and have entered upon the work of controlling the states. Already they have captured several of the oldest and strongest of them; and these disrowned sovereigns now follow in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors. And this does not imply that merely the officers and representatives of states have been subjected to the railways, but that the corporations have grasped the sources and fountains of power and control the choice of both officers and representatives."

Since the delivery of that scholarly, dispassionate, non-partisan address at the Western Reserve College, the power of the railway corporations has been vastly extended. The consolidation of separate companies has rapidly gone on. A trained body of able railway attorneys and lobbyists has been organized. Their control of state legislatures and of Congress has effectually prevented the just regulation of these highways of commerce. Besides this control of representative government, two new forces against the rights and interests of the people have been built up in the last quarter of a century: Local public-service corporations of great wealth and political power have captured the government of cities and the resulting corruption and bribery in city councils have become notorious. Around the gigantic railway system, over which are whirled the myriad pro-

ducts of industry, have grown up the industrial trusts such as the coal trust, the oil trust, the sugar trust, the beef trust and others. These three forces,—the railroads, the city utility companies and the industrial trusts, interdependent, related, have not merely entered the field of politics, they hold the field. Real representative government is in danger.

But there is abundant evidence showing that a new spirit is abroad in the land. One state has had a prolonged contest with the public-service corporations, and, under rare leadership, has been victorious. In five other states at least, a like struggle is in progress. The President of the United States has begun a national movement on the same issue. It would seem that this cause would appeal to all good citizens without regard to party. Just as we look back now and wonder how men during the Revolutionary War could have opposed independence; just as we look back and wonder how men during the stirring days of the Civil War could have been in favor of human slavery; so will those in the future look back to our times and wonder how men, otherwise good citizens, could oppose this inspiring struggle for good government. It seems as though every soldier of the Civil War ought to be in favor of this new contest for liberty. It seems as though all the voices of freedom in the past are speaking in this struggle. If Abraham Lincoln were living, he would be on the side of good government and justice and the common people. When Burke recalled the dauntless courage of

the beautiful queen of France, he said: "I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult." When we recall what this contest has been and what it will mean in the months to come, it seems as though the best citizens must leap forward to carry it onward and upward. It must go on and on, "still high advanced," and realize the best hopes of the noblest citizens.

Who has been the effective leader in this vast and growing movement for representative government? Who has made that movement first successful in a great commonwealth? Who has given a real meaning to the term "constructive legislation"? Who is to-day in the United States Senate the representative of a rising party in every state in the Union? This party is the new Republican party, redeemed and regenerated by patriotism and high ideals. Who is the logical leader in this widespread and earnest contest for government of, by and for the people? Whom will Wisconsin gladly present to the next National Convention as the standard bearer of the Republican party, once more endeared to the people by such a nomination in accordance with a half-century of great achievements? Who will restore that party to the same spirit of liberty as in the days of Lincoln?—Senator Robert M. La Follette.

WILLIAM KITTLE.

Madison, Wis.

THE ANOMALY OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BY HON. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY,
Pardon Attorney to the Governor of Missouri.

AS PRACTISED in the United States to-day capital punishment is illogical and inconsistent, both in the manner of its administration and in the reasoning by which it is ostensibly supported. These infirmities are especially apparent in the following, among other important particulars:

1. We are accustomed to justify the death penalty as a deterrent example, but we take pains to render the example as inconspicuous as possible by dispatching the victim with the utmost privacy. Public executions are generally abolished, and are now conducted in the obscurity of a jail-yard with out a very limited number of spectators present. In our day few indeed are the persons who are permitted to behold the gallows, even in its repose. It is safe to say that the majority of men do not know what it looks like, excepting from hearsay. Not one in ten thousand has seen one.

If the gallows is to serve as a warning against the commission of crime, it should be placed as conspicuously as possible. Men and women should be allowed to inspect it, and to point it out to their children as a thing of terror. It should be a visible manifestation of the majesty of the law, a standing monition of the wage of sin. When culprits are put to death thereon, men women and children—especially the children—should be present, in order that they may imbibe the full measure of terror which the example should inspire in the hearts of the people; to the end that, having witnessed the example, they may be impelled by its inspiring force to walk in the ways of righteousness and peace. Yea, more; the victim himself, after his taking off, should be made to subserve the same benign purposes, as was formerly the

case, when the criminal's dissevered head was set upon the gates of the prison and his limbs distributed among the principal cities of the kingdom. In such manner was the treason of the Duke of Monmouth punished; but, unfortunately, the example even then was not sufficiently potent to prevent the overthrow of King James but a few years later in the Revolution of 1688. In the executions of that elder day it was also an incident of inspiring solemnity to stick the head of the victim on the end of a pike-staff, as a gruesome reminder of the portentous truth that the way of the transgressor is hard.

By such means the example may be seen and felt, and made so plain that he who runneth may read. If capital punishment be of any value as a public example the public should be made fully cognizant of that example. A head that is set on a pike-staff, like a city that is set on a hill, cannot be hid. It is futile to undertake to set an example that none can see. An inconspicuous warning is an ineffective warning.

Why then, was publicity done away with? Why does the hangman shun the light? For this reason only, and none other: Men concluded that such scenes tended to engender sentiments more barbarous than those which they were designed to suppress; i. e., that public executions were brutalizing. Private executions are said to be *less* brutalizing; the spiritual welfare of Jack Ketch, to be sure, being placed out of the reckoning. It is finally agreed, then, that these public killings are in themselves debasing and immoral, and instead of setting a good example they set a bad one. And the private execution? Does it set any example at all?

If so, what kind of an example? And, in so far as it affects the public mind at all, is not the effect in kind, if not in degree, precisely that which attends the public execution? It can operate as a warning only to the extent that it is known and its terrors realized. The logic that condemns public executions because of their bestializing influence cannot justify the private execution as an influence for good, because it involves a concession that in so far as that influence extends it is harmful in character. Therefore the private execution, in so far as it exerts an influence, exerts a bad one; otherwise, by the very logic of its advocates, it should not exist.

2. Wherever recourse is had to the death penalty, that penalty is applied simply because it is thought that life imprisonment is not sufficiently severe. Is the death penalty sufficiently severe? If the element of severity be accounted the salient principle of criminal punishments, how can we regard any punishment as sufficiently severe which falls short of preventing crime, and why shall we not increase the penalties to the very limit of severity until crime shall cease or be reduced to its minimum? When we fail to do that, we give evidence of insincerity; we show that we do not believe that which we both preach and practice in our administration of the death penalty. Nothing is more clear than that the gallows and the electric chair do not prevent murder.

According to the recently published statements of Prof. A. D. White, homicidal crime is on the increase in the United States. If severity is to be the principal deterrent, then nothing can be plainer than that we are not sufficiently severe in our punishment of murderers. The example we make of them is not sufficiently horrible to impress upon the public mind the extremely hazardous nature of homicide as a trade or pastime. Indeed, we often hear it said of this or that criminal, that "hanging is too good for him."

If death in any manner is impressive because of the severity of the punishment, why is not torture still more impressive? In the time of Henry VIII. those who committed murder by poisoning were boiled to death, like lobsters. Now it is plain that no sane person wants to be boiled alive. Therefore, is it not reasonable to believe that men would refrain from murder if they knew that boiling would be the penalty? Or, they could be fricasseed—or sent to the packing houses, for soap grease. Ravallac, the man who murdered Henry IV., had his flesh torn off with hot pincers. Vivisection, too, might be practiced upon them, in the interest of science. As early as the fourth century B. C., Herophilus of Alexandria dissected living criminals who were supplied by the state for that philanthropic purpose. Is it reasonable to suppose that any Southern negro would commit rape if he thought he would be turned over, alive, to the "student doctors" and the dissecting table? Perish the thought!

One thing is certain, and that is this: If severe punishments prevent crime, then we are woefully lacking in severity. Hanging is too mild a punishment. The advocates of the scaffold and the electric chair are mere maudlin sentimentalists. If they are right in their theory of criminal punishments, they err in not going far enough; if wrong, they have erred in going too far. In either event, the argument for severity, carried to its logical conclusion, is an argument against the death penalty as now administered.

3. Under its own definition of murder society makes itself as guilty of that crime every time a legal execution occurs, as is any culprit who dies upon the scaffold. After a crime has been committed, no private individual has the right, either morally or legally, to deliberately kill the criminal, it matters not how wicked or depraved that criminal may be. Any person who did so would be adjudged guilty of murder. But that

which the individual would scorn to do directly, he does indirectly, and that which no private member of society is allowed to do individually is done by society in, the aggregate.

The common law definition of murder, as given by Mr. Wharton, one of the greatest authorities on criminal law, is as follows: "Murder is where a person of sound memory and discretion unlawfully kills any reasonable creature in being, and in the peace of the commonwealth, with malice pre-pense or aforethought, either express or implied." As is well known, malice may be implied from the deliberate use of a deadly weapon, and an instrument certain to produce death is a deadly weapon; *e. g.*, the gallows or the electric chair. The gist of the crime in all cases is the deliberate intent to kill.

To make one a principal in a murder it is not necessary that he should inflict the mortal wound. One need not spring the death-trap in order to share the responsibility for a legal execution. In every case society stands by, aiding and abetting the killing. Nor is it necessary, according to the accepted authorities, that the homicide, in order to constitute murder, should be the effect of the "direct" violence of the person charged with murder. If he set in motion the dangerous agency which results in the death of his victim, it may be murder. If a person intentionally do any act towards another, who is helpless, which must, necessarily lead to the death of that other, it may be murder. It matters not how depraved the victim may be, to deliberately kill him or cause or aid another to do so, is murder. Society says so, and the law decrees it. Even to kill an alien enemy in time of war is murder, unless the killing occur in the exercise of actual warfare.

The general rule under the common law and the statutes of the majority of the American states is that justifiable or excusable homicide can exist only when

the proper officer executes a criminal in strict conformity with his sentence, where an officer in the legal exercise of a particular duty kills a person who resists or prevents him from exercising it, or where the homicide is committed in preventing a forcible and atrocious crime; as, for instance, in self-defense, or where the deceased was in the act of committing robbery or murder.

The law, as will be seen, exempts the hangman; for to be a murder the killing must be done "unlawfully," and whatever else may be said of the hangman it cannot be said of him that he hangs persons in violation of the laws as they exist and are declared and construed by the courts. The hangman is merely an agent—your agent and mine. He acts deliberately and with intent to kill. He coolly plans the death of his victim and deliberately carries his plans into execution. But his act is authorized by law. For this reason, and for this reason only, it is not murder. If any other human being, not clothed with his official authority, killed the same person in the same manner, it would be murder.

Society has in the aggregate authorized a particular officer to do a particular act which any member of society would be hanged for doing. The hangman, however, does not make the law. He can only obey, or else resign and permit its mandates to be carried out by another. But society does make the law.

To the hangman, killing is but obedience to the law. But what law does society obey when it decrees the death penalty and sets in motion the dangerous and deadly agency that destroys a human life? There is no law by which the people of any state are required to authorize capital punishment. They are not forced to do so. They do not act under duress, or any species of compulsion. It is upon their part a voluntary act, deliberately performed, decreeing death to those whom they never saw. Through the hangman, therefore, society

commits a murder every time the death penalty is executed. As to society, in such cases (though not as to the hangman) every element of murder exists as defined in the indictment against the victim. Strike the word "unlawful" from the common law definition of murder, and you make the hangman as much a murderer as the man he hangs. That word defends and acquits the hangman. But to what law does society turn for its defense? Confronted with these wilful and deliberate homicides done through its decree, how can it escape the charge of murder by the very definition it gives of that crime?

In vain do we search the category of justifiable and excusable homicides for a vindication of the State. You do not execute the condemned man while he is resisting an officer, or while he is attempting to commit some forcible or atrocious crime; you do not execute a criminal in a heat of passion, by accident or in self-defense.

What, then, has society to say? Simply this: "It is necessary." The major portion of society thinks it necessary that such an one should die. Therein lies the right to kill; therein lies all the defense that can be interposed to the indictment against society for the crime of murder every time it commits a cold-blooded, intentional, deliberate homicide. The victim may think otherwise. A very considerable minority of the members of society unquestionably do think otherwise. We come, then, to this proposition: The right of any man to live depends solely upon the popular vote. Society having decreed by a majority vote that certain persons shall die, they are executed. Is that a defense to the charge of murder? It may be argued for society that the man who commits a capital crime knows in advance what the penalty will be, and that having notice of the consequences he acts upon his own responsibility and at his own peril, when he incurs the death penalty. This sug-

gests the story of the Texas cow-boy who stole a horse. He was lynched, and the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of *suicide*. But the service of notice of any intention to kill cannot mitigate the crime; it simply emphasizes the murderous intent, and aggravates the element of premeditation, which is the chief constitutive element of the crime of murder.

Having by popular vote determined that in certain cases human beings should be put to death, society has taken unto itself to say when a man shall live and when he shall die; it is the sole judge of the expediency and of the necessity. If it have this right, human existence, then, must depend upon the will of society. If it have the right to say whether or not a man shall die it has, by the same process of reasoning, the same right to say whether he shall be born; and the right which builds the gallows implies the right to commit abortion—or infanticide, as did the Ephori under the constitution of Lycurgus.

It is a distortion of terms and a trifling with words to call this power a right. It is neither more nor less than the exercise of inborn and inherent power, regardless of abstract considerations of right or wrong; and it is the same power which the individual murderer exerts when he slays his victim.

However benevolent the general purpose of legal executions, as to the helpless victim himself, their purpose is annihilation, predetermined and premeditated, and the motive is one of murderous malignity. Whether society should continue to commit these deliberate murders may be an open question; but that society does commit murder in the instances mentioned does not admit of doubt.

From the foregoing considerations it appears that our death penalty is an anomaly in logic and in law; that it is conceived in ignorance, maintained by falsehood and consummated in murder; that it is inconsistent with itself, with

right reason and sound morality, and repudiated by the very logic that seeks to sustain it; that in its administration we do privately that which we would not do openly, we do in part that which we would not do entirely, we do collectively

that which we would not do individually and we convict ourselves of the very crime we condemn in others.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Jefferson City, Mo.

VICTOR HUGO: CRITIC, PROPHET AND PHILOSOPHER.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. A LIGHT-BEARER OF CIVILIZATION.

OF THE sons of the nineteenth century, Victor Hugo, it seems to us, was preëminent as a transmitter of the light. He stood for peace and fraternity, for even-handed justice at home and international concord abroad. He battled for freedom of thought and intellectual hospitality. His mind swept the horizon of civilization from its dawn, and fraternized with the luminous spirits of all ages. He was a chief among the apostles of free institutions and popular government, who believed in making justice, freedom and fraternity the divine trinity which since the dawn of the epoch of the people has been the ever-present, haunting, luminous ideal of all friends of free institutions, the throbbing, life-giving heart of democracy. This was a master thought in the brain of the great exile, to which he is ever recurring in many ways. Because of his breadth of vision, because of his intellectual hospitality, because of his affinity for the greatest and best of all ages, and above all else, because of his love for the people, his broad and deathless humanism, his passion for justice, his fidelity to democracy,—a fidelity that chose exile rather than be false to the cause of the people—Victor Hugo is one of the greatest intellectual powers of the age, and his writings are one

of the mightiest springs of democratic inspiration.

In all his writings, whether novels, poetry or criticism, Hugo is a teacher and philosopher; but in two of his works we see him to the best advantage as the prophet of democracy, the apostle of social justice and the philosopher concerned in the deeper meanings pertaining to man in his relation to God and the universe. The volume entitled *William Shakespeare** is an exhaustive criticism of genius, literature, art and life, and this work has recently been complemented by *Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography*,† a posthumous work that at the poet's wish was not published for a generation after it was written.

II. THE HIGH FUNCTION OF THE POET AND THE TRUE MISSION OF ART.

✓ He who elected to be true to the cause of democracy, of justice and of the people and become an exile for almost a score of years, at a time when he was preëminent in literature, in statescraft

**William Shakespeare*. By Victor Hugo. Translated by Melville B. Anderson. Cloth. Pp. 425. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company.

†*Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography*. Translated, with a Study of the Last Phase of Victor Hugo's Genius, by Lorenzo O'Rourke. Cloth. Pp. 400. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

and in the esteem and love of his people, had the right to admonish others as to their duty to the people and their sacred obligations to free institutions. The poet, who placed the cause of justice and the people above all thought of self had a right to insist that all poets should be loyal to the supreme obligation that devolves on the master thinkers, the poets and the artists at this critical stage of our civilization,—a duty which he graphically outlines in his great work on *William Shakespeare*:

“Sacrifice to ‘the mob,’ O poet! Sacrifice to that unfortunate, disinherited, vanquished, vagabond, shoeless, famished, repudiated, despairing mob; sacrifice to it, if it must be and when it must be, thy repose, thy fortune, thy joy, thy country, thy liberty, thy life. The mob is the human race in misery. The mob is the mournful beginning of the people. The mob is the great victim of darkness. Sacrifice to it! Sacrifice thyself! . . . Sacrifice to it thy gold, and thy blood which is more than thy gold, and thy thought which is more than thy blood, and thy love which is more than thy thought; sacrifice to it everything except justice. Receive its complaint; listen to it touching its faults and touching the faults of others; hear its confession and its accusation. Give it thy ear, thy hand, thy arm, thy heart. Do everything for it, excepting evil. . . . Correct it, warn it, instruct it, guide it, train it. Put it to the school of honesty. Make it spell truth, show it the alphabet of reason, teach it to read virtue, probity, generosity, mercy. Hold thy books wide open. Be there, attentive, vigilant, kind, faithful, humble. Light up the brain, inflame the mind, extinguish selfishness; and thyself give the example. . . . To learn is the first step; to live is but the second. Be at their command: dost thou hear? Be ever there in the form of light! For it is beautiful on this somber earth, during this dark life’s brief passage to something beyond,—

it is beautiful that Force should have Right for a master, that Progress should have Courage as a leader, that Intelligence should have Honor as a sovereign, that Conscience should have Duty as a despot, that Civilization should have Liberty as a queen, and that the servant of Ignorance should be the Light.”)

Literature, poetry, art,—all, Hugo felt, must unite to transform the mob into a rational multitude; to enlighten, elevate, ennoble and render happy and prosperous all the people through justice and the light of education.

“Literature,” he exclaims, “secretes civilization, poetry secretes the ideal. That is why literature is one of the wants of societies; that is why poetry is a hunger of the soul.

“That is why poets are the first instructors of the people.

“To work for the people,—this is the great and urgent need.

“It is important, at the present time, to bear in mind that the human soul has still greater need of the ideal than of the real.

“It is by the real that we exist; it is by the ideal that we live. Would you realize the difference? Animals exist, man lives.)

“To live is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common-sense, right, and duty welded to the heart. . . . Life is conscience.”

At a time when the dilettante and ease-loving poets and artists were courting the favor of throne, aristocracy and wealth by prating about art for art’s sake, and sneering at those who contended that the supreme mission of art was to further justice and the happiness of the people, Victor Hugo became the august voice of civilization, the prophet of progress, denouncing the prophets of Baal, and insisting that the true mission of art was utility,—the forwarding of the interests of all the units that go to make up the social organism.

"Art for art's sake," he exclaims, "may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still. To dream of castles in Spain is well; to dream of Utopia is better. Ah! you must think? Then think of making man better.

"At the point now reached by the social question, all action should be in common. Isolated forces frustrate one another; the ideal and the real are solidary. Art should aid science. These two wheels of progress should turn together.

"Some pure lovers of art, moved by a solicitude which is not without its dignity and its nobility, discard the formula, 'Art for Progress,' the Beautiful Useful, fearing lest the useful should deform the beautiful. They tremble to see the drudge's hand attached to the muse's arm. According to them, the ideal may become perverted by too much contact with reality. They are solicitous for the sublime if it descends as far as to humanity. Ah! they are in error.

"The useful, far from circumscribing the sublime, enlarges it.

"But people protest: To undertake the cure of social evils, to amend the codes, to impeach law in the court of rights, to utter those hideous words, 'penitentiary,' 'convict-keeper,' 'galley-slave,' 'girl of the town,' to inspect the police registers, to contract the business of dispensaries, to study the questions of wages and want of work, to taste the black bread of the poor, to seek labor for the working-woman, to confront fashionable idleness with ragged sloth, to throw down the partition of ignorance, to open schools, to teach little children how to read; to attack shame, infamy, error, vice, crime, want of conscience; to preach the multiplication of spelling-books, to proclaim the equality of the sun, to improve the food of intellects and of hearts, to give meat and drink, to demand solutions for problems and shoes

for naked feet,—these things are not the business of the azure. Art is the azure.

"Yes, art is the azure; but the azure is from above, whence falls the ray which swells the wheat, yellows the maize, rounds the apple, gilds the orange, sweetens the grape. Again I say, a further service is an added beauty. At all events, where is the diminution? To ripen the beet-root, to water the potato, to increase the yield of lucern, of clover, or of hay; to be a fellow-workman with the plough-man, the vine-dresser, and the gardener,—this does not deprive the heavens of one star. Ah! immensity does not despise utility,—and what does it lose by it? Does the vast vital fluid that we call magnetic or electric flash through the cloud-masses with less splendor because it consents to perform the office of pilot to a bark, and to keep constant to the north the little needle intrusted to it, the gigantic guide?

"Yet people insist that to compose social poetry, human poetry, popular poetry; to grumble against the evil and laud the good, to be the spokesman of public wrath, to insult despots, to make knaves despair, to emancipate man before he is of age, to push souls forward and darkness backward, to know that there are thieves and tyrants, to clean penal cells, to flush the sewer of public uncleanness,—shall Polyhymnia bare her arm to these sordid tasks? Fie!

"Why not?

"Homer was the geographer and historian of his time, Moses the legislator of his, Juvenal the judge of his, Dante the theologian of his, Shakespeare the moralist of his, Voltaire the philosopher of his. . . .

"You say: The muse is made to sing, to love, to believe, to pray. Yes and no. Let us understand each other. To sing to whom? The void? To love whom? One's self? To believe what? The dogma? To pray to what? The idol? No; here is the truth: to sing the ideal,

to love humanity, to believe in progress, to pray toward the infinite."

Again, in the recently published *Intellectual Autobiography of Hugo*, he says:

"Art contains the idea of liberty, *liberal arts*; literature contains the idea of humanity, *humaniores litteræ*. Human and earthly amelioration is a resultant of art, unconscious at times, more often conscious. Manners are softened, hearts are drawn together, arms embrace, the strong succor one another, compassion is born, sympathy breaks forth, brotherhood is revealed: because we read, because we think, because we admire. Beauty enters our eyes, a ray, and issues forth, a tear. To love is at the summit of all."

Few writers of his age discerned more clearly the exact character or animating spirit of the feudalism of privilege or the influences that were secretly seeking to destroy the soul of democracy and foster class-rule and class-elevation under the mantle of popular rule, than did this great writer.

"We are living," he tells us, "in a time when orators are heard praising the magnanimity of white bears and the tender feelings of panthers." He thus refers to the familiar cry of prosperity and the All's well! which the masters and their parrots ever echo, and of the need of resisting the siren voice:

"See how happy the serfs are! The streams are to flow with milk, prosperity, liberty for all; your princes groan, like you, over the past; they are excellent. Come, fear nothing, little ones! All very good; but candidly, we are of those who put no faith in the lachrymal gland of crocodiles.

"The reigning public monstrosities impose stern obligations on the conscience of the thinker, the philosopher, or the poet. Incorruptibility must resist corruption. It is more than ever requisite to show men the ideal,—the mirror reflecting the face of God."

With equally clear vision he beheld the peril of any form of government that should be rigid or military in character; any government that did not so safeguard democracy as to make it always and under all conceivable conditions responsive to the voice and the wish of the people. Fifty years ago he discerned this vital truth in relation to free government, which is only now being clearly apprehended by the friends of genuine democracy,—that any centralization of power or enlargement of autocratic sway in government, whereby a reactionary autocracy, a feudalism of privilege, or even a government that aimed to be popular, as did scientific Socialism, unless safeguarded at every point by measures, such, for example, as the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall, would necessarily sooner or later degenerate into the mastership of an autocracy of privileged interests or a political bureaucracy. He saw what we to-day are becoming more and more keenly aware of,—that government may advance under the mantle of democracy or of socialism and nevertheless become an oppressor, a merciless engine, a juggernaut for the many, unless the fundamental ideals of democracy were safeguarded at all times and idealism rather than materialistic concepts or egoism, be made the dominating spirit of government. Hence on one occasion he writes:

"Certain Social theories, very distinct from Socialism as we understand it and desire it, have gone astray. Let us discard all that resembles the convent, the barrack, the cell, and the straight line. . . . Let the nations of Europe beware of a despotism made anew from materials which to some extent they have themselves supplied. Such a thing, cemented with a special philosophy, might easily endure. We have just mentioned the theorists, some of them otherwise upright and sincere, who, through fear of dispersion of activities and energies, and of what they call

'anarchy,' have arrived at an almost Chinese acceptance of absolute social centralization. They turn their resignation into a doctrine. Provided man eats and drinks all is right. The happiness of the beast is the solution. But this is a happiness which others might call by a different name.

"We dream for nations something besides a felicity made up solely of obedience.

"Let these involuntary philosophers of a possible despotism reflect that, to indoctrinate the masses against freedom, to allow appetite and fatalism to get a hold upon the minds of men, to saturate them with materialism and expose them to the results,—this would be to understand progress in the fashion of that worthy man who applauded a new gibbet and exclaimed, 'Excellent! We have had till now only an old wooden gallows; but times have changed for the better, and here we are with a good stone gibbet, which will do for our children and our grandchildren!'"

Victor Hugo, though strongly opposed to a socialism that might degenerate into a despotic bureaucracy, was not afraid of the word Socialism, even though in his time the word was used by reactionaries to discredit all who claimed to favor Socialistic measures. He believed in making the happiness and well-being of all the people the supreme end of government, and thus we find him saying:

"The transformation of the crowd into the people,—profound task! It is to this labor that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. . . . If he claims his place among these philosophers, it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of Socialism, very blind, but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years, and is still raging most bitterly among the influential classes.

Let it not be forgotten that true Socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation.

"The first hunger is ignorance; Socialism wishes, then, above all, to instruct. That does not hinder Socialism from being calumniated, and Socialists from being denounced."

And in his recently published work, he gives the following as the true socialist formula:

"To make the moral man better, the intellectual man greater, the material man happier. Goodness first, greatness next, happiness last."

Few thinkers fifty years ago appreciated so truly as did Victor Hugo the fact that democracy must be progressive, or die; that it must make the happiness, development and prosperity of all the people its chief mission, or its soul would take wings, leaving only a dead body, to be seized upon by class interests to further selfish ends. He knew that "equality of opportunity and of rights" must be made a reality instead of merely a theory or ideal, or democracy would fail to fulfil her pledge to humanity; and he knew that moral idealism and not the materialism of the market must be the mainspring of government that should meet the requirements of advancing civilization.

In his day, as with us, the hour demanded a forward movement. Hugo was one of the pioneers to emphasize this "errand imperious." "The hour has struck," he cries on one occasion, "for hoisting the 'All for all.'"

But he is ever alive to the fact that moral idealism must be the pillar of fire that guides the people, if they are to reach the Canaan of happiness based on justice and fraternity. Materialism presses downward; idealism exalts. "Excessive devotion to the material," he points out, "is the evil of our epoch." And again:

"Man at this day tends to fall into the stomach: man must be replaced in the heart, man must be replaced in the brain. The brain,—this is the bold sovereign that must be restored! The social question requires to-day, more than ever, to be examined on the side of human dignity.

"There is something beyond satisfying one's appetite. The goal of man is not the goal of the animal.

"A moral lift is necessary."

III. THE REVOLUTION; OR, THE DAWN OF THE DEMOCRATIC EPOCH AND ITS MEANING FOR MAN.

Victor Hugo was not of that number who incline to look longingly toward the past. Of late, even among American writers, there are not a few who seem to imagine that the lot of the serf was far less tragic than history shows it to have been. Hugo was never thus deceived. Almost startling in vividness is his pen-picture of the great and mournful mass of serfs during the night of feudalism, as given in his *Intellectual Autobiography*:

"Alas, the Middle Ages are melancholy. Poor feudal serf! let us not cheapen his dream. It is about all that he possesses. His field does not belong to him, his roof does not belong to him, his cow does not belong to him, his family does not belong to him, his breath does not belong to him, his soul does not belong to him. The seigneur owns his carcass, the priest owns his soul. Between them both the serf vegetates: half in one hell, half in the other. . . . His master's only contact with him is through the blow of a stick; his children are puny; his wife, hideous from misery, is hardly a female; he lives in destitution; . . . he is soaked with rain in winter and with sweat in summer; he makes white bread and eats black bread; he owes to the lord all that the lord may desire: respect, statute labor, tithes, his wife. If his wife is old or too horrible,

his daughter is taken. Every tree is a possible gibbet. He bears a heavier yoke around his neck than the ox; if he garners he is a marauder; if he hunts he is a poacher; if he breathes he is impudent; if he looks up he is insolent; if he speaks, cut down this rascal! He is hot, he is cold, he is hungry, he is afraid. His work is toil in the morning and exhaustion in the evening. At nightfall he returns home, weary, sad, humble, and sleeps. What is his bed? A little straw. What is his pillow? A log. 'A good round log,' says Harrison. Behold him sleeping, this worm of the earth. He indeed deserves this visit to the infinite."

This description forms an admirable background for the poet's discussion of the Revolution that ushered in democracy, Hugo regarded this great epoch, which was inaugurated at Lexington and which voiced its august demands in our Declaration of Independence, which from Yorktown crossed the sea, making France its great storm center, and from there recrossed the Atlantic, pausing at Hayti en route for the Latin Republics, as the capital moment in history, for it ushered in the day of democracy. It declared that the age of mastership of the many by the few must give way to the age of man, or the mastership of the people. And though he keenly appreciated the fact that democracy had only partially fulfilled her mission, he saw, and rightly saw, that she had inaugurated the new order; she had repudiated the idea that the king was the State or that the aristocracy was the government, or, indeed, that any privileged class should be permitted to be the masters of the many; and in its place she had set up the standard of government of the people, by the people and for the people. She had raised a definite ideal for practical realization—justice, liberty and fraternity. She had given to man a working formula—equality of opportunities and of rights. She had given the people political eman-

cipation, and if she stopped short of the fulfillment of her trust by failing to provide for economic emancipation, her face was set toward that goal and upon her children devolved the duty of completing the work she had so gloriously begun.

Like all Frenchmen, he placed the principal emphasis of the revolution that inaugurated democracy, on that portion of the struggle which found Paris as its storm center; and in this he was not altogether wrong, because the ideal and inspiration of the master spirits of our great revolution was largely imbibed from the great French philosophical thinkers who had laid broad and deep the foundations for the age of democracy, and it was on the historic soil of France where the old and the new grappled each other by the throat and fought the desperate battle that made every throne in Western Europe tremble. In the following paragraphs the great Frenchman treats the revolution in two ways: one a characterization, the other a figurative representation. Both are Hugoesque, both highly suggestive:

"The Revolution is humanity's change of life. Say what you will about it: whether good or evil, the fact dominates you. It is the grand crisis of universal virility.

"The Revolution is the knife with which Civilization cuts its bonds.

"Revolutions, formidable liquidations of history; elemental creations of laws, codes, facts, manners, progress, prodigies; mighty movements of peoples and of ideas which mingle all men in the same jocund convulsion, which unleash electric freedom, which make the two worlds tremble with the same trembling, which launch at a single flash two thunder shocks, one in Europe, the other in America; which, in overthrowing the monarchy in France, lay low tyranny throughout the universe; which enlighten, illumine, warm, burn, thunderstrike;

which cause to issue from gigantic demolition the radiant future of the human race; which cause the birth of dawn in the sepulcher, couple amazing extremes, agonize and wail, curse and sing, hate and adore, resolve all in heroism, in joy and in love, send the old lock of despotism with all its gnashing of teeth to die a quiet death in the humble work-cabinet of Mount Vernon, and finally make of the key of the Bastille the paper-weight of Washington.

"So be it. The Revolution's name is the Terror. Louis the Fifteenth's name is the Horror.

"Not a cloud, the heavens are pure, the sun shines, the land is bathed in light; they spread their sails, they sing, they abandon themselves gaily to the current of the stream; the river, magnificent and exhaustless, widens more and more; it is as large as a sea, it is as calm as a lake; it bears along islands of flowers, it mirrors the heavens in which there is not a shadow. Whither are they going? They do not know; but all is beautiful, superb and charming.

"Afar off they hear before them in the depths of the unknown horizon a hoarse, deep sound.

"Whither are they going? What matters it! They are going whither goes the river. They know well that they shall land somewhere. They proceed. They are intoxicated with the songs of the birds, with the perfume of flowers that they see on all sides and that they pluck in passing, with the swift-flowing water, with the splendor of the heavens, with their own joy. The sounds on the horizon are drawing nearer; a few hours ago the breath of the wind stopped it; now it is heard steadily.

"At certain moments the current languishes, when they resort to the oars to go more quickly. It is so delightful to travel swiftly. To pass like shadows before shadows—this appears to them the whole of life. They are so happy that they forget there is such a thing as night.

"The noise is approaching nearer every moment; it resembles the rolling of a chariot. They begin to ask one another: What is this noise?"

"The river is full of turnings. Soon a corner of the heavens becomes clouded. Something that one would take for a wreath of smoke disengages itself from one part of the horizon and swells into a great cloud. This cloud which seems to rise from the earth is now at the right, now at the left. Has it changed its place, or is it the river which has a turn? They do not know, but they wonder. It is one more spectacle among so many spectacles.

"The noise is now like thunder. It changes place with the cloud they are looking at. Where the cloud is, there is the noise.

"They proceed onward, they sing, they laugh; they are greatly expectant, but in this expectation there is nothing but hope. Among them are scholars, thinkers, men rich with all sorts of riches, philosophers, sages.

"Suddenly, heavens! the river gives a turn; the cloud is before them, the noise is before them; it is no longer the cloud, it is the whirlpool of twenty water-spouts tangled and twisted by the hurricane, it is the smoke of a volcano with a crater two leagues wide. The noise is frightful. Thunder resembled that noise as the barking of a dog resembles the roar of a lion. The current is swift and furious, the surface of the river curves like an arc, inward toward the earth. What is it that lies a few paces before them? A gulf.

"A gulf! they row backward, they would remount the stream. It is too late. That current is not to be remounted. Soon they perceive that the river is actually alive; that they have deceived themselves; that what they took for a river was a people; that what they took for waves were men; they believed they were sailing over inert water that hardly foamed beneath the oar, and they were plowing through

souls, profound, obscure, violent, bruised, tumultuous souls, full of hate and fury. It is too late! it is too late! The precipice is before them. These waves, this river, these men, these souls, this people, up-rooted trees, centuried granite, rocks torn from the banks, gilt ships, flag-decked sloops, flower islands, all hurries on, wavers, strikes and intermingles,—all founders."*

One of the most difficult lessons that humanity has to learn is that he who would be great must be servant. Men who are favored by the accident of birth, the accident of wealth or the accident of office, are prone to imagine that they have a right divine to mastership. They soon come to think that they are of finer clay than their less fortunate brothers. They seem to imagine that the privileged few are the State, the society, the social organism, or the real world. The mighty moving mass of life on whose bodies they are borne forward or on whose backs they rest, are forgotten. Hugo's imagery in the above carries with it a startling warning to the privileged ones overmastered by egoism and selfish desires.

IV. THE PHILOSOPHER CONFRONTING SUPREME PROBLEMS.

Victor Hugo was far more than a prophet of democracy and an apostle of social progress. His passion for justice, the outgoing of his heart toward all the people, and especially to the oppressed, the needy and the unfortunate, and his deathless zeal for full-orbed democracy were magnificently complemented by his profound contemplation and musings touching the deepest things of life,—the problem of Creation, of Deity, and the meaning of man. For years he wandered on the shores of Jersey and Guernsey, on sea-girt isles, companioned by the ocean and the stars. Before him lay immensity, above him infinity. He heard the deep voicing her every mood. He peered into the limitless ether as did

Job thousands of years before in far-off Arabia and as did the profound philosophers of India, of Persia and of Greece, ere Christianity was born. The questions uttered by the poet of Arabia in the night-time of his affliction and which must ever stimulate thought along many lines of meditation, leading the reason out on to the farthest verge of the promontory of contemplation, have engrossed the deepest thought of many of the most profound philosophers and master men of genius, from the dawn of civilization to the present hour.

Naturally enough, Victor Hugo came under the spell of these problems. In his *Intellectual Autobiography* by far the most absorbing chapters are devoted to the great problems of Creation, of God, and the nature and destiny of the soul. Things of the Infinite, life and death, Deity, the mission of conscience, the to-morrow of life, are some of the master themes that engross his thought.

In the first place, he takes us out under the blue-domed canopy and on the wings of the imagination, guided by the accumulated knowledge of the astronomical world, he moves from planet to planet, through our solar system. Next he visits the stars that shine in the various constellations. Suns and systems, worlds beyond number, lie before us in the mighty universe. The imagination staggers before the immensity of creation as unrolled on the map of the ether. But this is not all. Beyond the universe of suns and planets lie the nebulae. Infinity stretches on every hand. Marvels crowd upon marvels; systems of worlds impinge on systems of worlds; and everywhere are revealed law, order, purpose, rhythm, beauty, power, and precision.

Turning from this marvelous panorama of the universe as rendered visible to the eye through the telescope and illuminated by the researches of the scholarship of the earth, Hugo asks this question, before taking up the problem of life and death:

"What! I, a worm of the earth am

possessed of an intelligence, and this immensity is without one!"

V. VICTOR HUGO ON LIFE AND DEATH.

No writer ever employed antitheses or startling contrasts more effectively than did this great Frenchman. He frequently also had a way of preparing the mind for the thought he wished to impress, by emphasizing some truth not immediately connected with the subject discussed, and yet which was so interwoven with it that that which was introductory exerted a certain positive influence on the mind in convincing it of the soundness of the later deductions. An example of this nature is seen when from a brilliant panoramic view of the universe, while the mind is completely under the spell he has created by his vivid characterizations, he turns to consider man's place in this universe,—the meaning of man, of life considered in relation to the crisis we call death. Man is infinitesimal in comparison with the universe, yet he is the supreme manifestation of life on our globe.

"What is death for man?

"Is it merely the end of something? Is it the end of all?

"Two problems which the thinker is constantly proposing to himself, since upon their solution depend the problems of morality.

"If death be the end of all, it would be necessary to draw this conclusion: Light exists in the material world, but not in the moral world. The sun, on rising each morning, tells us: I am a symbol; I am the symbol of another sun which one day shall enlighten your souls as to-day I enlighten your bodily eyes.—Well, the sun lies! We should have to accept as true that horrible thing before which antiquity recoiled: *solem falsum*.

"Man is a creature thoroughly distinct from the brute, in that the brute is fatally and without exception an innocent being, while man is capable of both

good and evil. The brute is passive, man is free.

"What is it that makes him free? It is the soul.

"Therefore the soul exists.

"All these words: love, loyalty, modesty, devotion, faith, duty, conscience, probity, honor, virtue, are no longer words; they are actual things of the soul; they are the faculties which are consequent on its liberty. To the radiant faculties correspond the faculties of darkness: hate, vice, shame, turpitude, egotism, wickedness, falsehood, cruelty, crime. Between good and evil, man may choose; he is free.

"Now whoever asserts freedom, asserts responsibility.

"Responsibility in this life? Evidently not. For nothing is more demonstrable than the possible and frequent prosperity of the wicked, and the unmerited misfortune of the good during their sojourn on earth. How many just men have had nothing but misery and anguish to endure up to their last day! How many criminals have lived till extreme age in the peaceful and serene enjoyment of the good things of this world, including the respect and consideration of all.

"Is man, then, responsible after life? Evidently so, since he is not during life.

"In that case something of him survives in order that he may bear this responsibility: the soul.

"Free will in the soul implies its immortality.

"Therefore death is not the end of all. It is but the end of one thing and the commencement of another. At death man ends, the soul begins.

"I am a soul. I know well that what I shall render up to the grave is not myself. That which is myself will go elsewhere.

"Earth, thou art not my abyss!

"The more I think, the more this truth reveals itself to me: man is nothing more than a captive.

"The prisoner painfully scales the walls of his dungeon, climbs from projection to projection, places his foot wherever there is a stone wanting, and finally mounts to the air-hole. From there he gazes out and distinguishes afar off—the country, forests, meadows, hills, houses, cities, living beings, the paths he has formerly traveled and will doubtless travel again; he breathes the free air, he sees the light.

"It is the same with man.

"Astronomy, chemistry, geology, the calculation of time, the measurement of suns, all the discoveries, all that has escaped to the surface, all those things that we have surprised from eternity, the authentication of the infinite as something existing outwardly, dazzling the intelligence with its prodigious radiance all those things whose meaning we did not possess, art, science, poetry, revery, calculus, algebra,—all these are but glimpses through the bars of a prison.

"The prisoner does not doubt that, upon the day the gates are thrown open, he will recover the fields, the woods, the plains, the country where his true life is—liberty. He sees all this, he knows all this exists.

"How can man doubt that he shall find eternity upon his release?

"Materialism is logically and fatally egoism.

"Life is the power by which the body links the soul to earth; death is the power of the soul to lift the body beyond earth by means of elimination. In terrestrial life the soul loses that which is radiant; in extra-terrestrial life the body loses that which weighs it down.

"If there were no other life God would not be honorable.

"Death, desolation for the heart, is triumph for the soul.

"Our life dreams the Utopia. Our death achieves the ideal.

"Death is not unjust. It is a continuation.

"Let us habituate ourselves to gaze without fear upon this mysterious prolongation of man into eternity. Let us try to pierce with our gaze as far as possible into the sepulcher.

"Let us lean upon the brink of life and contemplate this august obscurity. We shall be better off there. Death is holy and wholesome. All that we can see of it is full of consolation.

"My glance pierces the farthest possible into this shadow, and I see, at a depth which would be frightful, were it not sublime, the immense dawn of eternal day."*

VI. THE POET'S VIEWS ON GOD, RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE.

Very interesting are the pages of the *Intellectual Autobiography* devoted to the mature conclusions of Hugo in regard to God, his criticisms of religions,—the moons which so imperfectly reflect the pure light of Divinity, his protest against the attempt to limit God and to limit the home of the soul; while we know nothing in modern writings finer than his characterization of the conscience.

Space prevents our giving more than a few selections from the poet's discussions on these subjects, but the extracts given will enable the reader to grasp the ideas which represent the final conclusions of the poet. In speaking of Deity, he says:

"We may not say: God is honorable, God is virtuous, God is chaste, God is sincere.

"But we may say: God is just, God is good, God is great, God is truth.

"Why?

"Because honesty, virtue, chastity, sincerity, belong to the relative.

"And justice, goodness, greatness, truth belong to the absolute.

"Why may one not say that God is virtuous?

"Because He is perfect.

"A being who can have no relative quality, and who has all the intrinsic

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qualities, exists of necessity. God proves Himself by His attribute of the absolute.

"Creation is moved by two kinds of motors, both invisible: souls and forces.

"Forces are mathematical, souls are free. Forces, being algebraic, can not deviate; aberration is possible in souls. It has been provided for; freedom has a regulator, conscience.

"Conscience is no other thing than a sort of mysterious geometry of the moral order.

"As for the being whom we name God and whom we may also name The Center, He participates in two natures of which He is the point of intersection.

"God secludes Himself; but the thinker listens at the door.

"Whoever has the conception of duty, whoever has the sentiment of right, whoever has the perception of justice and injustice, whoever has a disinterested aim, whoever is self-forgetful in life and allows another to pass on before him, whoever wishes for human kind, whoever has a heart that beats in unison with the heart of humanity, whoever feels himself brother to the poor, the small, the minor, the frail, the infirm, the suffering, the ignorant, the disinherited, the slave, the serf, the negro, the convict, the condemned, whoever desires light for the blind and the idea for the oppressed, whoever becomes wretched at the wretchedness of others, whoever works hardest for others, weeps at their weeping and sobs over their wounds, whoever prefers the sacrifice of self to that of his neighbor, whoever has the vision of truth, whoever has felt the enchantment of the beautiful, whoever listens to a melody, whoever contemplates a flower, whiteness, candor, brightness, a woman, whoever admires a genius, whoever feels emotion at a star, whoever says within himself, 'This is good, this is evil,' whoever will not crush a fly uselessly, whoever loves and feels the infinite in his love, whoever recognizes that there is a crooked path and a straight line, whoever acts from con-

science, whoever has an ideal to which he consecrates himself,—such a one, whoever he may be, whether he knows it or not, believes in God.

"Whoever utters the words, conscience, virtue, goodness, love, reason, light, justice, truth, perceives, whether he knows it or not, one of the mysterious profiles of that sublime face: God.

"This thing is inconceivable: to behold the rays and deny the sun. The atheist is identical with the blind man."*

Hugo is very insistent on the infinite character of Deity being at all times recognized. He objects to the trinitarian idea as limiting Deity. On this point he says:

"The poet has triple sight: observation, imagination, intuition. Observation applies more especially to humanity, imagination to nature, intuition to the supernatural.

"Through observation, the poet is philosopher and perhaps legislator; through imagination, he is magi and creator; through intuition, he is priest, perhaps seer.

"As a revealer of facts, he becomes prophet; revealer of ideas, he is apostle. In the first case, Isaiah; in the second, St. Paul.

"This triple power inherent in genius—that is to say, human intelligence sublimated—man, by the most natural of optical illusions, has transferred to God. Hence the immemorial and universal triangle worshiped at Delphi, at Saropta, at Teglath-Phalazar. . . . But the founders of religion have erred, analogy is not always logic, genius may be trinity without God having to suffer from this limitation. Trinite? in what sense? The infinite is not three. First, second, third, the illimitable knows nothing of this. The absolute is no more limited by number than by space. Intelligence, power, love, intuition, imagination, observation: this is not God, it is man.

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God is all that and more. God has an infinite quality of infinite faculties. It is strange that you should count God on your fingers.

"Philosophically and scientifically, one may say that whoever believes in the Trinity does not believe in God."*

Again he observes:

"With regard to this Being, the Eternal, the Uncreated, the Perfect, the Powerful, the Immanent, the Permanent, the Absolute—he is an old man with a white beard, he is a youth with a nimbus; he is a father, he is son, he is man, he is animal; an ox with some, a lamb with others, sometimes a dove, sometimes an elephant. He has a mouth, eyes, ears; his face has been seen. With regard to his faculties, they are conceded to be infinite, but as we have just recalled, they have given him but three, withholding the infinitude accorded as regards extent, and without perceiving that if an absolute being has a name it is not Trinity but Infinity. This Being is irritable; he is passionate, he is jealous, he revenges himself, he is fatigued, he rests, he has need of a Sunday. He lives in a place, he is here and not there. He is the God of armies, he is the God of the English, but not of the French; he is the God of the French, but not of the Austrians. He has a mother. There are kings who promise to Notre Dame of Embrun a tiara of vermilion for fear that she may be angry because of the robe of gold brocade that they have offered to Notre Dame of Tours. He has a form; they chisel him, they paint him, they gild him, they enrich him with diamonds. They swallow him, they drink him. They surround him with a frontier of dogmas. Each cult places him in a book; he is prohibited from going elsewhere. The Talmud is his heath, the Zend-Avesta is his case, the Koran is his scabbard, the Bible is his box. He has clasps. The priests keep him under

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cover. They alone have the right to touch him. From time to time they take him in their hands and let him be seen.”*

Every great people has reached out and upward searching for God. Every great people has had its religion or religions, which have reflected the supreme conclusions of the master spirits of given times. These religions have unquestionably on the whole been very helpful to the peoples to whom they have appealed in a compelling way. Yet the poet insists that in the nature of the case they are but reflections of the divine light, much as the moon reflects the light of the sun, and they who receive religious truth only through the sacred books receive intellectual images more or less distorted by the reflector.

“Religions,” he tells us, “moons of God, give light to man in the night. Hence those phantoms, those illusions, those optical falsehoods, those terrors, those apparitions, those visions which fill the horizon of the peoples, among whom religion’s day has not yet dawned.

“The ghost which looms from this doubtful brightness is called superstition.

“Every ray that comes directly from the sun bears at its extremity the figure of the sun, and whatever the form of the opening through which it reaches us, whether this opening be square, polygonal or triangular, it ignores this form, and invariably imprints upon the surface which arrests it a circular image. Thus all light which comes directly from God imprints upon our mind—no matter what may be the character of the brain—the exact idea of God, and leaves thereon His real imprint.

“At the same time, just as the rays of the moon lose the figure of the sun and bring to us instead of its image a certain aspect of the medium through which they pass, the idea of God, reflected by religions and proceeding from them, loses,

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so to speak, the form of God and takes on all the more or less miserable configurations of the human brain.

“In politics, I put the country above party. In religion, I put God above dogma. If I were sure that this grave statement would be heard and understood seriously I would say that I am of all religions as I am of all parties. Here *of* signifies in the same manner. I believe in the God of all men, I believe in the love of all hearts, I believe in the truth of all souls.

“This prophet is a seer. This conscience, which brings enlightenment to an age, sees farther than that age but participates in the age. It has its transparency or opacity, it has its purity or its rawness, it has its savagery or its refinement. It has in certain measure the same color and the same density. Hence, according to the surface proper to each age and each mirror, a more or less clear-cut image of the star, sometimes a vague glimmering as with Socrates, sometimes shadow as with Spinoza, sometimes the specter as with Torquemada.

“Hence among the peoples all those fierce reverberations of God-idolatries. Hence all that falsehood projected by truth.

“Sometimes the brain of the prophet is prism as well as mirror, and irises with superstition and fable the contour of God. Sometimes this brain is in shadow and reflects Being on a black background; then you have the pagoda of Juggernaut, and earth has a place, a region, a given point where the reflection of God is the Demon. Misinterpretation of the translator goes to such a length.

“Religions are a slight approach to the absolute. A religion is a mask. But what does the mask prove? The face. The mask may be hideous though the face is sublime; it is so on high. The prophets are at work upon living eternity. They endeavor to extract it for your needs; they give you all they

can. Take of it yourselves if they no longer give it to you pure and in abundant measure. A religion is a translation of God proportionate to your spiritual endowment.

"You have not the strength to be religious? Then become a devotee."*

Hugo protests against man's attempt to picture in words the future state of the soul. In speaking of the teachings of the various religions in regard to a future abode for the soul he says:

"They talk of heaven, but they make of it a temple, a palace, a city. It is called Olympus, it is called Sion. Heaven has towers, heaven has domes, heaven has gardens, heaven has staircases, heaven has a gate and a porter. The bunch of keys is confided by Brahma to Bhawany, by Allah to Abou-Bekr, and by Jehovah to Saint Peter."*

"Conscience," Hugo holds, "is the interior solar spectrum. The sun illumines the body, God illumines the mind.

"In the depths of the human brain there is, as it were, the moon of God.

"To be one end of the ray of which the ideal is the other; to sing in low-toned voice to the life of the present the mysterious song of the life of the future; to strive to infuse spirit into the flesh, virtue into the word, God into man—such is the sublime office of that winged splendor, conscience.

"The endeavor of man, the divine function of freedom, the end of life is to establish on earth in the form of actual works the three ideal notions, to strive that the true, the beautiful, the just be made flesh, in a word to leave after him his conscience translated into action. Human progress lives upon this triple manifestation unceasingly renewed.

"There is no genius who has not labored, there is no great man who has not brought his conscience, his soul, his stone,

to one of the three pillars of that pediment of the infinite which we name Truth, Beauty, Justice. Certain ones have labored at two. He who should labor at three would approach God.

"To place conscience beyond self, slowly, day by day, to transform it into external reality, into actions or words; to be born with ideas, to die with works; in a word, to upbuild the ideal, to construct it in art and be a poet, to construct it in science and be a philosopher, to construct it in life and be just—such is the goal of human destiny."*

We close this consideration of the views of this great and many-sided man of genius with the following beautiful observations and admonitions:

"Since it is given to no one whatsoever to escape the dream, let us accept it. Only let us try to have the right one. Men hate, are brutes, fight, lie; consider the first civilization that occurs, whether ancient or modern, consider any age whatever, your own or some other, and you see nothing but imposters, fighters, conquerors, robbers, murderers, executioners, wicked men, hypocrites; all this is somnambulism. Leave to this blood-stained host their fury and their gluttony. Leave to the violent and to the forces of blindness their hurricane fury. The tempest of human passion—how pitiful! Simulacra pursuing chimeras!

"Leave their dream unto the shadows. But share you your bread with little children, see that no one goes about you with naked feet, look kindly upon mothers nursing their children on the doorstep of humble cottages, walk through the world without malevolence, do not knowingly crush the humblest flower, respect the nests of birds, bow to the purple from afar and to the poor at close range. Rise to labor, go to rest with prayer, go to sleep in the unknown, having for your pillow the infinite; love, believe, hope,

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live, be like him who has a watering-pot in his hand, only let your watering-pot be filled with good deeds and good works; never be discouraged, be magi and be father, and if you have lands cultivate them, and if you have sons rear them,

and if you have enemies bless them—all with that sweet and unobtrusive authority that comes to the soul in patient expectation of the eternal dawn."*

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE MEANING OF THE INVASION OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISM.

BY HENRY FRANK.

THOUGHTFUL citizens of this country needs must be "cudgeling their brains" with the question: What is the meaning of the recent rapid increase of the organized Socialists of the nation and what sinister or salutary prophecy may inhere in their prospective uprising as a political power?

That Socialism, Herbert Spencer's ideal of the Coming Slavery, in the form of a distinctive political party, should be gaining a strong footing in this, the supposed freest of all governments, is a fact which must compel conservative political economists to open wide their eyes and seek, if possible, a new interpretation of their pet theories.

Until but recently it had been supposed that Socialism, as such, was an exotic which would but ill endure transplanting on American soil; that, indeed, it was emphatically a doctrine of German or French extraction which could find but little adaptation to the needs of this country.

On Herbert Spencer's assumption that Socialism is but a complement of autocracy, and that when it shall have been finally established as the new order of society the most mechanical and stereotyped form of social slavery, of which the human race has yet seen an exemplification, will be witnessed, it is hard to understand why this new political conception

should find any favor in a democracy advanced as our own.

On the contrary if Socialism, as its scientific advocates insist, is more truly a complement of democracy than it is of autocracy, and that when it is fully established for the first time in human history will individual freedom be realized, a reason for its adaptation to the conditions of our nation may be discerned.

Nevertheless, until very recently it was supposed to be an indisputable fact that Socialism was inherently foreign to the American idea, and being essentially of French and German extraction, would ever be ill suited to the requirements of our political conditions. It has been argued that where paternalism in government has become so predominant an idea in the political activities of a people as it has on the Continent of Europe, it would appeal to such people as but a natural step to transfer the entire machinery of government from hereditary rulers to the people at large. The people would then merely take the place of the former reigning families, the form of government not being essentially altered, the only alteration taking place in its officering and execution. Concerning this idea, so prevalent on the Continent, Herbert Spencer in a tone of caution

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says: "Impressed with the miseries existing under our present social arrangements, and not regarding these miseries as caused by the ill working of a human nature but partially adapted to the social state, they imagine them to be forthwith curable by this or that arrangement." Hence they appeal to the existing government to relieve them by this and that legislation. Among a people who have been reared in the political conception of their dependence upon class government, when the notion prevails that the ruling class is hazardous to the class that is ruled, which of course is ever in the majority, the idea that the larger class shall itself absorb the smaller and become the absolute legislator and common executive seems to follow as a natural corollary. Hence in Germany and on the Continent at large the socialistic political conception, which was primarily paternalistic, found speedy rooting and became widely cultivated.

But in this country, where the people are already supposed to be in possession of the reins of government, where shall we seek an explanation of a civic and political uprising so similar to that which has during the last decade so thoroughly swept the European continent?

As an illustration of the common belief that the total emphasis and appropriation of the philosophy of Socialism is to be found in Germany alone, the home of its birth, I will here quote some passages from *Anglo-Saxon Superiority*, by Demoulins, a work which ran through numerous French editions and was finally published in English in 1898, from which edition these extracts are taken, he says:

"That Germany is a focus of Socialism is unanimously acknowledged by all writers who have treated the subject and by Socialists themselves. 'A remarkable thing,' says a member of the Reichstag, Bamberger, 'is that Socialistic ideas have found nowhere a better welcome than in Germany. Not only do these ideas fascinate the work people, but the middle

class cannot resist them, and we often hear persons of that class saying, 'Why, indeed perhaps everything may go on better thus; why should there not be a trial?' Moreover, Socialism has reached the *Upper Classes*, it has a seat in the *Academies*, it speaks from the lecture chair in the *Universities*. The password now repeated by workmen's associations has been spoken by *Savants*; *Conservatives* have led the attack against Mammonism, and have been the loudest in uttering their grievance against Capitalism. We do not see anything like this outside of Germany.'"

This writer published his book with a view of showing the world that the Anglo-Saxon peoples were superior to all others because they ever resisted the fancy of potential world solidarity, and kept themselves aloof from the delusions of a political economy that discouraged the workings and results of economic Individualism. Therefore he gloats over the fact that everywhere, as he insists, German Socialism has been resisted in the Anglo-Saxon world, and undertakes to demonstrate this fact in the following quotations:

"This throws light upon another fact, namely, that Socialism does not find in all countries an equally prepared soil. Although the countries we have just instanced (France, Belgium, Russia, Switzerland, Italy) seem well disposed for receiving the seed; there are countries where the seed does not seem to germinate easily.

"Such are Norway, Great Britain and the United States, and other countries inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon race. . . . The historians of socialism betray a most curious embarrassment when transferring their attention to England: they have nothing or almost nothing to relate . . . for the very good reason that 'there is nothing to say.' Another author trying to explain the circumstance writes: 'The English are essentially Individualists.

They want to be left to manage their own affairs in their own way. They object by temperament to any enrollment, to any surrender of their personal rule of conduct to some common action. Such is, I believe, one of the reasons which makes them hostile to Socialism.'

"If now we proceed to the United States we find that there again Socialism has been unable to produce any impression on the Anglo-Saxon race. This race resists Socialism as the American vine resists *Phyloxera*. In America the adepts of Socialism are nearly all recruited from the Germans and Irish. . . . The Socialists have not succeeded in starting one single Socialist newspaper printed in English in the whole United States. The ten daily newspapers that do exist are printed in German. This is a significant fact. . . .

"Thus in the Anglo-Saxon world, as everywhere else, Socialism is propagated only by Germans. But with them (the Anglo-Saxons) the propaganda is a complete failure. . . . What may be the cause of it is to be found in the essential fact that the formation of the Anglo-Saxon race is as deeply Particularistic as that of the German race is Communistic. Whilst with the latter, the public Powers—the State—have assumed an importance which stunted private and local initiative, with the former, on the contrary, the public powers never were developed to such a point, but were kept in check by the combined private and local forces. Germany is the greatest contemporary center of Authority; the Anglo-Saxon world is the greatest center of Self-Help and Self-Government."

Undoubtedly the learned author's facts and conclusions were wholly true at the time his work was published only a decade ago, also without a doubt his psychological analysis of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races is true beyond dispute. But the facts and philosophy which he sets forth only the more cause

students of recent political events to marvel at the threatened political revolution. A decade ago Demoullins could honestly assert that "the Socialist party exists as yet (in the United States) only in name; for nowhere can it yet affirm itself as a political party."

But what are the facts to-day? Not only has the philosophy of Socialism invaded a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon race in America, but it has especially seized strongly on the cultured and refined among the masses. It has entered the Universities and often insists on asserting its voice loudly in the chairs established and endowed by eminent capitalists. It has hurled itself with somewhat furious intrusion into the pulpit, and does not hesitate to speak its raucous accent even where corporate interests are known to cast an overshadowing pall upon the pews. It has evolved from the old Germanistic Socialist-Labor party a strongly Americanized Social Democracy, which was able to cast nearly a half-million votes in the Presidential election of 1904, although in the first election in which the Socialist-Labor Party participated, only six years before, it could muster but slightly more than two thousand votes. It has not only now succeeded in establishing itself as a party "with more than a name," but its right to the party emblem has been sustained in nearly all the states of the union in local and national elections. It sustains several able English periodicals and at least one daily.

More than this, although our author and critic is indisputably correct in asserting that the temperamental proclivities of the Anglo-Saxon incline him to the Particularistic form of government and society, whereas those of the German race incline them to the Communistic, yet, because of the overweening influence and appalling encroachments of Capitalism on the liberty of the individual, we see in this great country—the primal seat of freedom and personal liberty—the spectacle of one of its most influential

and distinguished presidents boldly advocating the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism, and actually whipping the corporations and criminal capitalists into obedience or subjecting them to prosecution in the courts.

M. Demoulin apparently has founded his conclusions on too roseate a view of the economic conditions that prevail among the nations of the Anglo-Saxon races. Because they have come to dominate, economically and industrially, the nations of the world, as he sets forth, on the strength of the individual force that their Particularistic predilections have inculcated, he assumes that the people under a Capitalistic program of social development are really freer and more highly developed than among nations where the communistic forces prevail more effectively.

To a degree he is right. But manifestly such views are too superficial. Is this really a Nation establishing a constitution of individual freedom consonant with its reputation? Is this a Nation devoid of class-rule and class-strife? Is this a Nation in which every citizen is equally important in the eyes of the law and where justice is meted out evenly to all? Is this a Nation, Thomas Jefferson and the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding, wherein every citizen without prejudice enjoys the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Is this Nation really free from an enviable Bourgeoisie—a smug, self-satisfied, selfish and uncharitable class, whose wealth is hourly increasing mountain-high,—and a Proletariat—the toiling multitude, whose sweat is daily hardened into coin which their shrewd masters shall cunningly filch from them, and whose comparative poverty is ceaselessly increasing with the rising and the setting of the sun?

Unless these questions can be truthfully answered in the affirmative then it will be difficult to differentiate it economically from the more settled and stereotyped civilizations of the continent across the

Atlantic, and may hint of a reason why alleged Germanistic socialism is rapidly rooting itself on our supposed freest of political soils. Is it not possible that we have been reading into our own national life an interpretation on which we have established as false a reputation for our actual political conditions as those which M. Demoulin so cheerfully attributes to us? May it not be that even though, as he truthfully asserts the particularistic predilections are so deeply inwoven in the very tissues of the Anglo-Saxon that instinctively he repels every intimation of a communistic government, nevertheless that social forces are so verging on economic and industrial despotism among us that here, as well as on the transatlantic Continent, the theories of Socialism are beginning to be cheerfully welcomed?

The fundamental ground on which Socialism is accepted and made popular in the European countries is not, as M. Demoulin intimates, because there inheres in the Teutonic race the disposition to Paternalism—the communistic bias—but because industrial and political conditions are so oppressive that the burden of a personal government can be no longer endured, and the relief is believed to be found in the associated control and utilization of the collective capital. The people now realize their actual industrial slavery, despite their partial apparent constitutional freedom, and refuse to be longer deceived and duped by the dynastic powers which have for so many centuries held them in awe by the authority of personal Capitalism.

This is the real, the fundamental cause of the rise and rapid spread of the Socialistic revolt on the Continent, and to a degree in England.

Human nature being everywhere the same, notwithstanding the varying dispositions caused by climate and territorial environment, it must be that if Socialism spreads on this Western Continent the fundamental cause of its uprising is identical with that of the European uprising. Now is it?

Herbert Spencer naïvely intimates that human nature is the same everywhere and then instantly forgets that being the same, the same conditions will naturally cause everywhere the same effects. He insists that the reason why people fly to legislators for relief is because of the "ill-working of a human nature but partially adapted to the social state," forgetting apparently that the "state" is shaped by this very human nature and must be made to adapt itself to human nature, and not to expect that human nature shall force itself into adaptation to a "state" which is inharmonious with itself.

Now, in order to discern how it is in truth the force of "human nature" that is playing in all this tremendous industrial revolution which is sweeping the nations, and that wherever it appears it is directly and only the result of this natural cause, let us study Herbert Spencer's definition of a "social slave" that we may make some comparisons. He is arguing vigorously against the popularization of the Socialistic propaganda and asks: "But why is this change described as 'the coming Slavery'? The reply is simple. All socialism involves slavery." He will now proceed to condemn the socialistic system because of this inherent slavery. He asks "What is essential to the idea of a slave? We primarily think of him as one who is owned by another. To be more than nominal, however, the ownership must be shown by control of the slave's actions—a control which is habitually for the benefit of the controller. That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labors under coercion to satisfy another's desires. The relation admits of sundry gradations. Remembering that originally a slave is a prisoner whose life is at the mercy of his captor, it suffices here to note that there is a harsh form of slavery in which, treated as an animal he has to expend his entire effort for his owner's advantage." Here he presents the varying gradations of the slave-conditions and then proceeds: "What

is it which, in these cases, leads us to qualify our conception of slavery as more or less severe? Evidently the greater or smaller extent to which effort is compulsorily expended for the benefit of another instead of for self-benefit."

Tested by this definition of a slave is the American continent yet free from that industrial odium notwithstanding a four-years' bloody conflict to eradicate African slavery in the South? One would need but accept Herbert Spencer's definition and then seek its application to the industrial conditions now existing in our factories, sweat-shops, and indeed the entire commercial system controlled by corporate interests, to find speedily that such slavery is indeed still flagrantly extant upon our continent.

So well fitted are his terms to the prevalent industrial conditions that one would be inclined to think he is employing sarcastic terms in seeking to justify the present capitalistic form of government in preference to the proposed socialistic.

Mark his terms: "owned by others." Now one may be owned by another because of physical or logical necessity. If one is seized by the throat by an irresistible power he must needs yield to the will of such power so long as its control continues. But if one has his natural opportunities seized from him by a power which he cannot resist, he must also yield to the control of such power, simply because he is logically convinced that his happiness depends on such submission. In either case the condition of slavery equally exists.

Now, in the present form of civilization physically forcible possession is impossible. But logically, economic control, which according to Spencer's definition is slavery, popularly prevails. Every day-laborer, who knows that his daily bread is dependent on his wage-pittance is proof of this fact.

To be more specific, however, Spencer further explains that the "control must be habitually for the benefit of the controller."

In the wide range of industrial employment, under the present stress of economic pressure, where shall we behold the control of the toiling masses which is not more specifically for the benefit of the controller than it is for that of the controlled? On this point it would be well to quote one sentence from Thorold Rogers' famous work, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, when he says: "It may well be the case, and there is every reason to fear that it is the case, that there is collected a great population in our greater towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago, but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless, than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the medieval cities."

If perchance Herbert Spencer's definition of the slave be true, then assuredly these urban multitudes who live subject to the control of the powers that force them into such despicable conditions are social slaves, indeed, more pitiable than the beggarly slaves of the middle ages.

"That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labors under coercion to satisfy another's desires."

In economic interpretation another's desires can mean nothing more than the aggrandizement of another's wealth. Are, then, those who live to-day in coercion forced chiefly to gratify the desires of others? The comparative parallel existing between the increase of the nation's wealth and the average wage of the laborer should afford data sufficient to solve that problem. Perhaps the following facts, given by Cleveland Moffett a year ago in the *New York Herald*, will throw some light on the issue. He says:

"Five thousand persons in this nation actually own nearly one-sixth of our entire National wealth, money, lands, mines, buildings, everything; which sixth if put

into gold would give them *all the gold in the world*, and leave them nine thousand million dollars still owing them. All this for five thousand men whether they work or not."

The grim fact thus baldly stated sufficiently demonstrates how shamefully the mass of the population are exploited by those who in Spencer's term actually "control" them for the gratification of their own desires, and thus proves that they, which means all of us, are in truth *their slaves*. What an appalling realization for us to contemplate: eighty millions of people actually exploited (that is, according to Herbert Spencer, *enslaved*) by five thousand individuals! Have we not reached the stage of the Roman oligarchy?

But as if this fact did not in itself sufficiently satisfy Spencer's definition to prove that we are really the economic slaves of as brazen an oligarchy as ever oppressed a people, let us further quote from Waldron's *Handbook of Currency and Wealth*, which is held as official on such matters.

He declares that "more than four million families, or nearly one-third of the nation must get along on incomes of less than \$400 annually; more than one-half the families get less than \$600; two-thirds of the families get less than \$900; while only one in twenty of the nation's families is able to obtain an income of over \$1,000."

Mr. Spencer insists that what distinguishes a slave is that he labors under coercion to gratify another's desires. If statistics cannot prove that the entire American nation is made tributary to the gratification of the desires of a handful of men who so control the opportunities of industry that they force us into subjection to their wills, then statistics can prove nothing.

Mr. Spencer protests too much. In his enthusiastic defense of the present personal and capitalistic system of government he unwittingly presents the

very economic grounds on which Socialists rest the defense of their proposed revolution. Heretofore, however, we Americans have been nonchalantly confident that such inequable and unjust social conditions prevailed only in the effete civilizations of Europe and the Orient, but that within the confines of our own prosperous commonwealths no such conditions could be discerned. For years our political Pecksniffs have been wont to deplore the morbid state of European industrial life—the pathology of the social body of transatlantic countries—with the assurance that we ourselves were free from pauper labor and vermin-covered lazzaroni, and insisted upon the erection of a high Chinese tariff-wall against their undesired intrusion upon our economic paradise.

And we poor fools believed them long enough to allow a pitiful handful of them to grasp us, eighty millions strong, by the throat, and coerce us into shameful submission to their autocratic desires.

If this were not so then there would be no opportunity for the supposed Teutonic Socialism of the Continent to find a footing in this country. It would have proved to be an unclimatizable exotic, which would have died a speedy and natural death. M. Demoulin looked too far for his fundamental reason with which to explain the intrusion of Socialism in Anglo-Saxon races. He thought the Anglo-Saxon would never welcome its presence. He lives to see the refutation of his dream. He conceived that the fundamental force which underlay the advance of Socialism was psychological; the fact is that it is sociological and biological. It is, after all, merely a question of bread and butter; the problem of the maintenance of life.

Nevertheless, the Socialism of revolt—that primitive form of Socialism which sprung from the dream of the Utopianists—which leaped upon us a score of years ago, red-handed and hot-breathed, breathing slaughter and assassination, is not that form of Socialism which

took or ever can take root among us.

Iconoclastic Socialism, the Socialism of revolution, the Socialism of Parisian Communists or even of the German Internationalists is not the Socialism which finds a welcome on our borders.

The Socialism, which we are unconsciously absorbing and partially welcoming, is that form of the propaganda which has filtered down to the masses by first passing through the academy, the college, the university; which comes by the way of intellectual apprehension and analysis and finally incorporates itself as an inspiration in the heart of the multitude.

It is a modified form of European Socialism adapted to the needs and requirements of the American. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the present incumbent of the office of the Chief Magistracy of the nation is encouraging, emphasizing and forwarding this revolutionary propaganda.

Will it succeed? That is the problem. As yet it has had no opportunity to put any of its principles into operation on any extensive scale. Its practical workings, as a system of society and a basis of civilization, are therefore as yet purely academic and problematical.*

But the ethics of Socialism are beyond

*The writer does not mean by this sentence to reflect upon the practical possibilities of Socialism or to insinuate that if tried it would prove defective. None can dispute the fact that the program of Socialism as set forth in the quadrennial platforms of the Socialist party not only is susceptible of practical operation in the affairs of this nation, but that some of its most salient features have already been, or are about to be, adopted by the predominant parties. For instance, the national control of mines, railroads, telegraphs, etc., toward which the present administration seems to be moving with rapid strides; the municipalization of local trawmays, ferries, water-works, gas-works, etc., which many of our cities are beginning to inaugurate; progressive income tax and tax on inheritance; and above all "the people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle," now known to everybody through Mr. Bryan's advocacy as the Initiative and Referendum; have all been incorporated in the Socialist party's program almost from the date of its inauguration in the United States. Therefore, should the party ever come into full control it is quite apparent that it will legislate for the whole people with sound statesmanship and a sensible political science.

controversy. They are as axiomatic and as true as the Sermon on the Mount. Indeed that Sermon might be taken as a Scriptural text on which to expound the fundamental moral philosophy of modern Socialism. Both are idealistic, and their practical application to the affairs of men are still relegated to the age of the millennium.

The fact, however, which has sent its fire into the blood of the masses in this country is that they may, in this land of boasted freedom, be as thoroughly ground under the wheels of the capitalistic juggernaut as they are in Europe or Asia or Africa; that the terrors and injustice of economic oppression may be as overwhelming in a so-called free Republic as they are beneath the shadow of Parliaments and Reichstags, protected by hereditary rulers and hireling armies.

The uprising of Socialism has brought home to the startled consciousness of all thoughtful Americans the fact that we are drifting, however unintentionally, toward aristocracy in wealth and oligarchy in government, which unchecked would overshadow in oppressiveness all the historic monarchies of the past.

The massing of predatory wealth in the hands of the few; the formation of gigantic combines whose power already exceeds the dream of the most avaricious of monarchs; the existence of pluto-

cratic trusts, now grown so bold they dare flip their fingers in the face of the American people and flippantly insult their Chief Magistrate; the tendency of all the industries of the nation to merge in the hands of a few owners, as especially exemplified in the rapid merging of the great railroad systems of the nation (thus significantly forestalling the fulfillment of the fundamental prophecy of Marxian Socialism);—these are some of the conditions that have caused the revolution in popular sentiment concerning the invasion of European economic theories which we are now witnessing.

One thing is sure: as the imposition and the injustice of the economic control known as Capitalism increases and becomes more oppressive, Socialism will wax stronger and become more popular.

Socialism is the set enemy of every industrial wrong. However crude and inoperative its theories may be for the present, unless some remedy can be discovered in the régime of government now extant which shall redress or rectify existing wrongs, it must needs be that the entire system will ultimately be overturned and the whole world begin anew on a basis of equity and justice, brotherhood and human solidarity, that will insure peace and justifiable contentment throughout the globe.

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THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE DIVORCE PROBLEM.

BY REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

THOSE who would point out a rational solution of the divorce problem, must first thoroughly understand the history and underlying philosophy of the marriage institution, for to groping mortals the experiences of the past must in a large measure guide us in the future.

Morgan's *Ancient Society* divides the history of mankind into three epochs, savagery, barbarism and civilization. These are subdivided into lower, middle and upper savagery; lower, middle and upper barbarism; ancient and modern civilization. In the earlier periods of savagery every man belonged to every

woman, there was promiscuity. Strabo reports only 66 years before our era, that the Arabians lived in promiscuity, brothers cohabiting with sisters and even with their own mothers. In later savagery came the consanguine group—a group marriage, in which men and women were common to those of their group—though cohabitation between parents and children, brothers and sisters is still practised. A later step was the mating of one man and one woman, but with no attempt at exclusive cohabitation or permanence in the union, which was as high as man in his savage state ever got. With the barbarian period came in the first glimpse of anything like a marriage from which we may trace the evolution to our present system, and it was the patriarchal system of polyandry and more often finally polygamy.

To such as stage the barbarian *Masagetae* had progressed when Herodotus found them and reports, "each man receives a wife but all are allowed to use her; cohabitation is practised unconcernedly in public." And so we advance through the various stages of polyandry, polygamy, polygamy and concubinage, polygamy and monogamy, monogamy and concubinage, and at last the present monogamic marriage.

Now we ask what are the forces that came in and wrought from promiscuous license our present monogamic marriage with its fair flower of sexual purity. The theories of the investigators are many—the savages were very licentious and some have supposed that the dangers of venereal diseases were so great that man at last learned that as a protection to his health there must be greater exclusiveness.

Others suppose that it originated in exogamy, that the children of a union of brother and sister, or parent and child, were puny and weak, they were no use, if male, as warriors, if female, as workers, and so intercourse was excluded between these, and eventually was extended to the present limits. Some have supposed that the first attempts were to regulate

according to age, each generation being excluded from each other generation. In view of these various theories and the misty distance of the past some say no underlying force can be traced, that it is simply an idea or series of ideas that came to men. But ideas have never come to man and got a grip on his life, especially such obnoxious ideas as the regulation of his passions, without some clearly traceable forces behind them.

Students of society are more and more coming to accept Morgan's economic interpretation of history, and this of course carries with it the economic basis of marriage. Morgan's theory is, that the race in its efforts to sustain itself has ever been driven through practically the same evolution. That the conditions into which life has been molded have been due to the progress of production in the procurement of subsistence. Now I believe that theory gives us at once the correct hint toward solving the question as to what forces have molded the marriage institution. The patriarchal marriage came in with the barbarian period. What was it that distinguished the epoch that marked the transfer from the highest savagery to the lowest barbarian form? It was the discovery of the bow and arrow, and stone implements. The barbarian man now ceased to fight with tooth and claw, and began to fight with weapons.

Life becomes harder for him, females begin to preponderate, the female mates who go along with the male to battle and assist him by killing the wounded, become the legitimate spoil of the victor. The victor carries his prey to his own habitat, she is his, he *owns* her, the idea of keeping her for his own work and cohabitation is a part of that sense of ownership—the foundation of the marriage institution is economic. This was the first step toward marriage and exclusiveness in cohabitation, and this exclusiveness was demanded not on any ground of jealousy, or modesty, or purity, but on the ground of property—she was her

master's and adultery was theft. There was no jealousy in the early man, a dozen men had one wife with no such ideas. Cæsar speaks of finding among the ancient Britons twelve dwelling harmoniously with one wife. So there came about the organized system of polyandry when infant females were killed and males predominated, but more often and finally to prevail, the organized system of polygamy.

The earlier historians had no attempt at a philosophy of history, they were content to merely narrate facts without looking into their logical connection. Buckle went so far as to say there could be no universal basis for such, because the determining influences had been the physical environments which so differed. Froude went even farther and said there could be no philosophy of history at all because we can never tell what a free human being will do.

But human beings have never been entirely free, they have been bound up with the forces and facts of life, and the theory of economic determinism is coming more and more into acceptance as giving us a scientific basis for a philosophy of history and human institutions.

And it gives us this basis of the marriage institution to guide us in the consideration of our duty towards its future. We need a thorough knowledge of the history of the institution to keep us from becoming narrow doctrinaires in our treatment of it, of thinking as a prominent professor has said, that it can be settled by a system of ministerial exegesis. We need also a comprehensive knowledge of this underlying philosophy of the economic interpretation of it as fitting us to deal with marriage in a rational manner. This economic basis is appealed to by President Roosevelt as ground for greater centralization of government. Professor Giddings has recently shown to us that the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and especially in the Quaker, Anabaptist and Congregational developments of

it which have spent their forces in the founding of America, all had an economic basis; they were the expressions of a middle-class, working-class and peasant revolt against a social order that gave power and opportunity to rank and wealth to exploit the economically weak; that our moral code and religious tenets have an economic quality, that the economic environments from the colonial period to the Civil War were such as to foster this same set of moral convictions and make us a frugal and industrious people; and that the economic changes consequent upon the readjustment after the Civil War have brought to pass the moral changes making possible graft, dishonesty and oppression. And we can safely go on and point out that these same changes make the change in our view-point toward the marriage institution.

An era of educational activity, of greater equality for women and above all of a changed industrial and social status, these make the changes in the view of marriage and give us our divorce problem. It must inevitably be so, and we need have no fear but that in a readjustment of social organization, society will rest on a more intelligent basis than ever. And to try to stop these changes by preaching some theological dogma, or ecclesiastical law, will have no more effect than blowing against the east wind. Nor ought it to, the thing to be done is to carry over into this readjustment all that is vital in past and present, and all that is vital to my mind is, the ideal of Jesus, of making the marriage contract a union in which love and passion so blend that the highest spiritual and physical cravings of the human couple shall find their satisfaction in each other.

Nor do I believe this will be hard to do, for even in such a complete economic reorganization as contemplated by scientific socialism, while some of their number maintain that all marriage is a class institution and must be overthrown, yet the most socialists believe in the monogamic

relation, and so radical a leader as De Leon of New York says: "For one I hold that the monogamous family, bruised and wounded by capitalism will have its wounds stanchd and its bruises healed, and will bloom under socialism into a lever of mighty power for the moral and physical elevation of the race." And Ellis O. Jones, one of the Directors of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, gives as one of the reasons why he is a Socialist, "Because I believe the capitalist system is destructive of the home and family." This study then teaches us that the divorce problem is at heart not a religious but an economic problem and the economic changes since the Civil War have brought it to pass along three lines:

1. Modern industrial factory life has brought in an inevitable weakening of home ties and interests. Says A. J. Hobson: "The narrowing of home to a place of hurried meals and sleep is the worst affliction of modern industry." Home in our factory districts is two or three rooms in a corporation tenement, perhaps \$150 worth of furniture, work done in a perfunctory manner or not at all. Females grow up knowing nothing of housework and unfitted for wives—they have no ambition to become housewives or house-workers and only do so on necessity. Housekeeping is the lowest work on the list, and Upton Sinclair has well described the girls engaging in it as those not clever enough for the factory or not attractive enough to become prostitutes. This lessening of the home interests and neglect of the home duties

will probably soon lead to the disappearance of separate family homes in our manufacturing districts. Pastors in such districts tell me that already the most of their marriages among our factory workers are those of couples who are compelled to get married.

2. In the increased hardship upon the man of the maintenance of the home. Never was it so hard for a self-respecting man to maintain a family and home as it is to-day. The cost of living, of tenement, of dress, of education for children, of the comforts of life is a tremendous pressure on a workingman.

3. And last, and most important, the growing economic independence of woman. Once she was economically dependent on man; she had to marry and remain married in order to live. Our grandmothers were forced by economic conditions to do domestic drudgery, bear and bury children. But the woman of to-day is not economically dependent on man, she is not driven by fear of destitution into the life she once was, she is not compelled to become married, or to submit to hardship and stay married—and I, for one, thank God she is not.

These, then, are the changing economic conditions that give us the divorce problem. There is no hint in it that we are less religious or less moral than our fathers and mothers. We are simply passing through economic changes, that is all. And the remedies for any evils that attend, lie more largely in the realm of economic justice than in moral and religious codes.

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THE BUGABOO OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION: A CALM REVIEW OF OBJECTIONS URGED BY THE OPPOSITION.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

IT IS evident that the battle for the establishment of the initiative and referendum, though national in its scope, must be fought out in detail against local opposition appealing to local prejudice. A short time since, at a meeting of a political club in the capital city of New Jersey, the accredited "leader" of the Republican organization in the lower branch of the Legislature, delivered a carefully compiled address, setting forth the alleged dangers to the government which lurk in the system of direct-legislation by the initiative and referendum. Inasmuch as the "leaders"—whether majority or minority—of the New Jersey Legislature do not become such through a natural process of selection, wherein a general recognition of right of leadership is compelled by sheer demonstrated intellectual superiority, but are chosen, like the presiding officer or sergeant-at-arms, by a caucus, to be the mouthpiece of those who direct the party legislative policy and by making the proper motions at the proper times, to give the cue to the party members, this "address" takes on far greater significance and merits more attention than would the mere individual utterance of the speaker or the "thunderous applause" with which it is reported to have been received by the loyal partisan auditors. For back of the spokesman are the influences for which he speaks. The fact that he thus stands forth to warn the public of the perils of human liberty which lie concealed in the deadly referendum and the still more venomous initiative indicates that there is a deeply seated movement to create prejudice and excite fear in conservative

minds by the exploitations of political scarecrows. It reveals a scheme to array the forces of a powerful political organization, with its followers, in opposition to the wholly non-partisan efforts of the advocates of direct-legislation. It would indeed be a grave public misfortune, if the hidden "interests" should succeed in organizing partisan opposition to the movement for a more truly democratic system of government. That there is to be an attempt thus to give a partisan character to a contest which from its very nature ought to be free from party bias and prejudice seems clear. Whether or not that attempt shall succeed will largely depend on the extent to which men of naturally conservative tendencies can be deceived by sophistry or frightened by groundless alarms. An endeavor to mislead or terrify should not, therefore, be suffered to go unchallenged.

What are the terrors thus held out to the gaze, more especially of the Republican voters of New Jersey to drive them as a body, without investigation, into the ranks of the active, avowed opponents of the initiative and the referendum? The arguments advanced in favor of this system, says our alarmist, "are based upon the theory that representative government as it exists and has existed in this country since the adoption of our Constitution is unsatisfactory and that better results can be obtained, not through the exercise of greater care in the election of representatives but by weakening the strength of the government itself." One can scarcely conceive of a more glaring example of a *petitio principii* than is here shown by the assumption that to extend the principle of the initiative and

referendum to state and municipal or, even, possibly national legislation would "weaken the strength of the government itself."

What is the government whose strength is thus to be weakened? Lincoln's idea was that of "government of the people, by the people and for the people." How can such a government be shorn of its strength by permitting the people, of whom, by whom and for whom it is, to share more fully in its operations through a more direct participation in the enactment of its laws? A government of the people by the people weakened because the people actually govern! The very notion is absurd. Would it not be as logical for one whose ideal of government is a one-man despotism to say that a proposal to add to the legislative power already possessed by the executive would "weaken" the "strength" of the government?

William Penn, whose qualities of statesmanship are coming to be more generally recognized by students of history, said in his *Frame of Government*, that: "Any government is free to the people under it whatever may be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is Tyranny, Oligarchy and Confusion." These words inscribed on the walls of Independence Hall as if in conscious irony to become a standing reminder of Philadelphia's shame are pregnant with profound political truth. If, then, the test of freedom under a government is the rule of law and the sharing of the people in the making of that law, must not the strength of such government—so far as freedom of the people under it is any element of strength—be increased rather than "weakened" by any change whereby the people can become more truly, more completely "a party" to the laws?

It may be a question worthy of debate whether the adoption of a system of direct-legislation by means of the initiative and referendum would, on the whole,

be for the public good. For this is a practical question to be determined by the tests of experience. But in what possible way could it detract from the "strength" or the authority of government itself? In what way would the enforcement of the laws be more difficult? The power of the executive would not even be touched by the change. Would there be less respect for the laws because they had the sanction of the popular vote? It can hardly be contended seriously that such would be the case. It is not pointed out to us how direct-legislation would "weaken the strength of the government itself." Why this begging the question? Why are we not shown by what process this impairment of strength is to be wrought? No reason is given why this weakening should result. What, therefore, seems to be gratuitous assumption is stated as demonstrated fact. Where one thus forces conclusions, it argues inability to establish those conclusions by any reasoning process.

There is, however, one aspect of government in which the believers in the initiative and referendum may well concede that the adoption of the system, would, in very truth "weaken the strength of the government." That it would thus weaken one sort of government is, in fact, the chief reason for advocating the system. If we may regard the power, the control and the grip over the governmental machinery, possessed in too many instances by the beneficiaries of privilege, by the despoilers of the people, as the "government"; if, in short, we consider the power of the "interests" in control of government as the "strength" of that government, then it may, at once, be granted that the initiative and referendum would tend directly to weaken it. And it may be added that such a weakening is a "consummation devoutly to be wished for."

We are told as though it were rather a matter of reproach that the arguments in favor of the initiative and referendum are

"based upon the theory that representative government as it exists and has existed in this country since the adoption of the constitution is unsatisfactory." It may freely be admitted that well grounded and long continued dissatisfaction with the actual working of our representative system has given rise to the demand for a check upon that system in order that it may be made more responsive—not to capricious public sentiment—but to deliberate public will. That there have been frequent examples of our legislative bodies not only misrepresenting but brazenly defying what was in the best sense of the word public opinion—because based on public virtue and genuine patriotism—no moderately intelligent and perfectly sane man will deny. The conspicuous failure of representative government in Pennsylvania, not to mention instances nearer home, fully justifies the attitude of those who regard representative government as it exists in this country highly unsatisfactory in its results. It by no means follows that representative government, with all its imperfections in form and actual shortcomings in practice, is not vastly superior to absolute or more aristocratic forms of government. In so far as it brings nearer to the people the conduct of their government and the making of the laws it is superior to absolutism, to an oligarchy or to an aristocracy. And by the same token, if a plan of direct-legislation can be grafted onto the representative system with the result of bringing the making of the laws still nearer to the people, such a combined representative and popular system will be superior to the purely representative system.

If our representatives generally were such as they should be, there would be little reason to complain of the representative system. If they were uniformly or were generally above the average in intelligence, with character that places them beyond the sway of selfish motives, with breadth of mind that lifts them above the influences of petty partisan considera-

tions there would rarely be criticisms of the representatives for refusal to give expression to well considered public opinion. But this is a practical world, and the practical results of practical experience during two or three generations must be the guide of men of practical minds when deciding upon a course to bring about a better state of things in government. Hence we see the already large and rapidly growing sentiment that the people should have the power of direct-legislation when occasions may call for it, to neutralize the evils of representative government—not as it exists in theory but as we have become familiar with it in practice. While it may readily be admitted that improvement might be obtained through the exercise of "greater care in the election of representatives," yet in the light of experience—the only light, in the words of Patrick Henry, by which our feet should be guided—it may, with confidence be affirmed that greater improvements will be attained where the people are empowered to correct the mistakes of their representatives when they shall have discovered that in spite of their "care" they made a mistake in selecting their representatives.

And why should we not regard the representative system as it exists unsatisfactory? A public newspaper of large circulation and an admirer and supporter of the deliverer of the address above referred to, on a very recent date, in comparing our representatives with those of a generation and less ago, said: "One does not need to be told that the Senate and House have degenerated." In similar vein the leading newspaper in New Jersey has just declared, "that the Senate and House have degenerated is unquestioned," and ascribes the degeneracy to such causes as "obedience to bosses, giving preference to partisan schemes to perpetuate power rather than to the popular voice, scheming for tactical political position rather than legislating for the State's welfare, enacting laws by the hundreds with a great rush instead of

giving them reasonable consideration on their merits, fighting reform instead of welcoming it."

Without speculating as to the causes of this degeneracy, which is not local and exceptional, it may be remarked that it is a stupendous fact and is a potent argument for the initiative and referendum. And if it be said that the remedy lies with the people in greater care in the selection of representatives the obvious and pertinent answer is that this degeneracy is largely due to influences in legislation which influences would measurably be uprooted and destroyed by the application of right to direct-legislation because the profits of corruption would no longer be certain of realization. And with these sinister influences removed, even less "care" in selecting representatives would be fruitful of good results.

In this pronouncement against the initiative and referendum the attempt is made to break the force of the undeniable fact that Switzerland has successfully applied both and that the results have been advantageous in a high degree, by the amazing statement that the Swiss people "had never known responsible representative government" when they adopted the principle of direct-legislation. It is true that prior to 1848 the government of Switzerland was but imperfectly representative as, in fact, might be said of England down to nearly the same period, but in that year of revolutions for Europe, the Swiss adopted a real representative system modeled after that of the United States. They lived under this purely representative system of government until 1874, when the constitution, tested by a generation of practical experience, was amended by adding to it the distinctly democratic feature of the referendum, which was followed in short order, by the initiative. From that period the little mountain republic has become an example of democratic development, for the "representative" governments of the world—an example whose force cannot be overcome by such gro-

tesque assertions as that while the initiative and referendum may have been good for the Swiss it is because they never knew the blessing of representative government as we have it. The absurdity of this statement is all the more pronounced because of the fact that after trying a system like our own they made what has been demonstrated to be an improvement on it.

The deliverance in opposition to direct-legislation which we are considering declares that the experience of every community where the referendum has been tried is that the people will not busy themselves with the details of legislation, even in Switzerland "where they have known no other method of law-making." Some idea of the weight and credence to be given this statement may be gathered from the reference to Switzerland as a country where the people never knew what it was to make laws by the methods used in other civilized countries. One is justified in saying that the lack of information here betrayed as to the history of Swiss legislative methods suggests like want of knowledge as to the actual working of the present combined representative and direct-legislation system. The weight of testimony of competent witnesses and of recorded results is decidedly against the assumption that the people will not interest themselves in matters of legislation where their interests are likely vitally to be affected if—as can be done with the referendum—the issue is presented unobscured by party prejudice.

Professor Borgeaud of the University of Geneva says of the referendum: "It has won its case. Unquestionably it has proved a boon to Switzerland and has no more enemies of any following in the generation of to-day. . . . Since 1874, 250 Federal bills were passed in Switzerland. The people were consulted on twenty-eight constitutional amendments, half of which were rejected. The referendum was demanded on thirty bills only. Two-thirds of the same were

ultimately defeated." The comparative infrequency of the resort to the referendum argues its efficiency in practice. For the theory of its advocates is that with the right to the referendum in all cases there would seldom be occasion for its exercise. The objection that it would make legislation cumbersome and a burden to the people is not borne out by the experienced results. In Oregon in the year 1906, ten measures were submitted to the people and six were approved while four were rejected. The vote on these questions ranged from eighty-seven per cent. to sixty-seven per cent. of the total vote of candidates. Of fourteen referenda which have been submitted to the people of Oregon only two received less than seventy per cent. of the total vote for candidates while the average was over seventy-six and one-half per cent. One little fact like this should far outweigh all the predictions of disaster to come from indifference or from indiscriminating voting.

But we are complacently told that "the founders of the government did not undergo hardships and privation, nor risk their lives in hard-fought battles in order that they might establish a government by mob." This reference to "government by mob" is not easy to understand. Inasmuch as it is proposed to give to the people the right to vote on legislative enactments by precisely the same orderly processes as when they vote on constitutional amendments—the highest form of legislation—and when they vote for "representatives" and other public officers, how should we have government by mob any more than we have it now? In the history of the world, doubtless, there have been cases where laws have been enacted "by mob" and where officers of government were chosen "by mob." The method in each case was the same. A tumultuous, uncontrolled mass proceeding without fixed rule of action did the work. A large, unwieldy crowd, meeting to enact laws "on the spot" might, not unfairly, be

likened to a mob. Thus Alexander Hamilton, in arguing for a small membership for Congress, said that in a large body "passion never fails to wrest the scepter from reason" and that "had every Athenian citizen been a Socrates, every Athenian assembly would still have been a mob." There is great force in what Hamilton said, but the people voting on men or measures, in pursuance of laws previously enacted, individually and not in multitude, can hardly be regarded as a mob, save by one who is fundamentally a foe to the democratic principle. In the connection in which the word is thus addressed to us it bears close resemblance to the term *canaille*, contemptuously applied to the masses in the French Revolution.

The one substantial point made in this argument against the initiative and referendum is that a law as introduced in a legislative body may be crude in form, though perhaps good in principle, and that in the deliberations of the legislators, the bill may be amended until it will meet the objections which may be made to it and will more effectually accomplish the object aimed at by the introducer himself. To this there are two answers. In the first place experience shows that under the initiative and referendum all but a small percentage of the laws would be framed and finally enacted by the representatives just as they now are. For be it remembered that the existence of the right to a referendum will render practically unnecessary the exercise of that power just as the presence of a policeman in view of a gang of pickpockets will dispense with all call for the exercise of the power of arrest, while the absence of that right gives rise to numerous occasions when its exercise if permitted would preserve the people's rights. Moreover, in the case of the referendum, every law to which it would be applied would have had all the possible benefits of deliberation by the representatives. There simply would not, in fact could not, be any difference

in the matter of the deliberateness in framing, amending and discussing the law, except that after the law should have met with the approval of a majority of the representatives and of the executive, it must, if a sufficiently large number of citizens petition for such action, still further run the gauntlet of approval or rejection by the people. So far, therefore, as the objection to the referendum is based on the greater deliberation of a legislative body over that of the people it is a myth.

In the second place, in the practical operation of the initiative features of direct-legislation, a law would not be submitted to the vote of the people fresh from the drafting hands of a single individual as is quite commonly the case in our legislative bodies, but would necessarily from the very nature of the case, emanate from some more or less numerous body or organization, and would as presented to the people be the result of more discussion and deliberation than measures usually receive in our legislatures and in all probability would be fairly well adapted to carry out the principle, whether good or bad, which it might be intended to express. Many of the reform measures adopted in recent years have thus come from voluntary associations of individual citizens who have after careful preparation had them submitted to the legislative body. In fact, an intelligent observer of events would scarcely expect substantial reforms to be evolved in our present-day representative bodies. This was notably illustrated in the extra session of the Pennsylvania Legislature called by the panic-stricken governor after the election of Mr. Berry as State Treasurer, and the temporary defeat of the "gang" in Philadelphia. Election reform laws and other measures which had been formulated by associations whose members had made special study of the subjects were presented to these same representatives at the regular session and contemptuously rejected and ignored, but

the popular vote at the election had all the moral and practical effect of a referendum and these same "representatives" passed these same measures framed by voluntary associations of citizens, and repealed certain measures which they had passed at the regular session, all because the people had expressed their will both in the rejection of the one set of measures and in the passage of the other, in such thunderous tones that even the human curiosity occupying the executive chair discovered that Pennsylvania had some "ills to speak of." Practically the benefits received by the people of Pennsylvania from that election were the benefits of a system of initiative and referendum. But the occasion was abnormal, the uprising was exceptional, and the "representatives" of the people would have continued to misrepresent and defy public opinion, and the Governor would have continued oblivious of the real earth and its actual inhabitants, had there been less than an overwhelming expression of public sentiment, so highly wrought, that for the moment party prejudices were swept aside. But under the actual initiative and referendum in legal practice, a normal state of activity in public sentiment could and would accomplish the same beneficial results.

Space forbids following further the discussion on these lines. But a few words in the way of a common-sense view of the question may not be wasted. Why should the people of New Jersey fear to follow in the lead of other states and adopt the initiative and referendum? Do they want to own their own government? This system would make them owners of that government. For, seekers after privileges or valuable franchise grants could no longer force laws down their throats by purchase or cajolery of their representatives. Since, if there should be considerable opposition, a submission of the laws to the vote of the people could be forced, business men could not afford to pay for the passage of laws that might prove to be no laws after all. Then, too,

a considerable number favoring some measure believed to be for the public good could compel a testing of public sentiment on the question by means of the initiative, even though the entire phalanx of human cattle in both political organizations should be arrayed solidly against it. Take, for instance, the matter of ballot reform. It is probable that if there could be submitted to the people of New Jersey to-day a proposition for the Australian ballot substantially like that in force in Massachusetts and some other states, an overwhelming majority could be secured for its adoption. Such a result would be a great boon to the state. It is certain, however, that those of the people who favor such a practical measure of reform, can never secure such a law from the people's "representatives" constituted as they now are or as they are likely to be for years to come. No rational objection can be made to such a measure; the people, it is almost certain, would adopt it, and yet it is almost equally certain that the people's "representatives" will not let the people have it. This is but one instance where the want of the initiative deprives the people of control of their government. And that control is denied them only for corrupt ends.

Why should the people fear for the existence of the representative system? It is not proposed to disturb it in the least. The great mass of legislation would go on as before. Knowledge that a referendum could and probably would be called for would prevent the passage of many laws known to be offensive to the best sentiment in the state, as, for example, the race-track laws of a few years ago. These laws which stirred the moral sense of the state as it has not been stirred before or since, would not have been passed, with the certainty of a referendum to be demanded by an indignant populace staring the promoters in the face, for the simple reason that the proceeding would have been a useless expense. So far from interfering

with the principle of representative government, it should, and doubtless would, promote the efficiency and stability of that system. There is little doubt that representatives would bestow greater care in the work of legislation with the prospect that their labor might be subjected to public scrutiny in a canvass before the people. The usefulness of the representatives would in no sense be impaired. There would simply be a check upon their shortcomings whether of commission or omission,

I believe firmly in the principle of representative government. I regard, with Dr. Francis Lieber, the representative system as a good in itself. I do not believe the representative is or should be a mere delegate. His duty is to use his best judgment and to give the people the benefit so far as he can of his special and superior knowledge. So long as representatives generally are actuated by honest motives there will be no prolonged deadlock between the representatives and public opinion. It is only through corrupt control of the representatives that the impatience of public opinion results. But notwithstanding this character of the representative, we provide the executive veto on his acts with no suspicion that his representative character is in anywise destroyed. Nor would an added popular veto detract in any greater degree from the representative character of his functions.

It follows, therefore, that to favor the initiative and the referendum does not imply any lack of devotion to the representative system. I believe that to advocate this form of direct-legislation casts no reflection on the wisdom of the fathers. I believe that they laid broad and deep the foundations of our government, on principles so firm that time has vindicated, and the results of departure from them, have but emphasized their soundness. These principles find their expression in the Declaration of Independence, but their application from time to time, to the varying needs of

man in the function of government requires adaptation not only to meet the new-found wants of the people, but also to overcome new devices for defeating the popular will. I believe in the principle of representative government as evolved from centuries of struggle and accepted by the makers of our constitution as an important part of the frame-work of free government. But the corrupt, unscrupulous and rapacious foes of the public welfare have mastered the art of perverting our representative system, turning what was intended to be, and what at one time was, a bulwark for the defense of popular rights, into what has too often proved an engine of destruction of popular rule. For the people to regain their former share in the actual work of legislation they must devise some method through which they can secure from their representatives by right and by compul-

sion that regard for and attention to their interests which formerly was freely accorded to them from a sense of duty and of honor. The people must, by applying old principles to new methods, secure a restoration to themselves of that share in government which they enjoyed before the evolution of that colossal figure of corruption and fountain-head of crime—the political boss—who demands and receives financial support from privilege-seeking corporations or individuals and in return sells legislation through his control over the men occupying the seats constitutionally intended for representatives of the people. To this end, therefore, intelligent people are coming more and more to favor direct-legislation by the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

Trenton, N. J.

MR. MACKEYE'S "DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM": YES AND NO.

BY HON. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS AND PROFESSOR THOMAS ELMER WILL, A.M.

Editorial Note: In the June ARENA we published an extended essay entitled *Democracy and Socialism*, by James MacKaye, author of *The Economy of Happiness*. It was in our judgment the most important politico-social discussion that has appeared in the pages of any magazine in recent years and has attracted much serious attention. The author's work, *The Economy of Happiness*, is one of the greatest contributions to political economy that has appeared,—a work destined, we believe, to exert a tremendous influence on the political life of our nation. So important, indeed, is the discussion that though it has already been admirably noticed by Mr. Albertson in the pages

of THE ARENA, it is our purpose to make it the subject of a book-study as soon as time will permit our giving it the attention it should receive. Below we give our readers two critical appreciations of the essay on *Democracy and Socialism*, the first by Hon. George Fred. Williams, the able leader of the progressive Democracy of New England and one of the strongest and most scholarly and statesmanlike thinkers in America; the other from the pen of Professor Thomas Elmer Will, A.M., formerly President of the Kansas Agricultural College. By a singular coincidence Messrs. MacKaye, Williams and Will are all Harvard men.

IN HIS contribution to THE ARENA, entitled *Democracy and Socialism*, Mr. James MacKaye has given us the rarity of a scientific and likewise practical analysis of a political situation.

By his instructive and clarifying discussion Mr. MacKaye reaches a position

of first importance in polemics. The times are just ripe for such a clear statement of the extent to which Democracy involves an increase, or rather, a due exercise, of the functions of our State.

We grope in the mazes of a new civilization which are not lighted by the

tallow-dip of an antique individualism: we need the electric light to which our eyes are now accustomed.

Socialism as a cult makes slow progress in the United States because our people are dimly conscious that Democracy has within it the essential elements of social justice. Mr. MacKaye's merit is that he has made these elements clear.

A word or two of suggestion concerning the subject which Mr. MacKaye illuminates will constitute the best form for review.

The truth is that the so-called Socialism in European politics is mainly engaged in securing rights which our people have already obtained, such as separation of church and state, universal suffrage, the destruction of immemorial privileges in taxation and land monopoly.

That we do not exercise our rights does not signify that we do not possess them. Our worst error, or Democratic error, lies in the misunderstanding of the accepted truth that the government is best, which governs least. The majority of Democratic politicians (especially in the South, under the strict construction and state-rights policies) fail to distinguish between the service and the public functions of the State. Jefferson, Calhoun and Benton were not deceived in this regard: they were all earnest promoters of national roads, the one form which public ownership then presented in politics.

The power of the state to suppress is one thing; the power to supply comforts is another.* It is difficult to see why a self-governed people should not have at its disposal the highest service which the state can give, or, in other words, which the people collectively may adopt for the common good. Our difficulty lies in the fact that the service functions have been so universally farmed out to private profit, that their wealthy possessors have tremendous motive to obtain or further acquire them; hence they eagerly teach us from the kindergarten to the college, that there is something inherently wrong

in any collective benefits coming from the State, but that somehow in a democracy the social services ought to be delivered over by the State to irresponsible corporations for gain.

So far has this expensive practice miseducated our people, that we must now actually begin to preach the truth that these functions come from the State, indeed, are the State, and those who exercise them are mere delegates.

The whole public-ownership proposition is for a resumption by the State of services which have been falsely delegated. Happily, most of them are merely rented, not sold.

That the State may resume these functions seems clear; but the average politician appears to think that somewhere beyond the Constitution is some higher right in certain individuals to exercise state power, which the State ought not to possess. Hence the extraordinary spectacle of legislators hastening to give away state franchises, because the State ought not to possess them. They arrive at the astonishing conclusion that functions of state should be exercised by irresponsible individuals, while the constitutions are full of guaranties against the usurpation of public functions by private individuals.

Now, as Mr. MacKaye points out, these delegates of the State have become greater than the State, a right and natural penalty for the violation of the democratic scheme. Thus we get the oligarchy transacting the public business by legislative grant.

If once our people can overcome their perverted teachings, they will realize that they have as much power to do good to themselves by contributing to their own comfort, as they have by keeping the bad from interfering with their happiness.

Mr. MacKaye points out to us, so that the dullest may understand, the lines upon which our democracy should develop; and his remarkable article should be a Democratic campaign document,

to be first studied by those who assume to be Democratic leaders and statesmen.

It is wrong to credit every move along lines of social service to "socialism," because Democracy actually contains within itself the full range of social service. That the Socialistic school has brought us back to a realization of the real functions of our Democracy may well be conceded. Abeyance is, however, not destruction.

One position maintained by Mr. MacKaye shows that he has not been deluded by the notion that the social function of the State should and must stop at the limits of highway monopoly. To be sure, our courts have landed us on this absurdity, but constitutions (and, it may be timidly remarked, courts themselves) may be changed.

The fact is that the line between public and private utilities is a vanishing line. And Mr. MacKaye rightly apprehends that an existent private monopoly is *ipso facto* a social quantity. Indeed, all monopoly is something socialized. When any human need can be withheld by any one man or group of men, surely the deprived have a right to the service of the State in supplying the need. When coal or oil were free to commerce they were, to be sure, social

needs, but being free they were within the area of individual exploitation; when, as now, they are controlled, that all mankind may be levied upon, they become active social factors. If they have the power to tax humanity at will, they are monstrosities, and the government which has not the power to furnish the social service, thus usurped, is at heart not a real democracy.

Once in attempting to maintain that a proper development of state functions would begin with recognized public utilities, Mr. Wilshire answered me that the beginning would be made with the private monopoly which pressed the hardest upon the people; probably he was right. Then our line between public and private utilities may be snapped altogether.

But why discuss socialized private utilities when we seem even now utterly unprepared for the idea that our people ought to control and manage their own highways?

Mr. MacKaye is right in alleging that industrial despotism is incompatible with democracy; and it may be that even now our Republic is fighting for its life—with creatures of its own making.

GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS.

London, Eng.

MR. MACKAYE'S paper on *Democracy and Socialism* is unusually able; in point of clearness and logical arrangement it leaves little to be desired. In analysis it is especially strong.

Among the noteworthy insights shown by the paper are the following:

The type of social organization fitted to our requirements must provide for both individual and social control. We may put it: Public affairs should be publicly controlled; and private affairs, privately controlled; or, more fully, national affairs should be nationally

controlled; state affairs, state controlled; municipal affairs, municipally controlled; local affairs, locally controlled, and individual affairs, individually controlled.

The classification of the different varieties of socialism is unusual, but helpful to clear thinking.

The fallacy that "government control" will "take the corporations out of politics" is trenchantly exposed. Too often, when such attempts have been made, the industrial giants have "controlled the controllers, regulated the regulators, and restrained the restrainers."

The illogical position of the "super-

democratic" socialist who, to obtain equality, would sacrifice Democracy, is well brought out. The type of this fallacy in America was, of course, the old Bellamy "Nationalism." This also, by its very title, ignored the necessity of the various forms of control other than national, indicated above.

A familiar socialist principle is found in the statement that "Capitalism has already brought about oligarchical socialism in production. All that is now required is to convert it into Democratic-Socialism." This is one of the consolations of the evolution philosophy.

Apart from the use of the word "happiness" the "socialistic syllogism" would be hard to improve upon.

The fact that political democracy necessitates industrial democracy, and that to retain the former we must advance to the latter is a familiar truth that cannot be too often repeated.

Timid souls may well be reassured by the fact that, with the referendum, society can readily recover from an overdose of collectivism. If it "take over" things it has no use for, it will, by experience, readily discover the fact, and can then easily "unload."

The real reason why the "fathers" of the American constitution so absurdly limited the powers of a professedly democratic republic is made clear; the evil fruit born by this policy is daily becoming more manifest. In this connection, however, attention should be called to the "elastic clause" of the constitution. The possibilities revealed by the Hamiltonians, notably John Marshall, of "interpretation," should be more generally recognized. Constitution "stretching" is a game that two can play at. If an aristocratic, oligarchical court can stretch the Constitution in the interest of the corporations, another court, in sympathy with the people and the working-classes, can stretch it in favor of these.

Now, as to criticisms:

To posit "happiness" as the end of

existence, whether individual or social, seems unfortunate. This, of course, was the basis of the old Benthamite "philosophical radicalism" which played so important a part in the thinking of the middle of the nineteenth century. "Happiness" is a term too easily misunderstood. As in the case of the Epicurean philosophy, it leads, with the crowd, too readily to mere sensualism. Carlyle well said that there was something higher than happiness; namely, "blessedness." "Health," "wholeness," "completeness," all connote more wholesome conceptions than the term "happiness." As the clergyman said, there is a wide difference between, "O! Be joyful!" and "O! Be jolly!"

Again, we should concede to the conservatives the proposition that no form of government, administration, or social adjustment will, in and of itself, insure happiness or any higher good. The best that it can do is to afford larger opportunities for these things. After all,

"The mind is its own place,
And of itself,
Can make a heaven of hell,
A hell of heaven."

This, however, involves no modification of the writer's old-time position, that social maladjustment has, certainly in modern times, produced more "hell" than all other forces combined.

As to communism, it is probably true that, as capitalism tends towards socialism, so socialism will tend toward communism. The practical difficulties in the way of full-orbed communism are, of course, mountain high. Nevertheless, communistic institutions are in existence among us now and are working very satisfactorily. The public street, highway, park, library, and school are, perhaps, more strictly communistic than socialistic; they are certainly not capitalistic. Society likes them and wants more of them. Communistic institutions usually work well when the utilities furnished by them are or may be practi-

cally unlimited in amount. We are all willing that well-disposed persons shall "help themselves" freely to the use of streets, parks, and libraries. It is only when the supply is limited that "helping one's self" is liable to work ill. But the development of production on a vast scale points to a time when many things now bought and sold may be utilized *gratis*; for example, street-car lines, telephone and postal facilities, entertainment, as in Athens, and the simpler forms of food and shelter.

But it is in discussing "Revolutionism" that Mr. MacKaye errs most grievously. The Marxian criticism of Mr. MacKaye's paper would be that it is the view of a "middle-class intellectual." The differentiation, less sharp and general than doctrinaires have assumed, but in the factory town or mining region sufficiently obvious, of society into two classes with clearly antagonistic *immediate* interests; the essentially slave character of such a society, and the need of emancipation, as speedy and complete as possible, of these helots, is conspicuously absent.

Mr. MacKaye's grouping of socialist plans, "the only two worth discussion," into "Revolutionary" and "Fabian," his statement that representatives of the former "seek to accomplish their objects not by degrees, but abruptly," and "to *immediately* establish the coöperative commonwealth," and his further statement that the Socialist party of the United States stands for this plan, is amusing. One is led to wonder where he got his information. The view he describes does represent the view of the Socialist Labor party which, in its platform, demands the "summary end" of the present system. But that organization has been reduced to the shadow of a shade.

As to the Socialist party itself, there are in it persons who stand for the "summary end," but they are about as numerous and influential in that organization as believers in the good old doctrine of infant damnation are in the Presbyterian church. Mr. MacKaye

would do well to read the Socialist platform, especially the fifth section. The State and municipal program formulated at the last national convention are also worthy of his careful perusal. If still in doubt, he would do well to correspond with the Socialist national office at Chicago.

The fact is that the doctrine of the "summary end" was once the accepted creed of the socialist movement, as the doctrine of the summary end of the "present evil world," and the sudden "appearing" of the Lord, followed by the reorganization of all things earthly, was once the accepted doctrine of Christendom. Those who now hold either view are almost too few to consider. These "summary enders" in the Socialist party are, at times, however, exceedingly aggressive and noisy, and Mr. MacKaye may have met some of them. The Socialist party, as an organization, stands for evolutionary and not revolutionary methods.

Since Fabians are also evolutionists, the question arises as to the difference between them and socialist party evolutionists. The chief difference lies in the maintenance, by the latter, of an organization of their own.

The question next arises as to the utility of a separate organization. The value of this is found, in part, in the opportunity thus afforded the body of members to formulate a distinctive and consistent body of doctrine, and to stand for this, definitely and aggressively, all the time, instead of being obliged, fusion-reformer-like, to stand for an infinitely attenuated, homeopathic dose of their creed. Populism abandoning most of its platform except the relatively unimportant free-silver plank, and finally losing even that, illustrates the weakness of the latter position.

Second, a compact organization with a clearly defined program, and a body of resolute workers not confused and demoralized by entangling alliances, can force the old parties on to the perform-

ance of acts not, hitherto, "dreamed of in their philosophy." The evolutionary socialist party man holds that but for abolitionists there probably would have been no Republican party; that but for the Populist organization there would have been no Bryan Democracy; and, likewise, that but for the Socialist party, with a half-million votes behind it, there would not now be constantly manifested in high places the radicalism which most people regard with so much satisfaction.

In the third place, such a party can, as in Wisconsin, actually do business in the political field. There a cluster of active, intelligent, competent workers is in the city council, and another is in the

state legislature. They are not held back by the fear of offending "allies" or "conservative" party members, possessing necessary votes or funds. They are "permeating" as fully as Fabians can permeate and, in addition, are constantly strengthening their organization and acquiring the practical wisdom and administrative capacity which they will need when, probably a few years hence, they will control, first, Milwaukee, and, then, the State of Wisconsin. Obviously, the lessons learned in that city and state will prove of fundamental value in other cities and states and finally in the nation.

THOMAS ELMER WILL.

Washington, D. C.

DANIEL'S VISION: EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS NOT A VISION, BUT AN ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATION.

BY GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS,
Author of "The Bible Allegories."

DANIEL, 7:2: "Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea."

This language implies that it was unsettled weather, and the winds were changeable, and were blowing alternately from every quarter upon the great sea or ocean.

"And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another."

The only beasts which apparently rise from the sea and ascend into the sky are the hieroglyphical signs or beasts of the celestial zodiac. They can only be seen at night, because the sun's brilliant rays diminish or obscure their own feeble light. Moreover, the whole astronomical world uses the night mainly for its observations.

The phrase "being diverse one from

another," is strictly true. They always rise just two hours apart. There are twelve zodiacal beasts that apparently circle around the earth every twenty-four hours. Therefore the twelve beasts rise and set within that time. These facts are known to all astronomers.

Dr. Uriah Smith, in his voluminous work of 757 pages, entitled *Daniel and the Revelation*, on page 113 says: "All Scripture language is to be taken literally, unless there exists some good reason for supposing it to be figurative; and all that is figurative is to be interpreted by that which is literal."

This arbitrary ruling gives us the reason why the immortal blessings of Jacob and Moses have never had an accurate and adequate interpretation. These allegorical blessings are recorded

in Gen., 49, and Deut., 38. They were written three thousand years ago and this mode or manner of ruling would prevent their being understood forever. Fortunately we chose another view, we sought the aid not only of the science of astronomy, but that of mythology, and we have made a valid interpretation of their meaning,—a meaning that is not only rational and consistent, but carries the inherent marks of truth throughout.

The meaning of these ancient blessings speaks volumes for the intelligence of the two distinguished authors who gave them to the world. They change the meaning of a hundred essential passages of Scripture, and remove all their inconsistencies. They will stand throughout all time and defy all opposition as easily as the rock of Gibraltar defies and resists the waves that beat against it.

Dr. Smith, on page 4, in his preface, says: "There are two general systems of interpretation adopted by different expositors in their efforts to explain the sacred Scriptures. The first is the mystical or spiritualizing system, invented by Origen, to the shame of sound criticism and the cause of Christendom; the second is the system of literal interpretation, used by such men as Tyndale, Luther, and all the reformers, and furnishing the basis for every advance step which has thus far been made in the reformation from error to truth as taught in the Scriptures.

"By the mystical method of Origen it is vain to hope for any uniform understanding of either Daniel or the Revelation, or of any other book of the Bible; for that system (if it can be called a system) knows no law but the uncurbed imagination of its adherents; hence there are on its side as many different interpretations of Scriptures as there are different fancies of different writers."

The Bible Allegories refutes substantially every word of the foregoing. Why have they not made a valid interpretation of the blessings of Jacob and Moses by this wonderful system? They have not

made nor cannot make an accurate interpretation of Daniel or Revelation by that system.*

The author of *The Bible Allegories* has formed and has proven to demonstration that any of the Bible allegories which are accurately and adequately interpreted will accord and be in full harmony with science, and any modern scientist will cheerfully accept them.

You may ask with reason, What is science? Science is the immutable laws of Deity. Man has no power to make or invent them,—he simply discovers and records them. Let us give a brief illustration of allegorical language. *The Bible Allegories* on page 217, says (Num., 23:24): "Behold, the people shall rise up as a lion, and lift up himself as a young lion." The word *people* here is allegorical, and is misleading to any one but the initiated or an astronomical class. To them it is plain, beautiful and instructive. The words, "the people," signifies "the stars." Then it becomes an easy matter to observe how *nearly* literal this troublesome text has been. To illustrate: Behold the stars shall rise up as a lion, as the constellation of Leo, the lion, invariably rises, on *schedule* time, on each and every night or day. And he is lifted up apparently by the turning of the earth, as all the other constellations are, and with all the ease of a spry young lion.

Further, the text says: "He shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain." Here we encounter the words "blood" and "slain." Their plain and obvious meaning has been changed to the esoteric or allegorical, which has figuratively imprisoned their sense for ages. Behold, the people—the children of Israel, the tribe of Judah. Leo, the celestial lion of the zodiac, represents a tribe of Israel, and Jacob's son Judah personifies this lion, which shall not lie down—that is,

*See the author's pamphlets, *The Celestial Wilderness; or, The Lord's Highway*, and *The Oriental King's Dream*.
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this constellation of Leo, the heavenly lion, shall not pass by, shall not leave his celestial domicile, as the guardian and protector of our earth, during the season of summer until he eat of the prey and drink of the blood of the slain.

The prey is the bread made from the then present crop of grain, that has ripened and been harvested, ground and made up into bread.

The word "slain" signifies the ripe and gathered grapes, which are allegorically slain; and to drink of the blood of the slain signifies only to drink of the rich and purple juice of the gathered or slain grapes. Hence, little by little, is unfolded a sensible and tenable solution of these ancient texts, that must have resisted the efforts of many enterprising students who have grappled with them.

Before we begin the direct interpretation of these four great beasts, which rose up from the sea, we desire to give our readers the reason why we deny that the prophet in reality saw visions, but that the word vision was used on purpose to deceive the illiterate class, those who know not the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, or the elements of plain astronomy. In other words, the prophet's so-called vision was in reality an astronomical observation,—all of which any modern astronomer will verify.

Webster's unabridged dictionary says of the word "vision": "That vision, is that which is seen; an object of sight. Especially that which is seen otherwise than by the rational eye; a supernatural, prophetic or imaginary sight, an apparition, a phantom." "No dreams, but visions strange." (Sidney). "The baseless fabric of a vision." (Shakespeare.)

There is nothing in heaven, or upon the earth more real than the constellations of the zodiac. They have been rising from behind the sea, or horizon, for thousands of years. They are rising now, just as they were rising then.

We now come to the direct interpretation of the four great beasts which rose up from the sea.

Our earth in round numbers is ninety million miles from the sun. Then a line drawn across the middle of the earth's orbit would measure one hundred and eighty million miles,—the length of its diameter. Three times a diameter equals a circumference; therefore the earth's orbit is approximately five hundred and forty million miles in circumference. This vast and almost infinite circle passes through a belt or zone of stars, eight degrees on each side of the ecliptic, or the earth's orbit, known as the sun's apparent path.

This celestial belt is divided into twelve equal divisions, which are known in astronomy as groups of fixed stars or constellations—from the word *con*, together, and *stella*, a star. But in Scripture they are known as kingdoms and dominions. Each one of them is forty-five million miles long by twenty-four million miles wide; and one of them rises from behind the sea or horizon every two hours throughout the year. These twelve great divisions or constellations are represented by twelve hieroglyphical signs, or beasts, known as the twelve beasts of the zodiac. They are Aquarius, the Water-bearer; Pisces, the Fishes; Aries, the Ram; Taurus, the Bull; Gemini, the Twins; Cancer, the Crab; Leo, the Lion; Virgo, the Virgin; Libra, the Balance; Scorpio, the Scorpion; Saggitarius, the Archer; and Capricornus, the Goat. The sun passes through three of these constellations in spring, three in summer, three in autumn, and three in winter, and has ever done so.

THE FIRST GREAT BEAST.

Dan., 7: 4: "The first beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it."

This great beast is a hieroglyphical sign, a drawing or diagram of a group of fixed stars—a constellation, which never

moves, its apparent movement being due to the revolution of our earth. The earth is perpetually turning from west to east at a rate of one thousand miles an hour. This makes these signs or beasts appear to rise up out of the sea, or rise above the horizon, and pass over the firmament towards the west. As a constellation rises up from the sea or earth its appearance or attitude is ever changing. Sometimes it seems to stand upon its feet as a man; then it crouches as a beast of prey; at other times it is descending towards the sea or horizon. This beast has neither wings nor feathers, but is wholly composed of stars of every magnitude. When the sun's golden rays gild the eastern sky, the stars all fade away, his superior light totally obscuring them. This is why the prophet said they were plucked; and every evening or night, when they rise, they seem to be lifted from the earth or the sea, and ascend the eastern sky.

This great beast or constellation rises every day or night of our lives, and has been doing so for untold ages. The reader may witness its ascension, because it is daily rising now, just as it was rising then.

The phrase, "And a man's heart was given to it," signifies that Jacob's son, Judah, is the genius of the Lord, the sun, and personifies this lion of the zodiac.* Jacob and Moses, in Gen., 49 and Deut., 33, appointed each of the twelve sons of Israel to personify the twelve beasts of the zodiac, and this is one of them.†

By the introduction of the lion as the first beast which rose up from the sea, the prophet departed from the conventional course or beaten track of Jacob's and Moses' arrangement of the zodiac. Moreover, Daniel himself, in a former chapter, made these same four beasts come in the regular order of these two distinguished leaders of Israel.||

These four great beasts which rose up

*Vide, *The Bible Allegories*, chapter on Judah, Pp. 179-220.

†Gen. 49: 9. "Judah is a lion's whelp."

||See the author's pamphlet, *The Oriental King's Dream*.

from the sea do not symbolize any of the ancient political kingdoms on earth, as Babylon, the Medes and Persians, the Grecians or Romans.

The first great beast was Taurus, the celestial Bull. He from the first in Scripture opened the allegorical kingdom or literal season of spring. This matter is known by all astronomers. Jacob's grand or adopted son, Ephraim, personified the Bull 2150 years, and was the first king of kings who ever reigned. He reigned from about the time of Abraham down to about 388 years before our era, as king of kings, or leader of the twelve tribes or constellations of Israel, which is the celestial zodiac. It was on account of his being the leader of the twelve constellations of Israel that the Israelites made a symbol of him and worshiped him as the golden calf. Moreover, the calf that St. John saw with the three other beasts which were worshiping round the throne of heaven, was Taurus, the celestial Bull,—the same beast which Daniel saw, rising from the sea. All this information comes from Jacob's and Moses' blessings, now for the first time given to the world clearly and adequately interpreted in *The Bible Allegories*.

The four beasts which Daniel saw rising from the sea, symbolize the four seasons of the year; notwithstanding all Bible commentators now have an opposite view.

Dan., 7:5: "And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised itself up on one side." This is qualified in the margin: "It raised up one dominion."

This peculiar situation needs the reader's most earnest attention. Each one of the four seasons contains three months, and over them are these constellations of the zodiac as their guardians and protectors. They are represented by these hieroglyphical signs, or beasts in this instance. The Crab, Lion and Virgin are the celestial guardians of summer during June, July and August; but only the middle constellation, the

Lion, is lifted up. The reader cannot discount this language, because it is mathematically true. He can have ocular demonstration, because the Crab, the Lion and the Virgin are things eternal. They are all now plainly visible in the heavens, just as they were then.

The blessings of Jacob and Moses, recorded in the two immortal chapters, Gen., 49 and Deut., 33, inform us beyond the emergence of a doubt, that the twelve sons of Jacob are the genii, spirits, angels, or messengers of their Lord, the sun, sent out through all the earth; and further, that the illustrious twelve sons personify the twelve beasts of the zodiac. Judah is the genius or messenger of this shining lord and personifies the lion. This is why the prophet said: "And a man's heart [intelligence] was given to it."

This celestial lion is the guardian and protector of summer, the season of harvest. And to further corroborate this fact, we desire the student to consult any standard celestial atlas, where he may find in the flowing mane of Leo, the lion of the zodiac, seven resplendent suns or stars of the first magnitude, which represent the heavenly harvest sickle, beaming from the dome of heaven throughout the summer season.

Assigning the celestial beasts to their proper places will make no essential change in the meaning of the texts, as it all relates directly to the sun and the four seasons of the year.

And the prophet said: "It had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it; and they said thus unto it, Arise and devour much flesh."

This language implies that this second beast represents the season of summer, June, July and August, the most productive portion of the year. During this delightful season the plains and verdant pastures, the undulating hills and mountain meadows, have heavy crops of rich, nutritious grass, verging towards maturity. Here in these sequestered regions, on these wide expanses of territory, ten thousand sheep

and cattle make their rightful home. Vast flocks of sheep, with half-grown lambs, were grazing on a thousand hills or drinking of the mountain streams. Great herds of kine, with sleek and well-fatted calves gamboling around them, were enjoying the grateful shade.

These were the pictures before the prophet's mind. Then, with all this vast array, these innumerable flocks and herds of harmless ruminating creatures wholly within the power of carnivorous beasts, such as the lion, bear or leopard, would not these rapacious beasts be certain of abundant prey? It was no wonder, under such conditions, that the prophet saw three ribs in the mouth of it, or that he exclaimed: "Arise, devour much flesh."

Dan., 7:6: "After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it."

The beast which the prophet saw and described, which he says looked like a leopard, has the identical place in the zodiac of the celestial Scorpion. This constellation, with the Scales on one side and the Archer on the other, is the guardian of the season of autumn, while the shining Lord was descending to his winter solstice in Capricorn.

It is bound to develop sooner or later, as we proceed, to an absolute certainty, that it is the Scorpion. Nevertheless the prophet has selected beasts outside the zodiac to represent the seasons, all of which is against the authorities of Israel. However, this will probably adjust itself as we proceed.

Our first effort will be to examine the expression "which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl." To duly appreciate this language, one should imagine himself back in the dark ages, when the theory of the most enlightened nations was that our earth was the fixed and solid center of the universe; that the sun, moon and constellations revolved around us, for our exclusive benefit. The mag-

nitude of the sun or constellations was never dreamed of. Then it followed as a logical sequence that if they were moving so rapidly around the earth, they must from necessity fly; and if they flew, they must have wings. This idea prevailed for ages and is confirmed not only by the Old Testament writers, but by the sculpture found in many localities and preserved in many of the world's great museums. Then it may be asked, What did the prophet mean by the beast having on the back of it *four* wings of a fowl? He meant that each allegorical kingdom or literal season has three constellations to guard and protect the earth, while the shining Lord is passing through them. Then, as a constellation or beast signifies a head, the third beast which Daniel saw rising from the sea was entitled to three heads. The constellations of Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius were these three guardians. Then the reader should observe that the text informs us that "dominion was given to it." That dominion signifies a kingdom or constellation, and it was the one which adjoins them,—it was Capricornus, the heavenly Goat, which adjoins the Archer.

Then, with Capricornus added to the three mythological heads there would be four, which meets the requirements of the text,—“the beast had also four heads.”

This third beast represents the season of autumn, and for some reason the prophet added one month of winter, and its guardian constellation, to it, making four mythological heads or constellations.

With this complex condition solved or unraveled, we shall be able to give the reason why this beast had wings.

All the beasts or constellations were supposed to fly,—to fly around and over the earth, the then center of the universe. Then, as they flew, they must of necessity have wings. The four wings mentioned in the text could hardly have meant one wing for a constellation or beast, as nothing of which we have any knowledge flies with only one wing. That would

be indeed a physical impossibility. It would require two wings, a pair in all cases to balance. Therefore it is safe to say that the prophet's own expression of “four wings” carries the idea that each of the beasts, or dominions, were properly and adequately equipped with wings. Especially do we feel justified in this conclusion when the prophet himself has given to one of these beasts, dominions or constellations, a *pair* of wings. Dan., 7: 4: “The first beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings.”

Moreover, in Nineveh, and in many other localities, there are sculptured bulls and lions which invariably have wings. Then it may be taken for an accepted fact that each of the four great beasts which rose up from the sea was thought to have a pair of wings.

However, all these fallacious theories were swept away, annihilated, when Copernicus discovered that the constellations were fixed and stationary, and that their apparent movements in rising and setting, and flying over and across the firmament, were due wholly and exclusively to the diurnal revolution of our earth. This grand and sublime theory was violently opposed by most religious people for centuries, but finally the truth prevailed and now it is cheerfully accepted by the civilized world. For thousands of years before this astronomical discovery was made, all the eastern nations worshiped the sun. He was called the Most High God and the true and living God. It was during this period that the Scriptures were written, and that same theory permeates the Bible from cover to cover.

But we have found that the shining God who was chosen by the patriarchs was only a local God, dwelling between the cherubim, a resident of a belt of stars astronomically known as the celestial zodiac, but Scripturally known as the Kingdom of Heaven. Psalms, 80: 1: “Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubim, shine forth.”

But other worthy men who have given their lives to celestial discovery have demonstrated the fact that the unnumbered millions of fixed stars are suns, and are in all probability the centers of planetary worlds like our own solar system. This knowledge should extend our vision and views a million-fold. It should open to our minds the truth of infinite space, full of resplendent suns, with revolving worlds, of which our earth is one.

We have now given a brief interpretation of the three great beasts which Daniel saw rising from the sea. It now becomes plainly evident that he had no vision, nor was there anything supernatural in what he saw; but, on the contrary, it was an interesting lesson in astronomy; was, indeed, a veritable astronomical observation,—an observation that a thousand astronomers have repeated since then.

These beasts of the zodiac, which he saw rising from the sea, have risen every day or night since then, just as the sun and moon have done.

Those who may remain skeptical regarding them can easily satisfy themselves. They are all rising and setting now just as they were doing then, and they will in all probability continue to rise and set forever.

In our concluding paper we shall endeavor to make a complete interpretation of the great fourth beast, which was diverse from all others. It is in all probability the most profound allegorical lesson to be found in Scripture, and the author is assured that it has never had an accurate and adequate interpretation. It will be not only deeply interesting, but of vital importance to every reader.

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THE AGITATOR: HIS FUNCTION IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

BY FRANCIS LAMONT PIERCE.

AT CERTAIN critical and significant periods in the advancement of enlightened social standards, upon the inauguration of sweeping reforms and innovations in political and religious conditions, there have appeared men—masterful, dominant, compelling—who by their stirring appeals and the irresistible power of their enthusiasm, have kindled the flame of discontent and just resentment against the iniquities of the old organization and have aroused dormant millions to the institution of a new *régime*. Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, Savonarola, Luther, Hampden, Mirabeau, William Lloyd Garrison—these were the great agitators. While living they were misunderstood, their

motives were impugned, they were subjected to vilification and vituperation on the part of those wielding authority. A corrupt and tyrannical plutocracy murdered some of them. Huss and a few others were dragged in chains and burned at the stake. Most of them were social outcasts and pariahs. Yet the words of Lowell show true insight:

"Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own!"

In the light of a fuller comprehension, we render to these men the meed of praise and admiration. "Heroes and patriots," we call them, "true soldiers

of the spirit, sincere and unselfish fighters in the warfare for human nobility and liberty." Their ideas, which, when first promulgated, were regarded by many as extravagant, impracticable, revolutionary, destructive, subversive of "honor," "security," "sobriety," and all the rest of it, are now the axioms and truisms of the modern world.

We have working among us now men who, in a different field, are doing the same work that Luther and Garrison did—brave, earnest men who endure calumny, repudiation, social ostracism, in order that they may vigorously protest against economic injustice and political despotism. But in our easy complacency we fail to give due recognition to the importance of these men and to their function in the social system. The clarifying, rectifying influence of time is necessary to reveal them in their true perspective. The pressure of present interest, the surge and heat and bitterness of present strife, distort our vision and warp our understanding. And we hear these men stigmatized as "vulgar, indecent, clamorous," as "pernicious radicals" and "dangerous agitators," appealing to class hatred and all the "baser passions of man." Of course, when we take into consideration the fact that this estimate is formulated and given currency by the beneficiaries of special privilege and their educated sycophants, we are inclined to deny its validity. Perhaps, after all, we should adopt the method that Matthew Arnold advised in literary criticism: "Get ourselves out of the way and let humanity judge."

Yet something may doubtless be attempted in the direction of a just, sane estimate of the agitator's function in social evolution, a candid acknowledgment of his good points and a temperate, disinterested reprehension of his bad ones. That he *has* a legitimate function is indisputable, and an endeavor to investigate this impartially and dispassionately, with a view to ascertaining precisely

the position which the agitator occupies, would constitute no insignificant contribution to social science.

It may be laid down as an initial proposition that the agitator is the pioneer of progress, the pathfinder of civilization. He is the herald of the future, the great animating, quickening force of social development. Wendell Phillips said: "Agitation is liberty"; and he might fitly have added that it is progress also. We may apply to the agitator the familiar lines of Lowell:

"Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,
The compact nucleus round which systems grow,
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,
And whirls impregnate with the central glow."

The absence or suppression of agitation means social paralysis, a cessation of the vital forces in the body politic. From ultra-conservatism nothing can be expected but stagnation, degeneration, and decay. Society would be afflicted with the sterile immobility of a Chinese civilization if it were not for the element of change and ferment, the salutary leaven of discontent, introduced by the agitator.

Incessant agitation, as well as "eternal vigilance," is the price of liberty—agitation to institute needed innovations, to reveal and reform abuses, and to destroy unhealthful developments which, if left to take their course, would be a real menace to popular government and social well-being. Without this, civic vitality and civic righteousness would soon approach extinction.

The agitator is needed to enforce the idea that an institution is not of necessity ideal or even beneficial simply because it has been in existence for a long period of time. The agitator refuses pliant, unreasoning acquiescence in everything that is. He demands that immemorial usage, established custom, and constituted authority shall offer some more valid justification for their acceptance than that of mere old age and time honored observance. He compels us to recognize that even doctrines hallowed

and sanctified by tradition may be pernicious fallacies.

We should not close our eyes to the social utility of the rebel, the iconoclast, the fearless, uncompromising assailant of respectable shams. There is a statesmanship of demolition as well as a statesmanship of construction. Progress toward loftier phases of religious ideals and social arrangements necessitates the clearing away of decadent and anachronistic systems. Institutions that have degenerated into shallow formalism or positive social injustice cannot expect to survive. Even men of the most conservative temperament can scarcely refuse admiration to those personalities of elemental vigor, who, with souls aflame with fierce indignation, batter down with fiery vehemence and barbaric ruthlessness the towering mass of time-honored and tradition-sanctified abuses that confronts them. The work of Luther and of Mirabeau was essentially destructive, but it was none the less salutary and beneficent.

In the agitator we see manifested that divine dissatisfaction, that restless idealism, that passionate hungering after the nobler and more perfect, which have invariably been the spur and incitement of social evolution. He sees misery, wrongs, degradation. He believes that they can be alleviated, perhaps eradicated. Wrath—a deep, consuming moral wrath—possesses him, along with impatient exasperation at what he considers the reactionary conservatism that opposes. He fights for his ideals with all the power and depth of his being. By his virile enthusiasm, by the compelling intensity of his moral earnestness, he forces attention and inaugurates reform. With Garrison he says: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will be heard!*"

Flunkeyism may voice its feeble note of complacent servility and satisfaction; the janizaries of corruption and oppression may hold up their fat and oily hands

in horror at the approach of the agitator; he is mightier and nobler than them all! For of smug respectability he will have none; he is the prophet of the poor, the outcast, the body-starved and the soul-murdered; and the mute agony if their dried-up, half-crazed brains finds in him a living cry. Mark this: the historian of the future will have more to say of Upton Sinclair than of Ogden Armour, with all his millions; more of August Bebel—that keen-eyed, gray-haired old man in the shabby coat—than of Emperor William the Second, with all his armies and all his navies; more of Keir Hardie and John Burns of Battersea than of Edward the Seventh, on whose dominions the sun never sets. The agitator speaks for those who have no voice to make their grievances heard; for the young mother of the tenements, whose baby has been killed by the impure milk of the milk trust; for the pallid, wasted children of the factories, whose pitiful little lives have never known the laughing fields and the blue sky that God made; for the men and women to whom Beauty is a name and Happiness a mockery; whose souls are emptied of passion and of joy, whose inmost natures are dwarfed and blighted and strangled in the insensate grind of industrialism.

The men who are responsible for these things do not like agitation. They do not like the novelists and the magazine writers and the newspaper proprietors who tell the great public the truth about these matters. Of course they don't; why should they? They bid their venal press denounce the man who dares to say these things as an "anarchist," an apostle of social disorder; they have their complaisant district attorneys characterize him as "intellectually sterile, socially vulgar, and morally obtuse"; they have their fawning university presidents tell us that he is appealing to "passion, prejudice, and emotionalism"; they have their smug clergymen echo the lament. Somebody has well said that "the Roman plutocracy murdered re-

formers; the American plutocracy lies about them."

We hear a great deal in these days about the "social unrest," the "popular discontent," the "spirit of radicalism." Some good people speak of this thing as a thing vaguely menacing, something that threatens our material prosperity and commercial supremacy. Those persons who have an unreasoning dread of change and an exaggerated fear of popular movements are solicitous lest it presage upheavals, turmoils and cataclysmic disarrangement of existing conditions.

Such apprehension is unwarranted and mistaken. Social unrest is the precursor of social regeneration. It is not dire and sinister, but auspicious. It is the manifestation of diffused enlightenment. It is a sign that humanity is dimly reaching out after a loftier, more comprehensive ideal, that the collective consciousness is awakening to a realization of the inadequacy of present social attainment. Discontent implies aspiration. It facilitates ultimate social adjustment.

We have heard the most eminent citizen of this nation, himself a radical, deplore the evils of "muck-raking." This is all very well, but it would seem that we should deplore not so much the "muck-raker's" activity as the necessity for it. We should devote our attention not to the raker but to the muck. A certain class of people do not seem to recognize the fact that the "man with the muck-rake" is absolutely essential to social well-being. The muck heaps and cesspools of the national life must be cleaned out and disinfectants vigorously applied. The dark and noisome places must be illumined with the fierce light of uncompromising publicity. Pitiless, relentless exposure of corruption and rascality is the indispensable prerequisite of their elimination. Wrongs can never be righted by passively submitting to them. Indifference to them is well nigh a crime; keen, incisive, energetic protest is a patriotic duty.

Some, seeing muck, would throw over it the mantle of concealment and leave those responsible for its existence in malodorous security. With vindictive asperity they deplore and denounce anything approaching exposure. They try to convey the idea that nothing should be said about such horrid, ungenteel things as financial crookedness and shady political operations. To tell the people about them is "loose talk about alleged wrongs." "Just let things take their course and all will be right in the end. The men engaged in these practices are so charming socially, such devout churchgoers, such generous benefactors of educational and charitable enterprises. It is a pretty good world after all; let well enough alone. Why should the poor and unfortunate be discontented? Are they not satisfied with what the rich and powerful are willing to let them have? We are a big, prosperous nation; do n't do anything that could possibly interfere with this glorious condition!"

How often we hear this kind of talk. How very, very stale and insipid it is becoming. Its authors seem to think, however, that the people are always going to be as blind and foolish and futile as they have been in the past, that they will never cease to bow down before the golden idol. University presidents whose institutions are supported by lawless monopoly, condemn in terms of unbridled bitterness the least intimation that "powerful financial interests" and "great corporate organizations" are not eleemosynary and philanthropic enterprises of a purely ideal character. Their *credo* seems to be that of the divine right of money. Flawless and without blemish, it can do no wrong. For its detractors no epithet can be too scathing, no attack too violent.

People who do their own thinking know that talk of this nature proceeds either from the innate toadyism of an intelligence enamoured of wealth and success and so feeble as to fear innovation, or else from selfish and interested

motives. Those who profit by the exploitation of the people have reason to fear the muck-raker and the agitator. He hurts their business.

Along with "anarchist," "socialist," and "muck-raker," the appellation of "demagogue" needs a little consideration. It is a favorite one with the class mentioned above. It is always handy, and whenever a man has the hardihood to offend Money, to question its supremacy, or to expose its delinquencies, this appellation can be trotted out with telling effect. Every reformer who is honest, sincere, courageous, unswerving, who can n't be bullied, bluffed, or bribed, is with these people "a yellow demagogue, inflaming the base passions of the ignorant and impressionable." And the crying wonder of it is that these trite, worn-out, hackneyed commonplaces of accusation, these poor silly epithets, succeed in fooling many people. They do not know that the same thing was said of Luther, of the Gracchii, of Washington, of Garrison; yes, the same things were said of the Savior of this world. Toryism, old-fogyism, stand-patism we have always with us, and the greater part of their strength is derived from men who are deceived as to their own interest by the puerile cry of "demagogy! demagogy!"

What, in the last analysis, is the man who is called a "demagogue"? Simply one who ignores the machinery and the artificial arrangements that intervene between the people and the government; the intriguers, the cliques, the "interests," the bosses, the "organizations"; who makes his appeal immediately to the masses, submitting his cause directly to their judgment and approbation. The machines and the bosses and the "interests" do n't like this. Of course not. And they raise their old stock cry: "Demagogue! demagogue!"

The democratic theory has for its foundation the belief that the individual citizen, however humble, is capable of exercising a just and rational determina-

tion in questions of public policy, and that the will of these citizens, taken in the aggregate, is law. Yet because a man disregards the cliques, opens the eyes of the people to existing wrongs and injustices, and bespeaks openly and in the light of day their coöperation in bringing about reforms, he is, forsooth, a demagogue. Those who belong to the back-stairs school of politics, who "frame up deals" in dark rooms, call him a "dangerous man." Yes, he is dangerous, very dangerous—dangerous to respectable scoundrelism.

It is useless to deny the agitators' faults. His sense of ultimate values is often deficient, his generalizations may be audacious, he may be wanting in logical discrimination and catholicity of sympathy. We cannot but deprecate the indiscriminate denunciation to which he occasionally inclines. Malice, envy, and avarice have no place in true agitation, which should be preëminently unselfish and humanitarian. There should be included in it no element of grossness, cynicism, or sansculottism.

Yet whatever may be the incidental faults of the agitator, he is at bottom an idealist and a visionary, a rugged, energizing force that works for good. His unconventional vigor, his intimate association with the great undercurrents of popular life, make him of the first importance in social phenomena. Whatever we may think of the practicability of the agitator's plans, it is at least invigorating and inspiring to hear in this age of skepticism, pessimism, and disillusionment the world-old cry: "Onward to Utopia!" Thank God for the agitator, who can still respond with eager zeal to the exhortation of Edwin Markham, our great American poet of the social Passion:

"It is a Vision waiting and aware;
And you must draw it down, O men of worth—
Draw down the New Republic held in air,
And make for it foundations on the earth."

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THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE GREAT MOTHER AS AN EDUCATOR; OR, THE CHILD IN NATURE'S WORKSHOP.

SINCE all thoughtful people recognize the great influence of education and environment upon the shaping of the future life of the child, making him a blessing or a curse to self and society, it seems almost incredible that generation after generation should pass and so little be done on the part of parents and teachers to awaken, stimulate and cultivate the deeper springs of being and to replace the feverish, abnormal, artificial, and demoralizing influences of modern urban life, that appeal to the young on every hand, with food for the mind that would appeal to the eager and alert imagination in a wholesome and normal way,—feed it in a manner that must inevitably strengthen and bring out all that is finest and best in the young life. This can be done in many ways, one of the most helpful being the bringing of the child into intimate *rapport* with nature. The marvelous transformation scenes here ever being presented are unmatched in man-made imitations.

Nature is a true teacher to the normal mind. In her we find at once simplicity and profundity, beauty and sanity. Emerson, who probably more keenly appreciated the potent influence of nature in nourishing the imagination and feeding the soul than any other nineteenth-century philosopher, speaks beautifully of the harvest to be gleaned from the field, very different from that garnered by the farmer; and yet to the soul of the poet it was a source of food and delight. And Lord Byron voiced what thousands of others have felt when under the spell of the witching influence of nature, in these well-known lines:

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods;
There is a rapture on the lonely shore;
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep Sea, and music in its roar:
I love not man the less, but nature more,
From these our interviews, in which I steal
To mingle with the Universe, and feel
What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal."

And Longfellow, in one of the sweetest little personal poetic gems in American literature, written to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of one of his dearest friends, the scientist, Louis Agassiz, most happily pictured nature as the teacher and guide *par excellence*, in the following lines:

"And Nature, the old nurse, took
The child upon her knee,
Saying, 'Here is a story-book
Thy Father hath written for thee.

"'Come wander with me,' she said,
'Into regions yet untrod;
And read what is still unread
In the manuscripts of God.'

"And he wandered away and away,
With Nature, the dear old nurse,
Who sang to him night and day
The Rhymes of the Universe.

"And whenever the way seemed long,
Or his heart began to fail,
She would sing a more wonderful song
Or tell a more marvelous tale."

Parents and all who have the priceless treasure of childhood entrusted to their care should make it a glorious labor of love to drive out the false, the artificial and the morally enervating influences that invade the child-mind, by flooding its imagination with the light, the beauty and the wonder of nature.

If one lives near the ocean, short excursions should be taken at various intervals between spring and autumn. A little of the time which parents are wont to spend in more selfish recreations—a few days from fashionable resorts or shooting excursions, a few afternoons from favorite pastimes—will afford the opportunity to bring the plastic mind of the child under the magic influence of nature in her multitudinous and ever-varying moods.

All that is needed is a little less self-absorption and thoughtlessness and a keener appreciation of the duty and responsibility imposed

by the Infinite upon His children, and the way will appear. During these little journeys to some of the workshops of nature, the imagination of the child should be enlisted or stimulated at every point.

Take the sea, for example. Let not the day's outing be listlessly spent, but on the other hand, do not allow the child to imagine you are going to play teacher. We would suggest that before anything is said to the child, the parent should enjoy the wonder and mystery of the great deep for a few moments, until he or she comes under the exalting and intoxicating spell of the ocean, and then out of a mind touched by the mystery, the glory and the majesty of nature, call the attention of the child to the wonder of it all. Tell him of the immensity of the sea. Explain how, far away, its waters wash the shores of many lands; some fringed with great forests; some citadeled with mighty rocks, while here and there are cities and villages; that many are the peoples to whom the sea sings her ceaseless lullaby, some as white as he, others black or brown. Tell him that in the lands of the black man and the brown are the homes of the lion and the tiger, the spotted leopard and the elephant; they live in jungles and forests. Sometimes the waves of the sea wash great desert lands across which move caravans of camels and dromedaries and where grows the date-palm. Tell him of India and the Spice Islands; of the wonders of the frozen Northland, with its continents and its long nights made weirdly beautiful by the Northern Lights.

You will now have filled his mind with interest and wonder, and it will never be satisfied until it has gained more knowledge. You will have thrown a fascinating spell over geography that will invest it with the charm of romance and story when he comes to study it.

Then turn to the poetic aspect; the crooning of the sea, nature's mighty lullaby or cradle-song, that has been sung for millions of years. Explain to him how at dawn and evening often the mirror-like surface of the ocean reflects the splendor of the sky, taking on the multitudinous tints, until it is a vast sheet of glory, sometimes resembling a sea of molten fire. But when night comes, all is changed. The moon and stars give strange beauty to the vast expanse, but with the night ever comes the sense of mystery, and a minor note seems to be sounded, not present in the

day. And there are times when night settles over the ocean with no stars or moon to illumine its vast expanse; when the lullaby, the crooning and the moaning are lost in the hoarse, wild, furious roarings that keep accompaniment to the thunder in the skies. Tell him how at such times the sea becomes very terrible. Describe its awe-inspiring majesty, and tell him something of the tragedies accompanying ocean storms.

Explain the coming and going of the tides—"Eternal outgo and recall"; show him how the salt water keeps all things fresh and sweet.

Tell him of the myriad living things found in the ocean. Show him the sea-shells with their many shapes and delicate tints, and reveal to him something of the vegetation of the deep, so rich in color, so varied in shape, and often so delicate and lace-like in tracery.

Point out the curious pebbles and rocks, which will attract his attention, and then awaken his interest in the strata of the earth, and while he little suspects it, you will have given him a preparatory lesson in geology, and what is more, you will have thrown over the study a poetic or idealistic interest that perhaps will ever linger in his mind.

These are only a few brief hints. Other things will occur to the parent, as, for instance, a description of the great ships that ply the sea: the wonderful voyages of the past; the sailing of Columbus and the discovery of the New World. And thus in many ways the day can be filled with such interest and charm that it will be to the vivid imagination of the young mind a veritable visit into fairyland; and what is more, its memory will remain an oasis, fair in retrospection as an Oriental garden of roses.

Furthermore and of still greater importance, in all his after life never will he see the ocean with indifferent interest or without remembering with delight his childhood hours spent with the loved parent who may perchance long since have passed from view.

In the same ways little journeys should be taken into the country, where the mystery and miracle of nature, is less majestic, is none the less marvelous. The magic transformation of the seed into the beautiful plant, clothed in emerald and robed in the beauty of bloom, will afford delight while awakening a healthy speculative interest in something that, being invested with the element of mystery which appeals so irresistibly to the

young imagination, will provoke thought and develop the faculties of reason and observation.

During these excursions the child's attention should be called to the variety and beauty of leaf and flower; the different kinds of trees in the forest, and their value and peculiarities should be dwelt upon; and the bird and other animal life will also afford sources of pleasure and information. In so far as possible lift the veil and let him see the great Artist-Artisan in the wonderful work-shop of Creation, and teach him to enjoy the many voices and songs of nature.

If it is possible to take the little one to the mountains, new revelations and wonders will await him. But whether it be at the seaside, in the lowlands of the country, or amid the solemn sentinels of time that spire-like rise heavenward, in every instance the youthful imagination will be brought *en rapport* with nature. Only pure, elevating and wholesome ideals, images and lessons will have been impressed on the brain, and the child so instructed in early life is thrice blessed. All after years will be rich in memories of the beautiful hours when the panorama of nature was first unfolded and her wonders explained.

To such a one nature will ever appeal with irresistible power; her spell will haunt him throughout life. It matters not when or where he may seek her, he will always find that she has a banquet spread for his imagina-

tion and a message for his brain, and he will also find that the contemplation of her phenomena will stimulate profound musing on the deeper things of life.

Thus the splendor of autumn will show him that nature is most glorious in the hour of her departure. He will note that when the mission of the flower, plant and tree has been for the time being fulfilled, and the hour of exit has arrived, nature robes herself in the regal glory of a victor and departs mantled in crimson and russet, in scarlet and gold.

Even the humble and modest little plants in the meadowlands are attended in their departure by the waving plumes of the purple asters and the golden-rod; while the grass-carpeted slopes, still brave in emerald, are sprinkled with gold by the fall dandelions, and the buttercups as well fleck the same grass with sunlight.

Here is no sign of sadness, no craven slinking away. No garments of black or sable plumes companion the fallen leaves; but clad in a wealth of colors that baffle the painter's art, they fall as men should fall, glory-crowned victors, garmented in beauty and without a suggestion of sadness or gloom.

And so every year, season, day and passing hour will bring new wealth to the imagination, new lessons, suggestions and meanings to the mind, making of the one-time listless and unobserving child a man or woman who is at once a philosopher, an idealist and a lover.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

SIR WILLIAM PERKIN AND ONE OF THE MOST WONDERFUL OF CHEMISTRY'S FAIRY-LIKE TALES.

THE RECENT death of Sir William Perkin calls to mind one of the most fairy-like stories in the romance of nineteenth-century chemistry. It was Sir William who discovered the key to the sealed page, and the discovery, as has so often been the case in the history of scientific advance, was made in an accidental way.

The great chemist had been trying to utilize coal-tar, one of the by-products of the manufacture of gas that seemed useless and entailed great cost to get rid of. Some experiments led Mr. Perkin to hope that he might extract a chemical something like quinine from this hitherto useless by-product. He failed and was on the verge of casting out the chemical mixture when his eye was attracted by the beautiful hue of the liquid. The color held his imagination as by fascination, and while he was experiencing the subtle pleasure that all artistic and beauty-loving minds experience in the presence of rich color effects, an idea flashed through his brain. Might not he be able to set the color and make it useful for dyes? He at once set to work and succeeded. The color he presented to the world was mauve.

The scientific world, however, hailed his discovery with that incredulity which so often meets great discoveries and which is only surpassed by the unlimited credulity that not

unfrequently is given to amazing claims when put forth by men of prominence, such, for example, as that accorded the Elixir of Life which a few years ago threw the medical world into a fever of excitement when Dr. Brown-Sequard claimed to have made a wonderful discovery.

Nothing daunted by the incredulity of many of his brother chemists, Mr. Perkin began the establishment of dye-works. Soon other chemists addressed themselves to experiments with coal-tar along similar lines, and as a result the world ere long possessed the rainbow hues of the aniline dyes.

But this was only a small part of the wonderful discoveries that quickly followed the experiments with this once despised by-product. More than a score of powerful new therapeutic agents were discovered. Substitutes for various kinds of perfumery and flavoring extracts were made, while one chemist discovered saccharin, a substance three hundred times sweeter than sugar. Considerably more than one hundred distinct agents of more or less positive value have come as a sequel to Sir William Perkin's momentous discovery. The whole story of the utilization of this by-product forms one of the most fascinating of the wonder records of modern chemistry.

THE INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY AND CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT.

Why Secretary Root and a Large Section of The Plutocracy Favor Transferring The Powers of The State to The Central Government.

NO FACT is more noticeable than that while a certain number of confessedly Wall-street journals, like *Harper's Weekly*, are greatly increasing Mr. Roosevelt's popularity by attacking him and his policies, a

large number of other equally reactionary although frequently less confessedly plutocratic newspapers, as well as many of the masters of privileged wealth, are not only making no outcry against the President, but are favorable to the movement for securing for the central government the powers that have always been recognized as rightfully belonging to the states. In the present

temper of the public mind, and with a knowledge of the steady aggressions of the Federal judiciary in behalf of the plutocracy, since the courts have begun the abuse of the injunction power in the interests of corporate wealth, it would have been impossible to have attempted any transfer of state powers to the central government save by so doing under the plausible pretext that the states were derelict in their duty to the people; that they were being unduly swayed or influenced by corporate wealth, and that the larger interests of the people demanded more positive and effective protective measures against conscienceless and corrupt organized wealth than the states were affording the people.

It was therefore under this pretext that the administration advanced its plea for assuming rights and powers heretofore enjoyed by the states. The states, however, were very quick to act as soon as there seemed to be any prospect of legislation which the states might pass escaping the destructive rulings of Federal courts, which had proved such adepts in reading all kinds of meanings into the Constitution when the interests of the great corporations were attacked.

The states felt that with the administration apparently pledged to give popular relief, laws which the states enacted along the lines long demanded by the public and which the administration seemed to approve, would stand some chance of being given a trial, and consequently a number of states were quick to pass laws so framed as to give relief to the people and traveling public from the outrageous and long continued oppression of the stock-watering railroad gamblers who manipulate the great railway systems. This attempt on the part of the states to safeguard the rights of the people was quickly resented by the great railroad corporations that have so long been a dominant influence in the national, state and municipal governments of America, and in different regions they promptly began either to fight or to ignore the laws.

Thus in North Carolina, when the state attempted to enforce the laws which their legislators had enacted against the great anarchistic railroad corporations, these chronic law-breakers immediately turned for assistance to a Federal judge; and in this act discerning men will quickly see why Root and so many life-long attorneys for law-defying and law-

breaking corporations, and why so many of the princes of privilege have complacently viewed when not actively encouraging the attempt to limit the power of the state to protect and foster the interests of her citizens, by lodging that power in a central government which since the days of Grover Cleveland has looked to Wall street and the great public-service corporations and trusts for vast campaign funds that should insure the election of the candidates most liberally supported by the corporation-controlled political machine.

A large section of the plutocracy feels, and with reason, that they have nothing to fear from the central government, if they can once destroy the power of the states to safeguard the interests of the people against the aggressions of the feudalism of privileged wealth. They know that there is no more subservient tool of privileged interests in political life to-day than Speaker Cannon, the master of the House of Representatives. They know that the Senate is frankly plutocratic. They know that the present President of the United States, at the very time when he was making such fair promises about shackling cunning and curbing predatory wealth, was writing to his political friend Harriman, then in Paris, urging him to call for conference on his return to America,—Harriman, a man who the President knew, as well as did everyone else, typified perhaps more strikingly than any other of the great predatory chiefs of Wall street, all that President Roosevelt pretended to be fighting against. They know, furthermore, that the President has been pleased to surround himself with their long tried and faithful servants or with men who are altogether satisfactory to them. And they know that these men, with whom Mr. Roosevelt has surrounded himself are his most intimate counselors.

Secretary Root, who since the day when he was so severely reprimanded by Judge Davis for unjustifiable activity in trying to get the notorious Boss Tweed free, to the time when he left the service of the great public-service chief, Thomas Fortune Ryan, to enter political life, has been one of the most, if not the most efficient servant of the great predatory corporations whose headquarters are in New York, is credited with being the most influential of all Mr. Roosevelt's counselors.

Mr. Cortelyou, who was so successful in

securing vast sums of money from the insurance scoundrels—money that belonged to the insured—for the election of Mr. Roosevelt, —Mr. Cortelyou, the friend of Perkins and others who so admirably typify the high finance of Wall street, has been promoted by Mr. Roosevelt to the secretaryship of the treasury.

Secretary Taft, the judge who made the great discovery that so endeared him to the railways and other great corporate interests that they rightly regard him as a kind of Columbus,—the discovery that the interstate commerce law could be used against labor,—and a man whom the highest plutocratic authorities regard with the utmost favor, as has already been pointed out in *THE ARENA*, is the person whom Mr. Roosevelt claims to favor as his successor.

The plutocracy further knows that in the battle between the people and predatory wealth, the President chose to consult with Spooner, the great servant of the railroad interests, instead of with the other United States Senator from Wisconsin, who had at all times and in all places proved himself true and loyal to the interests of the people. They know that Philander C. Knox, who next to Mr. Root is the man most loved by predatory wealth and corporation interests of any man in public life to-day, is another intimate friend and counselor of the President. And finally the plutocracy, fully agreeing with President Roosevelt that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so," has no serious fear of the President so long as he surrounds himself with such men as the above, and they are perfectly content for the public indignation to be appeased by a certain number of suits brought against corporations, where the guilty parties will only be liable to fines—fines which if levied will promptly be followed by acts of reprisal on the part of the corporations, by which the people will be mulcted of many times the amount of the fines imposed.

So the plutocracy has no real fear of a centralized government. They believe that they are sufficiently entrenched in the government, in the press, in the college, in the church, and in commercial life, to be able to control the centralized government, especially if the powers of the states are taken from them so that there is nothing to be feared except action by the Federal power.

Will Judge Pritchard Prove a Burchard to The Plutocracy?

The action of Federal Judge Pritchard in coming to the rescue of the anarchistic, law-defying railroad company, may prove a boomerang to the plutocracy. The Judge may yet become a Burchard to the industrial autocracy that is seeking, to completely dominate free government. His decision, rendered in time to open the eyes of the people to the menace of placing the supreme power of government in the hands of a centralized government that has for years delighted in placing the faithful and trusted servants of the corporations and prominent railroad attorneys on judicial benches, and in selecting corporation attorneys to act as attorneys-general for the curbing of corporations, may happily have come in time to awaken the people to the sinister aim of that wing of the plutocracy that is striving to secure autocratic power for the central government.

Even the *New York World*, so perniciously active in furthering the interests of plutocracy along many lines and in attacking fundamental democratic principles and the demands of just and popular government, when these principles and demands are inimical to the interests of certain reactionary and predatory influences, stops in its contemptible attacks on Mr. Bryan long enough to sound a note of warning. In its leading editorial of July 24th, it publishes the following words which are worthy of careful perusal, whether or not they were published as a cautionary signal to the powers that be:

"A few months ago Secretary Root laid down the doctrine that if the States neglected to exercise the powers rightfully belonging to them the National Government might exert those powers by judicial assumption. North Carolina undertakes to regulate railroad rates within its limits and it is at once checked by a United States court, first by injunction and later by *habeas corpus*. Clearly enough this is not calculated to promote virility on the part of the menaced commonwealths.

"If States are to be dominated by Federal judges when they fail to meet all the expectations of men who would have them act with energy, and then are to be set aside summarily by Federal judges when they do attempt to use their power, they will presently find themselves in a more humiliating position

than has ever been prepared for them by the most zealous centralizer.

"The importance of questions originating in this way makes it desirable that the people should inform themselves as to the facts as they develop and endeavor to reach intelligent conclusions thereon. To this end it is necessary for every American to understand that while courts are entitled to respect they are not above criticism. They sometimes do wrong and they sometimes do the right thing in the wrong way.

"Two of the great political parties of this country owe their origin in part to hostility to the courts. Nothing contributed more to the first great triumphs of the Jefferson Democrats in 1800 than the rancor displayed by the old Federalist judges in their attitude toward their political opponents. The Republican party was inspired in its early years by the popular indignation which the Dred Scott decision awakened.

"We need not blink the fact that the Federal courts were organized in the beginning with a particular view to the protection of property. They have served their purpose well. At times it has been thought that they have been so intent upon this object that they have lost sight of other things quite as important.

"In the present temper of the people it is clearly unwise, even if there be legal warrant for it, for these courts to interfere too drastically with States which are making an effort to deal with questions admittedly within their jurisdiction. Bad legislation enforced for a time often does more good than can possibly be accomplished by hasty judicial rulings setting it aside as unconstitutional and void.

"The Federal courts have given a great deal of law to the people. It is to be remembered, however, that the people have also given law to the Federal courts, and that they may do so again."

A Former Railroad Lawyer as a Federal Judge Seeks to Protect The Law-Defying Railroad Corporations From The Penalty of Their Crimes.

Judge William D. Porter of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court is on record as saying:

"There is no tyranny in this country to-day so bad as that exercised by the Federal judges. They are constantly interfering with that which does not concern them."

In the case of Judge J. C. Pritchard of North Carolina, who formerly acted as attorney for the Southern Railroad Company, the railroad chiefly affected by the new State law, the American people have a striking illustration of the results that we may naturally expect when railway attorneys or corporation counsels are placed upon the bench.

Less than a year ago the various politicians connected with the administration intimated that the states were not disposed to give the people relief from railroad exactions. The states replied by promptly passing laws in the interests of the people. Among the governors who have signed the two-cent railroad rate bills are those of Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri, as well as North Carolina.

The railroads of North Carolina defied the state law, and Judge Pritchard has come to their relief. When in recent years the great corporations have been denounced as law-breakers, law-evaders and law-defiers, the parrots of conventionalism in press, pulpit and college have replied that if laws were being broken, the fault lay with the people's officers in not enforcing them; that the trust magnates or the trust tools,—the officers of the great railway and other public-service corporations and their agents, who violate the laws, could easily be punished, just the same as any other criminals, provided it could be proved that they defied the laws. Yet the moment the attempt is made to punish these law-breakers we have the sorry spectacle of a Federal judge, who formerly acted as attorney for the chief law-breaker, rushing to the rescue of the lawless and seeking to throw the mantle of protection afforded by his high office, over those who are deliberately defying the law passed by the people's servants.

Happily for the people, North Carolina at the present time has a governor beholden only to the people and possessing much of the spirit of the American patriots of 1776.

HOW THE REACTIONARY DAILY PRESS POISONS THE PUBLIC MIND BY DELIBERATE MISREPRESENTATIONS.

THE ARENA has recently exposed the systematic method by which the industrial autocracy is poisoning the minds of the people by means of its various press bureaus for the manufacture of tainted news and through its kept editors on the reactionary daily press. One vicious method of deceiving the casual reader has of late been so generally resorted to as to call for special attention.

This latest trick to deceive the business man and the casual reader of the newspaper, who has only time to scan its pages before his

that the citizens in a certain locality were opposed to a certain proposed referendum. The opposition was perfectly natural, perfectly proper, and something not only to be expected but inevitable, and had nothing whatever to do with opposition to the referendum principle of government, which colleges, universities and voters alike throughout Oregon are overwhelmingly in favor of. Tens and probably hundreds of thousands of voters all over the country, who merely read the misleading headlines, concluded that the great educational institutions of Oregon

“Hang Haywood and a Million Men Will March In Revenge,” Says Darrow

breakfast or on the car *en route* for his office is found in the setting-up of headings that are wholly misleading in character,—headings which pretend to state news facts that follow, but which in reality convey an entirely erroneous or false impression.

A short time after the dispensers of tainted news had flooded the country with the absolutely false statement that the referendum was not a success in Oregon, a great number of papers published dispatches coming from different parts of Oregon. These dispatches were so headed up as to mislead all readers who only perused the display headings. Thus, the reader's eye falls on a heading telling him that certain educational institutions are opposed to the referendum, or that the citizens in certain given towns are overwhelmingly opposed to the referendum. Such headings, in large display type, were published far and wide. Now the readers who took the pains to peruse the fine type in which the dispatches were published, found out that the university or college referred to was merely opposed to a proposed referendum that would affect the college interests; or



Mr. Darrow, in closing the argument of the morning session, said that "if the jury should hang Bill Haywood, one million willing hands will seize the banner of liberty by the open grave and bear it on to victory."

were opposed to Direct-Legislation, and that citizens in different communities were equally opposed to it. This, of course, is precisely what the feudalism of privileged wealth desired to have conveyed and was a part of its campaign of misrepresentation by which it hopes to retain its hold as autocratic master of government and exploiter of the wealth-producing and consuming millions of America.

Another way in which certain daily papers poison the minds of the general reader against incorruptible leaders of the people whom the industrial autocracy fears, is by putting into their mouths utterances that discredit them and by distorting statements so that they appear to mean something entirely different from the words uttered or the intention intended to be conveyed. Perhaps no man in public life to-day has suffered more seriously at the hands of unscrupulous editors and controlled newspapers than has Mr. Bryan; but few men in public life, who have proved themselves to be absolutely incorruptible and who have taken a stand squarely in the interests of Jeffersonian democracy and Lincoln republicanism, have escaped the innuendoes and deliberate attempts of certain papers to misrepresent them and destroy their influence. A very noticeable example of this character was found in the Boston *Post* of July 25th, which published on its front page a double-column "scare" head-line, as follows:

"Hang Haywood and a Million Men Will March in Revenge," Says Darrow."

The above alleged quotation was put in quotation points. Following it was a large portrait of Mr. Darrow. Probably ten or twenty thousand of the *Post's* readers only read that false statement, printed as a direct quotation. Those who took the pains to read the *Post's* dispatch which followed the sensational and false quotation, found no such utterance. Instead, Mr. Darrow's remark was given as follows:

"Mr. Darrow, in closing the argument of the morning session, said that 'if the jury should hang Bill Haywood, one million willing hands will seize the banner of liberty by the open grave and bear it on to victory.'"

Very different is the above perfectly proper and doubtless truthful prediction from the incendiary threat which the *Post* represented Mr. Darrow as making. Yet the ten or twenty thousand people who read only the *Post's* heading will tell their friends of the threat given and the incendiary character of the remark, with the result that Mr. Darrow will be discredited in so far as the false statement is believed. And yet the *Post* pretends to be a friend of justice and freedom, —a strictly "safe and sane" daily educator.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE CASE AGAINST THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

THE COMPLETE collapse of the attempt to obtain Mrs. Eddy's property and to discredit the founder of Christian Science, came on August 21st when Mr. William E. Chandler as senior counsel for the so-called "next friends" asked leave to withdraw. Thus this long and carefully executed newspaper campaign of calumny, slander, reckless assertions and misleading statements, this shameful attempt to prejudice a case by sensational attacks, by falsehoods and by coloring facts so that the inferences drawn were entirely unwarranted by the simple truth undoctored and uncolored together with all the ingenious methods of the reckless attorneys, who hoped to win through arousing prejudice where justice and evidence were

wanting, has come to nought. The case will go down in history as the most remarkable trial involving religious beliefs since the days of the Salem witchcraft and the persecution of the Quakers in New England. Hypocrisy and false pretense marked almost every step of the proceeding, in so far as the representatives of the so-called "next friends" were concerned. The public was gravely informed that Mrs. Eddy was a hopeless invalid unable to leave her room; that she could not talk consecutively on any subject any length of time; and that she was "a prisoner" in a "house of mystery" held in bondage by an unscrupulous clique. It was stated that there was no attempt on the part of the would-be rescuers of this helpless prisoner

to reflect upon the religious belief entertained by the Christian Scientists, and almost in the same breath the religious teachings of the founder of Christian Science were cited as evidence of insanity. Everything that was possible for the shrewd and reckless counsel and the black journals, which lent their columns to the daily dispensing of sensational and misleading reports, was done to prejudice the public and unconsciously influence the judiciary. The public was led to believe that if the judges could once see Mrs. Eddy they would find full substantiation of the circumstantial charges that had been so freely made; but next to the desire for the judges to see Mrs. Eddy, the counsel for the "next friends" expressed their great anxiety to get hold of her secretary and have him interrogated before the judges.

When the three masters appointed to try the case met and expressed a desire to personally see Mrs. Eddy, the desire was promptly acceded to, and the senior counsel on both sides together with the three masters spent an hour with the venerable head of the Christian Science denomination. During that time, the masters plied her with questions, and found her possessing wonderful mentality for a person of her age. In commenting on the ending of the case, the *Boston Globe*, of August 22d, well said in an editorial entitled "The Withdrawal of the Eddy Suit":

"The one thing more than any other that probably influenced the action of the counsel for the 'next friends' in withdrawing the suit was the remarkable interview of the board of masters with Mrs. Eddy. The report of that interview justified the widespread astonishment of the mental vigor of a woman of Mrs. Eddy's venerable age. It was immediately apparent that a strong impression had been produced upon all who saw and heard her."

The *Boston American* reports Senator Chandler to have said, after the examination of Mrs. Eddy at her home, "She is smarter than a steel trap."

To add to the discomfiture of the persecutors, General Streeter, the senior counsel for Mrs. Eddy, presented her secretary, Mr. Frye, and requested the opposition to question him at their pleasure. They, however, declined to take advantage of the opportunity which they had led the public to believe they were so eager to embrace.

Next the counsel for the so-called 'next friends' made the demand that they be allowed to select two alienists to visit Mrs. Eddy and pass on her sanity. This demand was acceded to by General Streeter, so sure was he that Mrs. Eddy would prove to the alienists as she had to the masters her mental clarity and power. But, no, when the chance was given, the opposition, finding that its last card had been called, threw up its hands, so to speak, and the case collapsed. General Streeter insisted, however, that the case should proceed, and in his speech urging that the masters continue the investigation, he said:

"In behalf of Mrs. Eddy we demand that the masters proceed with this hearing and determine the questions submitted, namely, that Mrs. Eddy was incompetent to manage her business affairs on March 1, 1907.

"The motion of the counsel for the 'next friends' proves that their case has collapsed, and that they are now running to cover. This is their legal right, but I am thinking of the legal rights of Mrs. Eddy. She is entitled to the protection of the court.

"After providing liberally for her child and her own, she had devoted a large portion of her money to the growth of the religious belief founded by her. Now her adopted son has loaned the use of his name to a suit brought by alleged 'next friends,' but really started by a certain New York newspaper, which has retained great counsel and paid the bills. It is based on false pretenses, and is unique in the history of legal procedure. We have all along questioned whether it was brought in good faith.

"Mrs. Eddy and her counsel have cooperated with the masters in everything they wished, she has submitted herself for their inspection, and some of her replies to their questions have been sent out to all the world. They are an evidence in themselves as to whether she is competent or not.

"Nothing has been denied to yours, and the charge that she is incompetent has thoroughly collapsed. Now these 'altruists' wish to avoid any decision from you that Mrs. Eddy is competent.

"We demand a finding on the issues of the case as they now stand. We speak not only for Mrs. Eddy, but for every other aged citizen of this State, whose property, person and religious convictions are in danger."

The masters ruled that "since the parties who had asserted lack of mental capacity withdrew, there was no controversy left. Mrs. Eddy stands with nothing to answer, as we view it."

In their chagrin and humiliation the defeated counsel indicate that they will make another attempt at some future time; if not during Mrs. Eddy's lifetime, they will after she passes away. But the evidence that has been brought out confuting the circumstantial and detailed statements that have been scattered broadcast has been such that it would be far more difficult to accomplish their purpose in the future than it would have been had these false statements remained unfuted till after Mrs. Eddy's death.

It is a sad commentary on American journalism that papers claiming to be great representative thought molders, like the *New York World* should be found hounding a venerable and revered woman, and that it should be seconded by such papers as the *Boston Herald* and the *New York Times*.

A very singular fact was pointed out by the *New York Journal* in an editorial, that the two *New York* papers that had been most vicious in their attacks on Mrs. Eddy are

both owned by Jews,—the *World* and the *Times* being controlled by representatives of that race that has for two thousand years been so shamefully persecuted for their religious opinions. But the *Journal* well observes that the *World* and *Times* do not reflect the feelings of the race in this pitiful exhibition of the persecuting spirit.

It is a singular coincident that Mark Twain's attack on Christian Science, the *McClure* articles and the *World's* campaign made their several bows to the public almost simultaneously.

The result of this trial will, without doubt, greatly stimulate public interest in Christian Science and strengthen the new church. In commenting editorially on the result of the trial, the *Boston Journal* points out that "it is not only a legal victory for Mrs. Eddy in Christian Science but also a moral one," and it believes that the new church "has been strengthened, solidified and extended by it." "Nothing," it says, "has been brought out to weaken the faithful or to shock the public at large." The *Journal* does not think that any other suits will be attempted, for it observes: "It is difficult to see how any more actions of the sort can stand after yesterday's surrender."

AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS AS TO THE PRACTICAL WORKING OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA.

MACHINE politicians and public officials selected by the privileged interests and public-service corporations to misrepresent the people and promote the interests of their masters and the masters of the money-controlled machine, are naturally enough fighting Direct-Legislation, because the one thing which the corrupt political boss, the industrial autocracy and their political dependents and servants most fear is "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." But while we are in no wise surprised to find the betrayers of the people and the traitors to the genius of democratic institutions opposing Direct-Legislation, we regret to find presumably intelligent men indulging in reckless and mendacious statements which convict them of either an amazing degree of ignorance or of almost incredible moral tur-

pitude. It is difficult to imagine that any one having any self-respect or regard for the opinion of intelligent people would brazenly declare, as has been recently done, that Direct-Legislation has proved a failure wherever tried, in Switzerland and America, or would characterize Direct-Legislation as "mob-rule." Such statements are, of course, an insult to all intelligent persons who are at all conversant with the facts.

Against the absurd and false statements such as Mr. Satterthwait very ably answers in this issue of *THE ARENA* and which were recently uttered by a well-known New Jersey politician of the machine-ruled dominant party, we wish to give the statement of men who, unlike the New Jersey politician, are in a position to know what they are talking about,—men whose veracity is undoubted

and whose positions in the political, educational and economic worlds give them international prominence. The New Jersey politician, who merely voices what the privileged interests and the money-controlled machine of New Jersey wish disseminated, intimates that Direct-Legislation would be mob-rule and that it has been a failure in Switzerland. Against these statements of the machine politician, who seems ignorant of the fact that Direct-Legislation has been for several years in highly successful operation in a number of American commonwealths, we place the following testimony in relation to Direct-Legislation in Switzerland.

Hon. N. Droz, former-president of Switzerland, says:

"Under the influence of the referendum a profound change has come over the spirit of parliament and people. The net result has been a great tranquilizing of public life."

Professor Charles Borgeaud, of the faculty of the University of Geneva, one of the most distinguished educators and economists of Europe, in a paper prepared expressly for *THE ARENA*, has this to say on the results of the referendum in Switzerland:

"The Referendum has won its case. Unquestionably it has proved a boon to Switzerland and has no more enemies of any following in the generation of to-day. Let me give one instance to illustrate what I advance. In one of the Cantons that was among the last to introduce the Referendum—the Canton of Geneva—where the bill bears the date of 1879, both parties, Conservative and Radical, are just now quarrelling in lengthy articles and in political speeches about the real promoters of the same. The novelty of twenty-five years ago is such an unqualified success that every party feels inclined to boast of being the country's benefactor who introduced it in the cantonal constitution. As a matter of fact it was inaugurated at Geneva by the Conservatives, who from that time really deserved the name which they assume, of Democrats.

"Now why is that institution so popular in Switzerland that no one would dream of proposing that we should do away with it and go back to the purely representative system of 1848? Because it has proved an efficacious remedy, meeting in a large measure the evils

which may be consequent upon that form of government."

Professor Frank Parsons, who recently visited Switzerland and conversed freely with all classes, says:

"I did not find one man who wishes to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people."

Charles E. Russell, writing for *Everybody's*, declares that the Swiss are "by all means the happiest people in Europe. They are not called upon to endure anything which they do not approve. They have at all times in their hands a machine, mobile, swift and efficient, by which they can work reforms and effect changes."

The pitiful ignorance of the New Jersey legislator as to the character of Direct-Legislation and its work abroad is only less marked than his ignorance of the political history of his own country, with which about every intelligent schoolboy is conversant. For several years Oregon and South Dakota have had Direct-Legislation in active and practical operation. Of its worth in South Dakota one may judge from the following testimony, given by Governor C. N. Herreid, a prominent Republican statesman:

"Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the referendum has been a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes on the legislature, and hence there is no need of recourse to the referendum."

In Oregon Direct-Legislation has been more fully tested than elsewhere, and as to its practical working in that great and flourishing commonwealth no one is more competent to speak authoritatively than United States Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon. Mr. Bourne is a Harvard man, a leading Republican statesman of the Pacific coast, and though we published his recent utterance on the working of Direct-Legislation in his own commonwealth in the July *ARENA*, it so completely and crushingly answers the pitiful twaddle of the New Jersey politician that we make the following quotations from the Senator's utterances. Senator Bourne, writing in May of the present year, declares that he feels fully justified in stating that Direct-Legislation "is more popular

than ever and that no combination of circumstances or individuals can coerce or befoul the people into assenting to or permitting any repeal or limitation of its power. In my humble opinion, Oregon's Direct-Legislation system is the safest and most conservative plan of government ever invented. There is no possibility of any sudden overturn of policies or principle by change of parties in office—no great change can be made without the consent of a majority voting on that particular question separate from all others. I am confident that a majority can never be had for a measure without there is good reason to believe it will advance the general welfare.

"The great majority of the American people are honest, intelligent and just; agitation and full discussion must inevitably result

in their giving a wise decision. Should a mistake be made through lack of agitation and discussion, it can quickly be remedied by this system by again referring direct to the people. There is no occasion to wait for a change of administration or a change of party majorities in the state Senate or House. This system places direct responsibility on each individual voter for every law under which he lives.

"The initiative especially makes available all the statesmanship there is among all the people. Any man or group of men having a good idea can enlist for one or more campaigns and get it before the people for approval or rejection. No boss nor political machine nor corrupt legislator can prevent a fair hearing and decision by the supreme power, the sovereign people."

MISREPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND HOW TO MAKE IT REPRESENTATIVE.

RECENTLY a correspondent of the New York *Sun*, presumably a corporation hack or the servant of some political boss, for he had not the manhood to sign his name, made an attack on Direct-Legislation which was admirably answered by Mr. H. B. Maurer, the able secretary of the New York Referendum League; and inasmuch as Mr. Maurer has happily exposed the glaring fallacy of one of the dishonest but overworked cries of the corporation agents and the tools of the political machine, we reproduce his letter below.

It is easy to imagine men like Aldrich, Lodge and Penrose among political bosses; Morgan, Ryan, Belmont, Armour, Stillman and the various other chiefs of the industrial autocracy, enjoying to the full bent of their nature the joke of a representative government, when they are away from the curious eyes and ears of the supposed sovereign voters.

The great franchise companies, owing to the betrayal of their trust by those who are governing the city of New York, are to-day owing the treasury of New York between thirty and forty millions of dollars. The Supreme Court has declared the law on which the levies have been made to be constitutional, and the companies therefore would have nothing left but to pay the bill if the

city of New York possessed a truly representative government,—if her citizens had a government so representative as to respond to the wish of the people as it would respond if the ends of representative government had not been defeated by the public franchise companies acting in union with the political machines, or as it would respond if we had Direct-Legislation instead of government by corporate wealth through political bosses and machines, as now obtains. But unhappily, New York possesses the shadow but not the substance of representative government. The government represents the interests of the feudalism of special privilege as glaringly as it misrepresents the wishes and interests of the people. It was in May, 1905, that the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the validity of the law taxing these franchise companies, "thereby declaring in effect that this enormous indebtedness must be paid": but the people's misrepresentatives have not collected the money. And this is but one out of scores upon scores of similar illustrations that might be cited which show equally clearly the absolute absurdity of claiming that the present government of privileged wealth by the boss and the machine is representative of the people.

In his reply to the anonymous attack on Direct-Legislation, Mr. Maurer says:

"To the Editor of the *Sun*—Sir: 'Constitutionalist' says that 'for the representative government we now enjoy it is proposed to substitute a pure democracy.' 'Enjoy' is good, for, judging from the ridicule heaped upon it, the manner in which it stirs the risibles of cartoonist, editor and reporter, if our press is a criterion, 'representative government' is a very enjoyable affair. Does Congress or any Legislature ever adjourn without giving occasion to the press, on behalf of the people, to heave a sigh of relief or convulse with laughter?

"Is 'Constitutionalist' so simple-minded as to think that many Legislatures are representative, or when, perchance, one is so, as sporadically happens, it is really tumbling over itself to heed the wishes of the dear people? Is it not a fact that respect for the average Representative in Congress and especially for the United States Senator is rare; that members of the Legislature are more often regarded with contempt than otherwise, and that the Alderman is quite generally either considered a necessary evil or a joke? They who are exceptions to this rule become men of mark, but their official careers are almost invariably brief.

"The dearth and tardiness of desirable, the plentitude and expeditiousness of vicious, the vastness of foolish legislation demonstrate that representative government has broken down. Why were we seventeen years in getting a pure food law? Why do we still pay two cents for postage and absurdly high rates to railroads to carry our mails and yet have an annual deficit? Why cannot we get a parcels-post? Why did the last Legislature give us a gas law no one but the pilfering gas trust wanted? Why did the present Legislature only give us what we wanted when clubbed into doing so? Why are our citizens at the mercy of the telephone monopoly, making 800 per cent. profit, when another company stands ready to give better service at a trifle in comparison with present prevailing rates? Why are these things so in nearly every State of the Union and in thousands of municipalities if ours is a representative government? To-day the man who occupies the Mayor's seat of our city is fighting like a cornered rat to hold the office because he, with some others, most of whom have since been

consigned to political oblivion and ought to be glad that they did not share the fate of the 'Jake' Sharp boodlers, defied the people's wishes and dared to foist upon them an outrageous measure favoring the gas trust.

"Thus we might go on piling on illustration after illustration as evidence of what an enjoyable representative government we have. These conditions, like Tennyson's brook, will go on forever if something is not done to make government representative.

"It is no answer to say 'Let the people put better men in office, and if they are unfit to do this they are likewise unfit to vote on measures.' The people must take what the political machines give them, and independent movements seldom if ever amount to anything. Even if some system is devised which the politicians cannot circumvent whereby good men are put into office, so long as the present system prevails with its tremendous temptations, so long as a legislator's vote is of great value and corrupting corporations are ready to pay any price, representative government will be a miserable theory only and never a fact.

"Vote purchasing must be made risky, not so much to the bribe-taker, for it is risky to him already, and still corruption goes on, but it must be made risky to the bribe-giver, not only in a penal sense but in a business sense. In other words, when it is no longer possible for the legislator 'to deliver the goods' then vote-purchasing will cease. Then politics as a business will end and boss and machine will disappear.

"This can be done everywhere, and it is done in several states and many municipalities, not by such an unworkable and cumbersome device as 'Constitutionalist' describes the initiative and referendum to be when he tells your readers that it is proposed to submit every bill to the people, but by giving the people power to exercise their option to call forth any pending questionable measure, or to introduce, by petition, needed legislation when no representative will do so. Instead of the people always voting as some superficial objectors contend, or instead of 'mob-rule,' as 'Constitutionalist,' repeating other Tories, puts it, the effect of the optional referendum is precisely the other way. In the words of Charles N. Herreid, ex-Governor of South Dakota, a Republican:

"'Since the referendum has been a part of

our Constitution we have had no charter-mongers or railroad speculators, no wildcat schemes submitted to our Legislature. Hence there is no necessity for recourse to the referendum.'

"The corrupting corporations will find a quite different proposition before them when, instead of purchasing venal members of the

Legislature, they will be obliged to convince the people with arguments.

"Such a system will not destroy representative government but will restore and preserve it. If Thomas Jefferson were here to-day and saw how completely representative government had failed he would not be long in finding his way to something like the initiative and referendum. "H. B. MAURER."

THE GREAT MISTAKE WHICH HAS HANDICAPPED ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE PAST.

TO OUR mind the supreme mistake of organized labor in former years is to be found in its refusal to imitate the capitalistic class and go into politics as a unit for certain and fundamental rights and to curb privileged wealth from arrogating power that enables it not only to govern in a large degree the wage scale, but also to fix the price of commodities vital to the life and comfort of the people.

For years and years the great army of hirelings of the various corporate organizations and the capitalistic class in general, have in turn flattered the labor leaders and warned them against going into politics. At the same time the employing class not only united for the control of great newspapers in both the large parties, but also through enormous campaign funds and the lavish use of wealth succeeded in getting control of the great political machines, enthroning bosses who were responsive to their desires, and oftentimes dictating the political slates. The master-thought of the feudalism of privileged wealth in recent years has been political control obtained so secretly and stealthily as to enable them to be the absolute masters of the situation before the people at large became aware of the dominance of privilege in government.

One of the first noticeable things that occurred after the feudalism of privileged wealth became the great power in politics, was the appointment of railroad and corporation lawyers, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to important positions on the bench. Next we have the humiliating spectacle of the systematic abuse of the injunction power by Federal judges acting in the interests of the great mining, railroad and other corporate

powers. Following this came a new departure in the national administration, when the presidents of the United States began selecting bankers for secretaries of the treasury,—in other words, selecting men who represented one of the great privileged interests,—an interest that was constantly seeking to gain greater and greater control of the nation's circulating medium and to obtain other privileges that would enable the banking class rapidly to augment its power—to guard the interests of the people against the encroachments of their own class and to administer matters pertaining to finance, which had been so ably administered heretofore by persons who were not bankers.

Simultaneously with this ominous departure in the interests of privileged classes, came the appointment of great corporation lawyers to the position of attorney-general. Mr. Richard Olney, who as attorney for the whiskey trust in Boston had filed nine demurrers alleging the anti-trust law to be unconstitutional and void, was selected by Mr. Cleveland to enforce the anti-trust law; and Mr. McKinley followed with the selection of Mr. McKenna, long one of the most serviceable railroad attorneys of the Pacific coast, to fill this position; and later, after Mr. McKinley, in the face of the protest of a large proportion of the bar of the Pacific coast, elevated Justice McKenna to the Supreme Bench, Philander C. Knox left a princely revenue which he was deriving from the great corporations, to accept the position of attorney-general and thus guard the interests of the people from the encroachments of corporate wealth as the banker secretaries of state were guarding the interests of the peo-

ple from the encroachments of their own class.

Keeping pace with these changes came the steady displacing in the United States Senate of the old-time senators by the notorious political bosses, railroad and corporation attorneys, or corporation chiefs of great wealth who desired positions in the United States Senate, and the enormous aggrandizement of power on the part of the Speaker of the House and the Committee on Rules, by which a small group of politicians are made practically the masters of the political situation in the House of Representatives.

During all this time labor was flattered and cajoled by both the political parties before election, and as completely ignored after the votes were counted, when issues came up of a vital character in the conflict between the corporations and the wealth-creators and consumers. The growing contempt of the politicians for the labor vote became more and more marked as the money-controlled

machine became more and more responsive to the campaign-contributing privileged interests, until at last, when labor made some very modest requests of Congress, Speaker Cannon and the other politicians in power in the House, figuratively speaking showed labor the door, refusing seriously to consider its modest demands. Then it was that labor began to see the importance of imitating the action of their brothers in England and going into politics.

From the present outlook there is every reason to believe that within the next two or four years organized labor will be one of the most powerful forces, if not the most powerful single factor in our political life, and if so, the arrogant, unjust and oppressive assumption of power that has marked the advance of the corporations and the privileged interests during recent years will receive a serious check, and the nation will again face toward democracy.

THE PAST YEAR'S RECORD OF THE MUNICIPAL STREET-CAR SERVICE OF GLASGOW AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

WE HAVE recently received the annual report of the manager of the municipal tramway or street-car service of Glasgow, Scotland. It makes an even better showing than the fine report of last year, which was given to our readers after its appearance. And this is precisely what we would naturally expect, for the public utilities of a great city are a veritable mine of wealth, which, unlike most gold mines, that after a term of years become less and less productive, increase in their yield with every passing year, even though they be honestly carried on with a just regard for the rights and comforts of the people and their employes, which is rarely the case with privately-owned companies. The increase in population steadily augments the volume of receipts, with comparatively little increase for operating expenses.

The municipal street-car service of Glasgow for the year ending May 31, 1907, took in over \$4,479,000,—something over \$2,032,000 above the working expenses. Of this amount \$249,776, or about \$248,880 went into the sinking fund. \$9,931, or about \$49,650 went to pay the income tax. \$85,031, or about \$425,150 went into the depreciation

fund. £83,376, or about \$416,888 was devoted to the permanent way renewal fund. £35,000, or about \$175,000 was turned over to the common-good fund. After deducting these amounts and interest on capital invested, Parliamentary expenses, and payments due some private companies, a net balance remained of £70,279, or about \$351,390.

Thus it will be seen that after the payment of the proper amounts for sinking fund, depreciation, the amount due on interest for capital borrowed, taxes, permanent way renewal fund, etc., there still remained in net balance and in the fund devoted to the common good, over a half a million dollars.

Nor is this all. The city collected \$24,063,098 fares. Of this number 64,453,380 were for only one halfpenny, or one cent, per fare. 134,109,727 were for only one penny, or two cents; while 16,398,501 were for three halfpence, or three cents and 4,831,664 were for two-pence, or four cents. 88 per cent. of all the passengers carried paid either one or two cents for their rides, and less than 2 per cent. of all that traveled paid over four cents for their rides. The service also during the year increased the pay of motormen, conductors and

depot employes \$4,000, or about \$20,000.

Some idea of the enormous increase in value of the street-car service since the city took over the plants in 1894 may be gained from the tables showing the valuation for taxes levied each year since 1894-5 to 1907-8. In the former years the valuation was placed at £18,000. Two years later it had risen to £55,301. In 1899-1900 it was £74,437; in 1902-3 it was £90,486; in 1904-5 it was £245,464; and in 1907-8 it was £262,958.

Fine as is this report, it does not tell all the beneficent results that attend municipal-ownership. The setting aside each year of a sum of money that at the end of a term of years will pay for the city's outlay for the service and give the people a debt-free and fabulously rich mine of perpetual wealth,—that is much. The setting aside of a liberal amount for maintenance of the service and improvement of the same is also much. The increase of wages and the bettering of conditions of the employes of the service, as has been the case in Glasgow and elsewhere in Great Britain where municipal-ownership has succeeded private-ownership, and the substantial reduction of fares for the people, as has been the case in Glasgow and elsewhere,—these things mean very much, not only to

the pocket-book of every patron of the service, but in the moral spirit of the community, for the just treatment of the men by the city sets a pace for justice between man and man. The setting aside of between one and two hundred thousand dollars every year for the common good,—that is, for the improvement of the conditions of all the people, the making of the city a healthier, more beautiful and comfortable abiding place,—this, too, is much. And the having of hundreds of thousands of dollars in net profits each year speaks volumes for the results of public-ownership in a city where the blight and curse of public-service corporations no longer obtains,—the blight and curse that always sooner or later blossoms in the corruption that is rampant where private-ownership of public utilities prevails; that is rampant throughout America; a blight that is always marked by the appearance of the unscrupulous boss, and the money-controlled machine, both alike subservient to public-service monopolies. The incubus of political corruption that is ever present when private corporations operate public utilities, is significantly absent in cities under public-ownership; and in proportion as the corporations are banished the level of political life rises and the amount of corruption diminishes.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION'S FAIRY-TALE IN THE INTERESTS OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES, AND FACTS WHICH PROVE ITS MÜNCHHAUSEN-LIKE CHARACTER.

A RECENT report put out by the Civic Federation, of which it is well to remember that August Belmont, the great traction magnate of New York, is the head, appears to have been one of those familiar fairy stories which are constantly being put forth and which are seized upon by the reactionary press and kept editors for the purpose of writing long editorials against public-ownership. In the report in question the publicly-owned electric-light plant of Allegheny City was ranked as a municipal failure. The *Pittsburgh Press*, in referring to the report in question, says:

"The Allegheny plant is described as

'poorly designed, inefficient and expensive to operate.' Appropriations for technical equipment have been neglected to such an extent, say the reviewers, 'that the electrician had to build his own switch-board out of such junk as he could collect from machine-shop yards.'

"On the subject of operating efficiency, it is set forth that economical operation in Allegheny is much hindered by the unnecessary number of employes. Six or eight of the force should be dismissed, reducing the payroll 15 to 18 per cent. and 'the half-dozen extra laborers often put on for political purposes at election time could be dispensed with, changes which would add to the efficiency

of the service as well as lowering its cost.”

In replying to this false and misleading report, Superintendent Swan of the Allegheny City plant thus succinctly states the facts as they obtain:

“Our plant is centrally located on Braddock street and is well designed for its purpose. It is right beside the Fort Wayne tracks, and there is no handling of the fuel necessary, by which we save the employment of a number of men. There are automatic stokers for the furnaces, and everything about the building is conducive to getting results at the least cost to the city. There are 56 employes at work, and everyone is needed, and is adapted for his work or he should not remain.

“There is absolutely no truth about the claim that politics intrude in the operation of the plant. No man is hired there unless he is needed to fill some place made vacant in the natural course of events.

“By the operation of this plant we furnish street lights for the city at \$63.34 apiece, which is considerably lower than Pittsburgh pays, and there are prospects that we will get

them cheaper still, for by the introduction of some new machinery the plant will be improved in effectiveness.

“I recommended in 1904 the installation of improved turbine engines in place of the rather old-fashioned engines now in use, which were installed 12 or 14 years ago when the plant was erected. Since that time considerable advance has been made in that sort of machinery, and we want to keep abreast of the times. It would cost about \$70,000 to put in the new engines, and now that Allegheny's borrowing power has been increased, since the payment of a number of her debts, it is likely that councils will authorize a bond issue for that amount. If these changes are made, the plant will rank among the first in this country, as the building as it stands is well designed for the purpose.”

It is such amazing reports as the above, industriously circulated by the publicity bureaus and the press controlled by the great corporation interests, which the public-service corporations rely upon to stem the advancing tide of sentiment in favor of public-ownership.

MORE PRAISE FOR MR. TAFT FROM A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

IN OUR July issue we published the fulsome endorsement of Secretary William Taft as a presidential candidate, made by the New York *Financial Chronicle*, which the Springfield *Republican* well characterized as “above any other publication the organ” of the great corporation interests.

Since then Mr. Taft's claims to the favor of the feudalism of privileged interests have been visited by various parties competent to speak for the industrial autocracy. One of the most significant certificates of availability has been recently given by ex-Congressman Samuel L. Powers of Massachusetts. Mr. Powers is the efficient attorney of the malodorous Telephone Company, whose extortionate charges and amazing records as recently exposed by a Boston daily and in an investigation of the company, constitute one of the great corporation scandals of New

England at the present time. He is the head of a street-car corporation and a leading machine politician of Massachusetts. In speaking of Mr. Taft, this ex-Congressman so loved by public-service corporations and the Lodge political machine of Massachusetts, says:

“We may safely predict that if the present Secretary of War ever becomes the President of this republic, free representative government would not be imperiled by his election. During the past seven years in which Mr. Taft has accomplished his great public work, he has at all times been answerable to the President and at all times subject to removal by his superior. These are limitations which render it extremely difficult for a strong man to do his best work. The great power vested in the office of President affords ample oppor-

tunity to the strong man to show his power and to render the greatest service to the people."

It will be remembered that Secretary Taft, when judge, endeared himself to corporate wealth and showed his power as well as

mental ingenuity, when he discovered in the Interstate Commerce Law something which even the railroad attorneys did not seem to have found,—namely that the law could be used as a powerful weapon against the labor unions.

THE PHANTOM LABOR BRIGADE; OR, HOW THE NEW ENGLAND TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE COMPANY SQUANDERS THE PEOPLE'S MONEY TO CONTROL THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

SOME interesting facts were elicited in an investigation of the New England Telegraph and Telephone Company at a hearing given in Boston on July 10th. The company's superintendent of construction, Mr. George H. Dresser, in answer to two questions, admitted that the company had during the last half of 1906 employed 10 per cent. of their men in the underground construction department who had not rendered services equivalent to their wages and who got on the payroll through political or other influence, the exact words of Mr. Dresser's confession, as reported in the daily papers, being:

"Between July 1, 1906, and January 1, 1907, the underground construction department employed various men who did not give a full equivalent for their wages in work and who obtained their employment through political or other influence.

"My best judgment is that for the six months ending December 31, 1906, this excess labor constituted approximately 10 per cent. of the total underground construction payrolls for this district. The aggregate amount of all labor on underground work for that period and district was \$92,189.86."

In editorially commenting on this confession of the telephone company's officials, the *Boston Post* for July 11th said:

"Another fact of great significance is the official statement of Mr. George H. Dresser, superintendent of construction of the telephone company, that 'the underground construction department has employed various

men who did not give a full equivalent for their wages in work and who obtained their employment through political or other influence.' Superintendent Dresser figures that 10 per cent. of the wages paid in this department of the telephone company's work went to workmen of this class—for politics and not for labor. In the six months ending Dec. 31st last, he says the amount expended for labor on underground work was \$92,189. In those six months, then, telephone subscribers in Boston were compelled to pay some \$9,000 more than they ought to pay for decent service, in order that the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company might subsidize politicians in its interest."

The exposure of the plundering of the people to pay for the padding of the payroll (10 per cent. in one division of the construction work) for the benefit of the politicians, affords another variation in the multitudinous methods of corrupt practices that have been brought to light in recent years, by which public-service corporations have systematically debauched our political life in city, state and nation. Since the insurance exposures, every investigation of trusts, great corporations and especially those relating to public-service companies, have revealed the same sickening riot of graft, extravagance and corrupt practices; and in almost every instance one of the most striking features brought out when the matter has been touched upon at all, has been the close alliance of machine politicians and the public-service corporations in corrupt practices. The money spent has been used to prevent the people or the patrons of the great public-service monopolies or trusts from obtaining relief from

extortion. And it is a notable fact that the valued attorneys of the great public-service corporations are often the men so honored by the political machines that they occupy commanding positions in the national, state or city government. Indeed, in the present case the shrewd and alert attorney for the Telephone Company happens to be former Congressman Powers, a gentleman approved of the Lodge machine and a great power in the Republican councils in Massachusetts, and whom it is needless to say the campaign-contributing corporations delight to honor as well as employ.

Later it was shown that ex-Alderman Lee, one of the most powerful machine Democratic politicians of Boston, was on the regular payroll of the Telephone Company, but owing to the commission's desire to accommodate the telephone corporation and shield the politicians that get rich out of the grafting companies at the ultimate expense of the people, the important and material facts that would have revealed the full nature and extent of this scandal were not permitted to come to light. So long as political machines rule, commissions appointed by the ruling power will be as responsive to the wishes of the machine as the machine is responsive to the grafting public-service corporations.

The people of Boston are groaning under frightfully extortionate telephone rates, as has been clearly shown. There can, we think, be no doubt whatever but what if the city of Boston installed her own plant and had it operated as England operates her public utilities, the present rates charged by the waterlogged, extravagant and political-paying private corporation would be cut in half and yet yield a handsome surplus to the city after it had paid all operating expenses and set aside the proper amount for a sinking fund, reserve fund and depreciation.

But this extortion, which is due to the inflated capital, to extravagance of administration and to the lavish use of money for political influence and the control of public opinion-forming agencies, is not the gravest count against the telephone and other public-service companies. The mulcting of the people of this country out of millions upon millions of dollars every year by extortion rendered possible through monopoly powers which enable the public-service companies to take the people by the throat as it were and rifle their pockets by arbitrarily charging prices

out of all reason for services rendered, is a species of robbery of the people rendered possible only through the mastership of the people's servants by the feudalism of privileged wealth. When the telephone company paid 10 per cent. of the wages in its underground service for political influence, who was to benefit by that expenditure, the telephone users who were clamoring for reasonable rates, or the telephone company that wished to propitiate the politicians who had it in their power to give the people relief by giving the franchise to a rival company that was then seeking entrance into Boston, or by compelling the present monopoly to give as reasonable service as the new company pledged itself to give?

Now it is this use of money for political considerations that constitutes the gravest evil in the history of public-service corporations in private hands. Wherever the real friends of the people and of clean government have demanded public-ownership of natural monopolies, the public-service companies' spokesmen and attorneys, and the army of trained parrots in the press and before various public bodies, have shouted in unison that public-ownership would corrupt city, state and national government; and this in the presence of the fact that the most glaring feature in American politics to-day is the corruption and mastership of government by private corporations operating the public utilities, and the other significant fact that wherever public-ownership and operation has been so extensively employed as to destroy the power of the feudalism of privileged wealth, that operates the natural monopolies, corruption has been reduced to a minimum and the efficiency of public-service has been increased, while the interests of the people have been safeguarded. In New Zealand, in Great Britain and elsewhere where public-ownership has been fully and fairly tried, no fact has been more prominent than the absence of graft, the elevation of the character of political officials after the introduction of public-ownership, the increased efficiency of the service, and the administration of the service in the interests of all the people instead of for the immense enrichment of the grafting, corruption-breeding public-service companies. It matters not whether we examine the railways, the telegraph, the telephone or the insurance systems of New Zealand, which have been as conspicuously

free from graft as ours have been notorious for corrupt practices and the debauching of political servants, or the municipally-owned and operated public-service utilities of Great Britain, the same facts are equally in evidence.

Where public-ownership prevails the people's service is paramount and the politicians, being responsible directly to the voters, see

to it that their rights are conserved. Where public utilities are operated by private companies, the lure of great wealth, if monopoly power permits extortion, is so great that the public-service corporations soon become masters of the situation by gaining mastership of the political boss and the money-controlled machine and placing their servants in positions of vantage.

THE HEROES OF THE "GEORGIA" MAINTAIN THE IDEALISM OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

THE RECENT tragic event, when, owing to the explosion on the battleship "Georgia," several of our young naval seamen were killed, illustrates anew the presence of the same spirit of heroism and self-forgetfulness resulting from moral idealism, that has ever marked the American navy since its gray dawn. Indeed, since the days when Paul Jones and other heroic patriots awakened amazed admiration of the world by their indomitable courage and self-forgetfulness, to the present hour, our sea-faring warriors have on all occasions displayed courage, heroism and a humanistic spirit worthy of the high ideals which companioned the infant Republic.

From time to time foreign critics have sneered at the American navy, just as the boastful Spanish officers sneered at it when they started across the Atlantic to their doom at the hands of our naval forces. But whether in peace or in war, the men of our navy have never disappointed their friends or dishonored the flag.

When the recent fateful explosion occurred on the "Georgia," at least a half a dozen young seamen displayed that high regard for duty that marks the hero in a crisis. Perhaps the most notable instance was the case of the two young seamen who were fatally burned. At the time of the explosion they were loading a great gun. The enormous bag of powder had not been rammed into the gun. They beheld the flames approaching, and with almost superhuman strength rammed the powder in and closed the gun. This characteristic deed of heroism was thus described by Captain McCrea:

"He and one other stood by the gun that

had just been loaded. The last powder bag that had been put in was protruding a little from the gun. When he saw the flash, instead of dashing for the ladder to save himself, he crowded home the charge in the gun, and with the help of the other man got the gun closed tight before the flame reached the bag.

"If the flame had touched that bag there would have been an awful explosion, for the powder was confined in the gun and would not have flashed as the other did, but would have exploded. Not a man in the turret would have been left alive, whatever other damage might have been done. That man gave his life for the others."

Nothing is so imperial in its sway as the subtle influence of moral idealism when the mind comes under its magic. The history of our navy in peace and in war is so replete with deeds of self-forgetfulness and loyalty to duty that the minds of the sailors seem everywhere to come under the compulsion of ideals that have lit up the past with glory, and these ideals become a part of the life of our naval forces, whether officers or men, thus making them a force to be reckoned with, far more formidable than would be thrice the number of trained mercenaries.

No one who realizes the power of moral idealism can doubt that the ideals of our naval history, that have been as a pillar of flame ever before our young seamen, are largely responsible for the continued record of fidelity to duty and self-forgetfulness in the presence of supreme demands.

If the same high ideals of duty and rectitude in business life and civic relations had been

faithfully impressed by church, home and school during the past hundred years, we would have to-day fewer Rockefellers, Rogerses, Harrimans, Tweeds, Quays or Baileys, but in their place we would have more Washingtons, more Jeffersons and

more Lincolns in public and private life.

The master need of the hour is the awakening of a sense of responsibility in the individual, the arousing of a realization of the duty which every American citizen owes to himself, his home, his state, and his nation.

THE ACQUITTAL OF WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

THE ACQUITTAL of William D. Haywood, Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, on June 28th, at Boise, Idaho, on the charge of being a party to the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, marked the dramatic close of one of the most memorable trials in the history of the United States.

The case, prior to the opening of the trial, was marked by such high-handed action on the part of the capitalistic-sympathizing governors of Idaho and Colorado, the Pinkerton detectives, long in the employ of the great capitalistic organization that has been for years trying to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, and the Idaho officials connected with the case, that the bare statement of the facts would seem incredible, if the evidence were not unimpeachable and undenied. It reads far more like a page from the history of darkest Russia than the story of proceedings in an American commonwealth. Briefly the situation prior to the trial was as follows:

The great capitalistic corporations of Colorado, especially the Mine Owners' Association and the Smelter Trust, of which the new United States Senator Guggenheim is one of the master spirits, have in recent years become more and more absolute in their control of the political situation in the state. Senator Guggenheim's frank admission of the way in which he furnished money during the last election indicating largely the manner in which the associated capitalists have ridden to success by the aid of the money-controlled political machines. The people of Colorado had declared for an eight-hour law, but the industrial autocracy of Colorado was not disposed to allow the people's mandate to be carried out. A great strike occurred in the mining region and the Mine Owners' Association, having everything prepared as they thought, undertook to break up the

Western Federation of Miners, an organization whose growing strength alarmed them. Pinkerton detectives were employed to help the capitalists consummate their plot. Seldom in the history of the United States has such shameful and indefensible action disgraced a commonwealth as that which followed the strike, when the machinery of the state and the militia, headed by the malodorous General Bell, who rendered himself rather famous by his profane declaration of contempt for the Constitution, did everything in their power to exasperate the miners, by shamefully despotic, tyrannical and inhuman treatment. Deeds of violence followed. Doubtless both sides were partly to blame.

One thing, however, was proved in the recent trial, and that is that the man Orchard, who murdered Steunenberg, while pretending to be a friend of the union men was in constant consultation with the Mine Owner's detectives. It was to the interest of the Western Federation of Miners to prevent deeds of violence. It was vitally important to the Mine Owners' Association that deeds of violence should be committed which would give the excuses for the retention of the militia and also turn public sentiment against the Federation of Miners. That Harry Orchard was a depraved criminal goes without saying, but there is little evidence that he committed near all the crimes he claimed to have committed. But of one fact there is no question, and that is that he did murder Governor Steunenberg, a man whom he hated because he claimed that through the governor's action he had lost an interest in mining property that later became valuable, and his interest in it would have made him a wealthy man. That on occasions he had threatened to kill Steunenberg was shown also in the trial. Here was the palpable motive. When caught, however, the Pinkerton detective, McParland, took Orchard in hand. He told him that he

had broken up the Molly McGuires of Pennsylvania, and that the man who confessed to numbers of crimes went free. Under the industrious ministrations of McParland, aided by the over-zealous Governor of Idaho, who seemed as bent on destroying the Western Federation of Miners through striking at their officials, as was the Mine Owners' Association, Orchard was induced to make a Baron Münchhausen-like confession. Governor Gooding, figuratively speaking, took Orchard to his breast, visiting him, conferring with him, presenting him with money and with clothes; and the prison officials treated the degenerate villain with the utmost consideration.

Meanwhile an effort to bring the officials of the Western Federation of Miners into Idaho on a charge of murder was decided upon. It was necessary to make a perjured affidavit, however, as a basis for action. This was done, and on the demand of Governor Gooding, the capitalistic Governor of Colorado granted the requisition secretly and without giving the officials the opportunity to be heard in their own behalf or to have the case argued. The accused men were arrested late Saturday night, denied permission to see their families or their attorneys, kidnapped and spirited out of Colorado. It would seem that such action was incredible in an American commonwealth; yet the outrage was perpetrated, to the everlasting disgrace of Colorado and Idaho.

The United States Supreme Court was appealed to for relief, but refused to grant it. Haywood and his two associates were treated with the utmost rigor, while the notorious murderer Orchard was being shown marked consideration. The accused officials of the Western Federation of Miners were kidnapped on February 16, 1906, and have since been denied bail and kept in close confinement.

The evidence against Haywood was said to be much stronger than the evidence against either of the others, and Governor Gooding practically staked his reputation on convicting Haywood. He got the State of Idaho to appropriate a hundred thousand dollars to enable him to make the conviction certain. Ten years ago there can be little or no doubt but

what Haywood have would been convicted, not on account of guilt, but because labor was not so well organized and powerful as now. Moreover, the capitalistic associations and the politicians intent on the destruction of the Western Federation of Miners, over-reached themselves in their high-handed course. This aroused labor from the Atlantic to the Pacific to the peril of its situation. If Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone could be kidnapped, denied a hearing, and treated in a manner such as no state in the Union would have thought for a moment of treating a man of wealth, there was no reason why the precedent thus established could not be continually resorted to whenever any labor leader became particularly obnoxious to the feudalism of privileged wealth. Hence labor rallied to the support of Haywood and sufficient funds were raised to enable his defense to secure the evidence necessary to discredit Orchard's story.

The charging of the jury by Judge Wood was eminently fair, and the jurors, as was later proved, were men of strong conviction, earnest, sincere, and desirous to be just. The result was the triumphant vindication of Haywood, to the great dismay and chagrin of Governor Gooding and McParland.

No event has occurred in recent months that affords us greater gratification than this acquittal of Mr. Haywood, because after following the evidence closely we felt there was no legitimate grounds whatsoever upon which he could be justly convicted. On account of the high-handed and un-American action of the governors of Idaho and Colorado, and the officials who seemed determined to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, millions of workingmen in America were becoming distrustful of our government; and the conviction of Haywood on the evidence advanced would have affected the industrial millions of America in much the same manner as the Dred Scott decision affected the North and therefore would have rendered doubtful the peaceable settlement of the grave labor difficulties that are confronting us and the reestablishment of the old-time republican ideals of government which have been so rapidly undermined during late years by the feudalism of privileged wealth.

THE STRIKE IN N. O. NELSON'S COÖPERATIVE WORKS.

SOME time since a strike occurred in the works of N. O. Nelson, one of the leading American coöperators and the well-known philanthropist. As *THE ARENA* has from time to time given space to descriptions of the admirable work carried on by Mr. Nelson, we have naturally received inquiries from readers relative to this strike, and it affords us pleasure to be able to present a brief statement of the facts as given by Mr. Nelson in *Fellowship*:

"We have had a strike at Leclaire and in St. Louis. Not all of us,—only 26 machinists and 60 brass workers, which left somewhere about 500 still busy. We have not had any broken heads nor bad words nor hard feelings. The 86 simply quit work. The brass workers in St. Louis are back at their places on the old terms, the St. Louis machinists have agreed to start Monday morning, June 24th, and the Leclaire men are likely to start any day. We are as good friends as ever. There has been abundant evidence that they all believe in the Leclaire plan and in the management and do n't want to work anywhere else. Scarcely any have taken work anywhere else and these I am quite sure will return as soon as the way is opened.

"The Leclaire plan has not been strained the least. There has been no thought of either abandoning it or amending it. No manager, no employé, no customer, no striker wants to change the plan.

"The strike came about in this way:

"About April 1st we received a demand from the International Union of Brass Workers, signed by its national president. It embraced a number of things besides about ten per cent. advance in wages. We also received a request on the paper of the International Union of Machinists for an advance of 10 per cent. to machinists and apprentices.

"At a meeting of all Leclaire employés on April 15th I declined these requests, saying in part: 'The International Unions are not familiar with the Leclaire idea and cannot pass on Leclaire conditions of employment or know what demands are reasonable. The Leclaire plan is so entirely different from all

others that the International has to deal with that it and we cannot both manage it.

"Unionism is important and useful for certain purposes, but in our case it has never, in any manner, benefited our employés, for the reason that Leclaire was established and has been conducted entirely for the benefit of the employés and whatever the management can afford to do, it does without any compulsion. We keep revising wages all the time, are doing so now and will continue to do so.

"The employés and customers receive the entire profits of the business; the employés received last year 25 per cent. dividend on their wages and they received it in what is a great deal better than cash, namely the stock of the company at par, which pays them 6 per cent. annual dividend in cash. The employés and customers now own about half of the company and in three or four years will own it practically all.

"There is great variation in the rates of pay in the same trades in different cities and for different qualities of work and different qualities of men. As shown by actual figures in my hands, we are paying higher wages than the majority of shops making similar goods with which we compete, many of them working ten hours to our nine, and on the top of that we pay 25 per cent. dividend, or whatever the business yields.

"The demands were made by those of our shops who receive the highest pay. My interest is chiefly in behalf of the shops and the men receiving the lower pay. The Nelson employés, not only in Leclaire, but in St. Louis, Bessemer and elsewhere, are absolutely self-employing. They receive all the benefits that accrue from joining ample capital with experienced management, established trade connections, and an exceptionally steady and competent force of employés. When they shall become the sole owners, they will still have a "management" and that management must "manage," including the question of wages. In none of our places do any respectable minority of our employés distrust the fairness of the management. No trouble of any kind has ever arisen between

us, or ever can, except by command of foreign authority, the International unions.'

"Following this, I had several conferences with the committees in which their argument was for the validity of the union decision and the reasonableness of its demand, mine for the integrity of the coöperative plan, the rights of All. On May 1st, the St. Louis district struck and our union men in Leclair and St. Louis followed the procession.

"On the 2d, I called the whole Leclair force together, made a rostrum of Choate's big iron planer and said in substance: 'The strike of the machinists and the brass workers by order of the St. Louis district union authorities again raises the issue of authority between the absentee-unions and our management. Repeated experiences of this kind convinces us that the Leclair idea and the union idea cannot work together. For twenty-one years our employés have shared in the profits of the business; in addition to full regular wages in cash they received a dividend of 15 per cent. on their wages in 1905, 25 per cent. in 1906 and the prospect of a still larger dividend in 1907. The dividend for Leclair employés alone, last year, was nearly \$40,000.00. For seventeen years we have been building homes in Leclair for all employés who wanted them and have made it the freest, most beautiful town in the country and its people the most orderly, prosperous and happy.

"The absentee-union authorities have repeatedly ordered you out on strikes, as they do now, contrary, as I am assured, to the judgment of a large majority. In your defense, and in defense of the Leclair idea, we say that we will not be subject to this conflicting authority. I am sure you all know that the unions never have been and never can be needed to protect your rights here. We shall hereafter not employ any union men.

"This is a business of over three million dollars a year and cannot be subject to the caprice of absentee-union authorities. A strike of 20 men in one department affects a large part of the output and delays and disturbs many of the customers and their

employés. The Leclair idea takes the business out of the fighting list and surrounds it with mutual interest and good will.

"It is now an issue between the union idea and the Leclair idea, between the non-resident business agents and your own elected management. The 500 employés who do not strike and the customers, can afford any amount of present inconvenience that is necessary to free the business from constant danger of disturbance. Should any employé wish to dispose of the home we have built for him, we will take it back at the price it cost him with interest added. We have no unfriendly feeling for any one and will cheerfully give all first-class recommendations.'

"With this it has rested in peace and quiet. As stated the St. Louis men have all returned on our terms and those of Leclair will do likewise."

One may be a strong believer in organized labor, as are the editor and publisher of THE ARENA, and yet appreciate the fact that organized labor does on occasions act in an ill-advised manner. Sometimes all the vital circumstances which differentiate cases are not taken into consideration. Sometimes organized labor has seemed far more ready to strike at earnest reformers who are spending their life's energies in battling against great predatory forces and the unjust system that is responsible for the present inequality of opportunities and of rights, than to seek redress from the enormously strong and powerfully entrenched monopolies and politico-industrial organizations. But while in the nature of the case, owing to various and conflicting causes, mistakes would naturally be made by organized labor, as by all other great bodies battling for certain fundamental rights or privileges, the fact remains that organized labor has rendered an incalculable service to the wealth-creating millions of the land and has been able to prevent the merciless feudalism of privileged wealth, in numberless instances, from pressing down the wages and thus robbing the wealth-creators of millions and hundreds of millions of dollars which through organized labor they now enjoy.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

More "Tainted News."

THE AUGUST ARENA called attention to *Colliers'* exposure of the "tainted news" campaign against municipal-ownership, and we feel that nothing is of greater importance than that all the friends of honest dealing and an uncorrupted press as well as the friends of public-ownership of public utilities should be advised of this virulent, insidious and mercenary campaign of lies.

There is in New York City a bureau which, according to its own announcement, quoted in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, is "organized for the purpose of combating municipal-ownership wherever an agitation in that direction may crop out." This bureau publishes a monthly paper; it claims that "it is of the utmost importance to the interests opposed to municipal-ownership that every library, public-school and college, should have a complete fund of information on file regarding the fallacies of the movement." The bureau offers to provide at the expense of any company requesting it, such material for any given library as it does not already possess; it sends books on municipal-ownership to the editors of papers so small as not to be favored ordinarily in this way; it, from time to time, "sends out news matter bearing on municipal-ownership. This matter is offered to the papers free, and while no guarantee of publication can be given it is found that a considerable portion of the matter is used." "The bureau has arranged with the American Press Association to furnish a page of plate matter monthly to such newspapers as may be designated. Companies desiring to place such matter in the local papers should communicate with the Bureau," the company not appearing in the matter at all, except to pay \$20 per year for each paper thus served. The Bureau also furnishes speakers and lecturers; experts to handle campaigns and write special editorial matter. "The Bureau is ready at all times to offer suggestions as to planning campaigns that

head off any leaning in the direction of municipal-ownership."

Such methods may succeed temporarily in strengthening the hold of the corporations upon the public utilities of the country through the creation of false prejudices, ungrounded fears, and a misinformed public opinion, but they are bound to react sooner or later with great force against those who employ them. And this may happen sooner rather than later.

An Investigation and a Comparison.

THE CITY OF WARREN, Pennsylvania, permits a private company to furnish its water supply, but the mayor and some others are by no means satisfied with this arrangement. A committee recently appointed to investigate the water systems of Bradford and Meadville, Pennsylvania, and Jamestown, New York, where the supply is municipal, has made the following report:

"Bradford acquired its plant in 1883, paying for it \$19,000. The total cost since then for construction is \$400,000. Out of the revenues over \$300,000 has been paid on construction, and water rates reduced very much. In 1905 receipts were \$30,000 and expenditures \$13,000, \$5,000 of which is for construction. Water is supplied free to hydrants, schools, hospital, and library.

"Jamestown bought its plant three years ago at a cost of \$600,000. Source of supply is wells. It owes on its plant \$570,000 in 4 per cent. bonds. Its receipts for 1906 were \$84,000. Its expenditures, including \$22,000 interest were \$64,000, and \$15,000 was placed in the sinking fund. The expenses of maintenance were \$18,000, and \$14,000 was spent in construction. Rates have been reduced.

"Meadville's plant was bought in 1899 for \$200,000. Its present value is \$260,000. Its supply comes from 16 drilled wells located some distance from the city. The city owns 28 acres of land around the wells. Mayor

Reynolds states that the plant has paid eight per cent. on the investment. Annual receipts are \$33,000. Water is supplied free to the city hydrants."

COMPARISON.

	Warren (Private)	Titus- ville (Public)	Brad- ford (Public)	Mead- ville (Public)	Jame- stown (Public)
1 family, 5 rooms	\$9.50	\$5.40	\$4.60	\$5.00	\$5.00
Bath Tub.....	4.00	3.00	.80	3.00	2.00
Water Closet....	4.00	3.00	1.20	3.00	2.50
	\$17.50	\$11.40	\$6.60	\$11.00	\$9.50
Meter rates per 1000 gals. }	.50	.10	....	....	.25

Richmond, Indiana.

AN EASTERN syndicate which owns lighting and power plants in a number of Indiana cities has entered upon a new campaign for the purchase of Richmond's municipal lighting plant. The syndicate offers to pay the city a sum equal to that which has been spent by the city in building and maintaining its plant up to the present time, and in addition will accept a franchise which will fix the maximum rate it may charge at 9 cents per kilowatt hour, the rate now charged by the city. The city officials are opposed to the acceptance of the proposition claiming that the city plant is not only paying its way and securing a low price to consumers, but it is also making a profit regularly. They know presumably that after the syndicate has bought the plant upon terms which seem to be favorable to the city its next step will be to buy the city government and change the terms.

Philadelphia Gas Works.

PHILADELPHIA owns its own gas works but leases them to the United Gas Improvement Company. The U. G. I., on the other hand, is said to own Philadelphia. As a protest against the condition of things which has given rise to this evil reputation a public meeting of citizens was held a few weeks ago at the Academy of Music at which resolutions were adopted requesting the city council to notify the U. G. I. of the desire of the city to exercise its option of opening the lease to competition. The city council, however, by a decisive vote in both branches which are controlled solidly by the corporation interests refused to take any such step, and accordingly gas will be furnished under the terms of the old contract for another twenty years. The company pays the city ten cents per thousand

feet of gas sold, for the use of the city's property, and for this valuable opportunity not only to tax the citizens for gas but also to plunder them in various other ways at which the U. G. I. is adept.

Gloversville, New York.

THE CITY of Gloversville built its own water-works in 1877, and during the thirty years that have elapsed this municipal enterprise has grown from \$1,832 in the first year to \$48,264 at the time of its last annual report. The works have cost \$411,119 all of which has been paid off or provided for in a sinking fund except \$88,650 which will be gradually accumulated before the maturity of the bonds in 1917, by which time it is reasonable to figure that the city will be in possession of a half-million dollar plant free of debt. No allowance is made in the system of accounting used for any services rendered the city by the water plant. Water furnished for public buildings, for street sprinkling, and for fire hydrants would cost the city from \$15,000 to \$20,000 if furnished by a private company, and as the department is operated without expense to the taxpayers and paid \$1,324 taxes itself this amount is just so much saved by the policy of public-ownership. The physical condition of the property seems to be first-class and careful attention given to its maintenance. The rates appear to be very reasonable as they can well afford to be where there is good public management and no private profits to be provided.

Power Desired by Michigan Cities.

AT THE convention of the League of Michigan Municipalities in Detroit, June 8th, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That the League of Michigan Municipalities recommends to the coming Constitutional Convention the careful consideration of municipal government in this State, to the end:

"1. That the Legislature be relieved of the burden of considering special legislation for particular cities; and

"2. That all the cities and villages in the State be granted adequate powers of local legislation, subject to limitations in the constitutions and general laws of the State."

It was further resolved:

"That the League and all cities which are members of this League use their best endeavors to secure in the new constitution authority for municipal light and water plants to furnish light and water for commercial purposes.

"That the League calls the attention of city officials to the graduates of the Engineering Department of the University of Michigan, trained in the technical subjects relating to municipal public works; and recommend to the Regents of the University that a special course of study be arranged to prepare graduates to undertake the general management of the public works of cities."

A Kentucky Court Decision.

THE COURT of Appeals of Kentucky has recently decided (*Overall vs. City of Madisonville*) that it is clearly within the police power of cities, even without express authority, to provide public lighting of their streets at the public expense; that when a city is given the power, either expressly or by necessary implication as an incident to its police power, to light its streets, and where the precise method is not expressly provided, it may either hire another to furnish the lights or it may furnish its own lights, the power to do the thing unreservedly giving the city discretion in the choice of the means it will adopt; that the lighting of the public streets and places is a purely governmental matter, and a city having the right to build and operate its own lighting plant for governmental purposes may sell its surplus product to citizens or elsewhere, and that in the matter of buying and installing a lighting plant the city is left wholly to the judgment of its council as to the kind and cost of a plant, and when and where it shall buy and how much at a time, there being only one limitation upon the city, *viz.*, that it shall not become indebted beyond the income and revenues of the year without the assent of two-thirds of the electors voting on the question.

Taunton, Massachusetts.

IN ACCORDANCE with the recommendation of Manager Coleman of the Municipal Electric Lighting Plant, the city council has passed a \$60,000 order for additional machinery. The plant has applications for \$12,000 worth of power annually, which it cannot now supply. It is estimated that interest and depreciation accounts, and inci-

dental increases in expenditure, would only amount to \$4,600 annually, leaving a good margin of profit. The cost last year of producing each of the 273 arc lights was \$58.21; profits on commercial lighting credited to this account brought the cost down to \$31.11. The items of cost were: Superintendence, \$1,800; depreciation, \$9,664; interest, \$11,922; lost taxes, \$2,000; insurance, \$706. The lights are nominal 2,000 candle-power and burn all and every night.

Warren, Ohio.

THIS city is furnished light and water by the Warren Light and Water Co. The citizens, however, have decided to rid themselves of the corporation and have offered to buy its plant at a fair valuation, but the company is unwilling to give up so profitable a business and has refused to negotiate with the city on any other basis than an extension of its franchise. The city refused to extend the franchise, and the company announced that on a certain date the water supply would be shut off. Citizens filled up tubs and barrels the day before and waited for the drought. A compromise was agreed on at the last moment by which the city gave a three months' extension of franchise and the company graciously agreed to "negotiate" with the city. Further developments are awaited with interest.

Franklin, Louisiana.

THE CONTRACT has been awarded for the equipment of an electric light and power plant in this, one of the oldest settlements in the country, known to history as the new home of the Acadian exiles celebrated in Longfellow's "Evangeline." This plant will run 25 arc lights and 40 incandescents for the streets and will furnish current for private and commercial purposes. It is expected to be in operation by September 1st.

Medina, New York.

THIS village of 5,000 inhabitants has completed the first year of operating its own water-works. The receipts were \$16,667; operating expenses, \$6,256; improvements and additions, \$4,428; interest, \$3,718. There is general satisfaction with the results and the water consumption has been greatly increased because of a reduction in rates to small consumers.

A Municipal Bank Proposed.

MR. WILLIAM BRADFORD DUBOIS recently brought the question of a municipal bank for Bayonne, New Jersey, before the Civic Club of that city. The advantage to the city he said would consist in its ability to float bonds of small denomination at a low rate of interest, which might circulate as currency. Citizens could also deposit these bonds in the municipal bank and draw checks against them. The proposed securities would be receivable for taxes.

Copenhagen's Street Cars.

THE TERMS of the franchise held by the street-car company of Copenhagen are reported to the State Department, by our Minister to Denmark. They are briefly as follows:

First, the fare must be $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, with general transfers.

Second, the company must pay to the city treasury 6 per cent. of its gross receipts.

Third, the company must pave and maintain between its tracks and for two feet outside the rails.

Fourth, the city reserves the right to furnish the electric power at an agreed price. (Out of which the city is now asking a net profit of \$187,600 a year.)

Fifth, the franchise expires forty years from its date at which time the entire property must be turned over to the city free of cost and free of incumbrance.

In addition to these rigid conditions is another which the American Minister says is lived up to and that is that every passenger shall be comfortably seated. This requirement, says *American Municipalities*, "would make an American street-railway magnate shriek in agony."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the People's Sovereignty League.

The Montana Election Law.

IN COMPLIANCE with the constitutional amendment adopted by the people at the November election, reserving the powers of the initiative and referendum to the people, the legislature of Montana at its recent session passed laws for regulating elections under the amendment; one for state elections, and one for cities and towns. Both of these bills were approved by the State Federation of Labor and passed by the legislature without amendment. The form of referendum "orders" and initiative "demands" is specified and verification is required by the county clerks, the Secretary of State having authority to accept signatures over the veto of the county clerk. A county clerk may hold petitions no longer than two days for the first 200 signatures and one day for each additional 200. The governor's proclamation on each vote to be taken by the people must be published four times for four consecutive weeks in one daily or weekly paper in each county of the state. The titles of bills may be fixed by those who initiate

them or by the Legislative Committee or those who demand a referendum, and shall not exceed 100 words and shall not be confusing. The act provides that an official copy of each measure to be voted upon shall be mailed to each voter in the state 60 days before elections. In cases of initiated measures the parties submitting a petition may supply a pamphlet arguing for it and opposing parties may supply a pamphlet arguing against it, and in the case of referendums any person may supply pamphlets for or against, provided always that all pamphlets be of a specified size and style and enough furnished for all voters and without expense to the state, and these pamphlets will be mailed by the state with the official copy of the measure to each voter.

The act providing for the initiative and referendum in towns and cities requires an eight per cent. petition for the initiative. If the initiated measure is not passed without change by the city council within 60 days it must be submitted to a referendum. A 15 per cent. petition is required to demand a

special election. Ordinances do not go into effect until 30 days after passage, and a five per cent. petition may demand a referendum on any ordinance. All city referendums must be advertised in full four days in four consecutive weeks in every daily and certain weekly papers. Results of all such votes are to be published also at the public expense. This law is in force at once in all the cities and towns of Montana, there being no contingent requirement that it be adopted locally as in Nebraska, California, and Iowa.

A New Charter for Lewiston, Idaho.

THE RECENT Idaho legislature enacted a new charter for the city of Lewiston, which in important respects is similar to the new Des Moines charter reported in our last issue. The city is to be governed by a mayor and six councilmen, who shall receive only nominal salaries, and have the power of making all subordinate appointments, full responsibility being localized upon each member as under the commission system.

Any of these officers may be removed by the recall, which can be invoked by a petition of 25 per cent. of the voters, the extra expense involved in certifying signatures by the city clerk within a maximum of \$100 to be borne by the petitioners, an election to be called not less than 30 nor more than 40 days after filing of the petition. Nominations may be made by petition.

No franchise of any kind shall be granted for a longer period than 25 years. Any ordinance granting any right, franchise, or privilege shall after its passage be published in full in a daily paper and may not go into effect until after 30 days after such publication. If during these 30 days a referendum petition signed by 300 voters shall be presented the ordinance must be submitted to a referendum vote, and prior to the referendum the ordinance in question must be published in full for five days in some daily newspaper at least 10 days prior to the election.

At the expiration of any such franchise it may be provided that all the property of the grantee in the streets and other public places shall without compensation become the property of the city of Lewiston, and the city may own, maintain, operate, sell, or lease the property so acquired. All ordinances making any conveyance or lease of property of the city are subject to a referendum in the same manner as are franchises.

The initiative is provided for in an excellently worded section. A five per cent. petition secures action at a general election and a 15 per cent. petition requires a special election. After the filing of an initiated measure the city council shall either pass the measure without alteration within 20 days or provide for its submission to a vote of the people. Any ordinance proposed by the people and adopted at a referendum vote cannot be repealed or amended except by a vote of the people until after two years, and the ordinance so amending or repealing such a law shall not take effect until 30 days after publication and shall be subject to a referendum.

Any number of initiated measures may be voted on at the same election, but there shall be no more than one special election within a period of six months.

New York State Initiative and Referendum League.

WE ARE glad to note the organization of the New York State Initiative and Referendum League, the object of which as stated is "to install the Initiative and Referendum principle which will render bribery futile, needed reforms possible, and the government more directly answerable to the people." The following list of officers appears on the letter-head: President, Hamilton Holt; Vice-Presidents, Newell Dwight Hillis, F. W. Hinrichs, James B. Reynolds, Edward M. Shepard, Josiah Strong, and Rufus W. Weeks; Treasurer, George Foster Peabody; Secretary, Henry B. Maurer. Among the officers and associates are John DeWitt Warner, Milo R. Maltbie, C. H. Ingersoll, Prof. John B. Clark, Mayor J. N. Adam, John Ford, Edwin Markham, Robert Hunter, Lewis Stockton, and many others. The secretary states that he expects a membership of at least 10,000 by the time this reaches the readers of THE ARENA, and a bill is already in the hands of one of the Empire State senators for its educative effect upon the legislature.

Miscellaneous Items.

THE MICHIGAN legislature provided for a referendum on its bill for the direct nominations of senators, governor, and lieutenant-governor.

NEW BRITAIN, Connecticut, is to have a

referendum on the question as to whether the council or the city meeting as at the present time shall fix the tax rate.

THE PEOPLE of Birmingham, Alabama, took a referendum recently on the construction of a new jail.

THE WISCONSIN senate just before adjournment passed a resolution to submit the question of a constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum to vote at the next election by a vote of 19 to 5, but the House having satiated its conscience with the new cities' accounting law and a few other good things killed the resolution.

Lord Cecil's Plan.

LORD ROBERT CECIL of the English House of Lords has announced a plan for supplementing the veto power of the British Peerage with a referendum power in the people, thus providing an instrument by which disputes between the two houses can be finally settled. He admits that every constitution should have what the British constitution now lacks, viz., provision for a final veto power which of course in a democracy, should rest with the people. This plan has received the unexpected endorsement of the London *Spectator*, which has become quite enthusiastic for the referendum. It is not appalled by the fact that so large an electorate as the whole British people would be appealed to in such a case; it discards as insignificant the fact that many people would neglect to vote on the questions submitted, and it is quite convinced that all who did vote would have sufficient opportunities for acquiring knowledge on the questions at issue to be able to vote with a satisfactory degree of intelligence.

Items From Free Switzerland.

A MEASURE for the disestablishment of the national church was defeated, January 23d, in the canton of Neuchâtel by 15,090 to 8,411 votes, a total of 23,501 votes being cast out of a gross registration of 30,928, or 76 per cent. The vote on the custom tax in the same canton called out 22,643 votes. On June 30th Geneva voted on the same question, deciding in favor of separation by 7,656 to 6,822 votes. This vote involves a change in the constitutional law. The issue has been voted upon in many of the Swiss cantons with varying results.

A MEASURE referred to the people in the canton of Grisons, making voting obligatory, was defeated March 19th, by a vote of 5,841 to 5,930. A law concerning mountain guides was adopted at the same election by 7,561 votes against 3,201.

THE MUNICIPAL council of Berne has appointed a commission which is to present propositions for a system of proportional representation. The council has decided to limit the number of signatures necessary to an initiative demand to 500. The question of optional referendum was put off as was the determining of the manner of electing the primary school commission for which the socialists demand election on the system of proportional representation.

ON MAY 12th the canton of Zurich rejected a constitutional amendment by 25,916 to 37,593; the electoral bill was also rejected by 26,094 to 38,737; while the bill concerning a weekly rest day was adopted by 51,583 to 17,892.

THE VOTE in Berne on the utilization of hydraulic power by the government, May 27th, was 21,689 for and 7,296 against. The same question was voted upon in other cantons.

THE PEOPLE of Soleure voted in February to participate with the federal government and other districts that had already voted in the construction of a railroad from Soleure to Schönbühl.

THE OFFICIAL count of the popular initiative petition for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of absinthe, April 13th and 14th, reported by the federal council was 169,317, of which 167,754 were found to be valid.

A MEASURE to repeal the restrictions on multiple office-holding was defeated in Geneva, April 14th, by 6,210 to 8,266 votes, this being a distinct victory for pure democracy.

The Landsgemeinde.

THE PEOPLE of Uri and Glaris meet together annually at Schwytz in landsgemeinde on the first Sunday in May. At their meeting this year the assemblage was much larger than usual and the intense interest manifest indicated the struggle that was at hand between the authorities and the sovereign people. When the town officials arrived, the ground near the bridge of Iberg was

already covered with people, and the crowd continued to pour in. "The oldest inhabitant had never seen such a concourse at Schwytz; there were at least 4,000 persons there," says a local paper, adding significantly, "it gave the idea of the purest democracy." Nine communes, counting upon the excellent financial condition of the canton, demanded that there should be given to each commune, for local uses, one franc for every head of the population, to be taken from the taxes and licenses of public houses. The counsel of the district opposed this and argued the execution of important projects of the government in vain. Over two-thirds of the sovereign people voted for the franc. This will take effect, therefore, in fifteen communes of the canton and the money will be used for schools, the poor, the roads and the fire departments.

Reform in Denmark.

THE DANISH government in obedience to pressing demands from the people, has adopted an amendment to the election law of

municipalities. The plan that has been prepared has been sent for examination to a commission composed of deputies of the two chambers. The scheme has been drawn up in what is called by the European press "a very democratic sense," on the basis of universal suffrage. The right to vote is accorded to every inhabitant having lived more than one year in the community where he or she pays taxes. In addition to this plan, and as a correlative of universal suffrage, the parliamentary commission proposes the introduction of the referendum for expenditures of a certain amount and for the fixing of any new tax, "in such a manner that the municipal administration shall be constantly controlled and checked by the electors interested in the good of public affairs." "That which above all characterizes this new project," adds the *Geneva Tribune*, "is that it foretells on the one hand proportional representation and on the other woman suffrage."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

A Remarkable Test Election.

THE STRENGTH and activity of the English Proportional Representation Society is well shown by the test election which the society organized some months ago, when more than twelve thousand ballots were counted. My account of it in this department has been delayed, but the election is none the less interesting and worthy of note.

On a simultaneous date a preliminary article appeared in eight different daily newspapers, calling attention to the test election, printing the ballots for it and giving expositions of the Proportional principle. Eight days afterwards simultaneous articles again appeared in these eight newspapers (of different shades of politics), describing the test election and its results.

Some, at least, of the writers of these articles were members of the Proportional Representation Society. The writer in the *Morning Post* was "J. F. W."—probably Mr. F.

Fischer Williams, the treasurer; in the *Tribune*, Mr. John H. Humphreys, the secretary; and in the Manchester *Guardian*, Lord Courtney. I quote from the Manchester *Guardian's* first article:

"The vote is to be taken on the assumption that we are dealing with a constituency returning five members for which twelve candidates have been nominated, and it will be understood that by the method of voting we recommend the different parties in the constituencies will get representation in proportion to their voting strength among the five elected members. Leeds has been mentioned as the supposed constituency being, in fact, entitled to five members, but every reader may be recommended to conceive of a constituency in his own neighborhood formed by the combination of existing constituencies so as to be a fitting subject for the experiment. The twelve candidates nominated are men

known up and down the country. This was, of course, inevitable, since electors are invited to record their votes throughout England. Two London newspapers, the *Morning Post* and the *Tribune*, are publishing the voting paper with an explanatory article like the present, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Yorkshire Post* are doing the same in the North of England, the two Plymouth papers in my own West Country, whilst the *Labor Leader* and the *Woolwich Pioneer* recommend the illustrative election to the consideration of labor readers."

Lord Courtney went on to explain in lucid detail the principles of Proportional Representation, the method of marking ballots, etc. Then followed the ballot paper, etc., which contained the names of four Liberals, four Unionists or Conservatives, and four Labor men.

The system to be used was the Hare-Spence plan, which is the one adopted and advocated by the English society. Each voter was to mark several candidates in the order of his choice, but his vote would finally count for one candidate only.

Lord Courtney's second article in the *Manchester Guardian* described in detail the counting of ballots and the result of the election. Its opening sentences will be sufficient for my purpose here:

"We members of the Proportional Representation Society can honestly congratulate ourselves on the great success of our recent election. No less than 12,398 persons sent in good voting papers and only 20 spoiled papers, and of these 20, three maliciously spoiled their papers. Taking the full 20, the percentage of spoiled papers was extremely low—much below the average of ordinary elections. The constituency was no doubt, in one sense specially qualified, since it consisted of persons sufficiently interested to respond to our invitation, but the result ought to set at rest the suggestion that the system of voting proposed is too complicated for the ordinary voter. Any citizen is surely capable of marking his first and second preference if he cannot go further, and if it is true that the constituency in this case may be called a picked one, it must be remembered that in an ordinary political contest the voters would be instructed days and even weeks before the day of polling as to how they should mark

their papers. We need fear no increase of spoiled votes.

"The counting of votes began at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, soon after six on Wednesday evening. The final result was announced before eleven. An interval of about three-quarters of an hour had been allowed for the refreshment of the zealous volunteers who conducted the count, so that just four hours were actually consumed in the process."

To which I may add Lord Courtney's concluding words:

"We found the experience of Wednesday evening easy and even exhilarating, and the actors and spectators parted in great good-humor."

The Movement in France.

A QUARTERLY magazine devoted to Proportional Representation is published in Roubaix, France, under the title of *Le Proportionnaliste*. This magazine gives a record of the various electoral reforms so generally discussed in France.

M. Charles Benoist, the eminent Proportionalist, has been chosen as head of the electoral reform group of two hundred and fifty deputies of all parties. He is now chairman of the parliamentary committee on universal suffrage, with some of the most talented men in the Proportional Representation movement among his colleagues; and he replaces a determined supporter of *scrutin de liste* in the position. Other noted names on that committee are MM. Aynard, Labori, Jos. Reinach, Martin and Flandin. All the bills before it are not quite satisfactory, though they are able attempts to reconcile liberty with party domination; at least any are better than the present system.

Recent absorbing political events in France have put Proportional Representation in the background for a while, but Belgium's example has made a deep impression, and the French movement is widespread. It will not be long before there are some interesting developments in France, if one may judge by the able and influential men behind the movement there.

Chicago, Boston and Tasmania.

THE NECESSITY for preferential voting in mayoralty elections was clearly shown by the

last Chicago mayoralty election. Following is the newspaper report of the vote:

Busse, Republican.....	164,839
Dunne, Democrat.....	151,823
Koop, Socialist.....	13,469
Brubaker, Prohibitionist.....	5,875

Majority against Busse.....	6,328
Plurality for Busse.....	13,016

On the preferential plan, voters would have marked a second and third choice; then the Socialist and Prohibitionist would have been eliminated after the count of the first-choice votes, and their votes transferred to either Busse or Dunne on second choices, thus concentrating all the votes on the two strongest candidates, and giving one of them a clear majority. This might have elected Dunne instead of Busse.

Boston's mayoralty election in 1905 was a similar object-lesson. The figures are taken from Judge Ruppenthal's pamphlet:

Fitzgerald, Democrat.....	44,316
Frothingham, Republican.....	35,936
Dewey, Independent Republican.....	11,637
Watson, Independent Democrat.....	515

Fitzgerald was therefore elected by a plurality of 48 per cent. of the total vote. A preferential balloting would have proved that he was either first choice or second choice of a majority of the electors, or would have defeated him.

An editorial opinion and statement of facts from far-off Tasmania is *apropos* in this connection. The *Launceston Examiner*, just before the last Tasmanian elections, said:

"In several constituencies at the coming elections there will be three or more candidates, and under these circumstances it may be asked what possible chance is there that the party chosen will secure a majority of the votes polled? We hear a good deal of talk about the 'will of the people,' but under our stupid electoral system we go out of our way to so arrange things that it is next to impossible to find out what that will really is."

A Labor Election.

SOME Canadian labor organizations use the proportional and preferential methods in the election of their committees and officers. The following extract from a letter of Mr. A. W. Puttee, Winnipeg, gives an example of

the use of the preferential method, by which an absolute majority is always got by one balloting, no matter how many candidates are running:

"The Typographical Union elections were most interesting, being very closely contested. The election committee met on the evening of the two election days to count up, and a number of the candidates appeared to keep tally with us. Several of them expressed themselves as glad to have had the opportunity to see how well the Hare-Spence system worked out when tested. For the presidency the first-choice votes stood 74, 75 and 13. When we had distributed the second choices on the thirteen there was a tie, 81 each. The election was awarded to the man with the greatest number of first-choice votes.

"For the International Typographical Union delegateship, with six candidates, we had to declare four out of the count before reaching a majority."

Notes.

I HAVE a number of copies of Mr. Berry's bill on Proxy Voting, introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature. These are at the service of anyone writing to me for a copy.

THE STATE commission appointed to revise the constitution of Holland has recommended the adoption of Proportional Representation in the elections to the States-General. This is following the example of Holland's next-door neighbor, Belgium.

PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS of the University of Wisconsin, has issued a new book on Proportional Representation. His publishers are the Macmillan Company, New York and London. I shall have more to say about the book later on.

SIX HUNDRED labor delegates from all parts of the Province of Ontario met in convention at Toronto on March 29th and formed the Independent Labor Party of Ontario. The platform contains fourteen planks, including "Proportional Representation with grouped constituencies and abolition of municipal wards"; also Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum.

THE MEMBERSHIP of the American Proportional Representation League extends from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the

Atlantic to the Pacific coast. New members are always welcome, and there is suitable literature at their disposal. The secretary's address is 10 Harbord street, Toronto, Canada. The membership fee, one dollar, includes the League's quarterly without further charge.

The American Proportional Representation League has corresponding members in various parts of the world. Among these are

Senator Keating, Tasmania; Miss Catherine Helen Spence, South Australia; Mr. P. J. O'Regan, New Zealand; Mr. S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner, South Africa; Mr. Philip Jamin, Switzerland; M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, Belgium; Mr. J. H. Humphreys, and Mr. J. Stewart, England.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

New Right Relationship League Companies.

THE RIGHT-RELATIONSHIP League is meeting with marked success in the organization of its chain of coöperative stores in the Northwest. Three new county coöperative companies have been organized within a month and several stores added to the already existing county coöperatives.

The Dodge County Coöperative Company, with headquarters at Hayfield, Dodge County, Minnesota, has been incorporated with an authorized capital stock of \$50,000. The capital stock dividend was fixed at 7 per cent. and the by-laws which were revised at the January convention of the League and recommended by them were adopted. This town of Hayfield is one of the best coöperative communities in the state. A short time ago, the people of the community organized the Hayfield Lumber Company, capital stock \$25,000, and it is reported that this company now has about 700 members, being one of the largest coöperative lumber companies in the state of Minnesota. It handles lumber, coal, wood, cement, tile, etc. Because of the intense enthusiasm manifested in this community for coöperation, a successful future is predicted for the Dodge County Coöperative Company.

The League also reports the organization of the Dunn County Coöperative Company at Knapp, Wisconsin, with 24 charter members. The company has purchased the stock and fixtures of Mr. Charles Townsend of Knapp, who will continue to operate the business of the new company.

Another new county coöperative was organized at Hersey, Wisconsin, which will be known as the St. Croix County Coöperative Company. The capital stock was fixed at \$35,000 and the capital stock dividend at 7 per cent. per annum. A proposal from another firm of merchants in the county to turn over their business to the company was before the Board as soon as the organization was completed, and was unanimously adopted. Work on organization will begin there immediately and other points in the county are ready to come in as soon as they can be reached.

A new store in the Scott County Coöperative Company was organized at New Prague, Minnesota, at a most enthusiastic gathering. There were enrolled as members 86 well-to-do and intelligent German farmers, each purchasing one share of stock at \$100. Before the close of the meeting 73 of these had made settlement, and \$6,500 was turned over to Mr. F. J. Maertz, the retiring merchant, to apply on the purchase of his stock of goods which had been bought upon an agreed upon invoice.

Free From The Trusts.

IN A RECENT letter Mr. H. N. Gaines, manager of the *Farmers' Advocate*, of Topeka, speaks of the successful spread of the coöperative elevators in the state of Kansas, there being at present over 80. There are a few very successful coöperative stores, one at Olathe having achieved wide fame, and two others, one at Hutchinson and another at McPherson, being well known. Perhaps the

greatest progress along the line of coöperation has been in building farmers' telephone lines. "The state is becoming a network of these coöperative telephone lines." The *American Coöperative Telephone Journal* contains monthly accounts of the progress made by coöperative and farmers' mutual telephone companies. A recent issue reports the organization of such companies at the following towns: Geneva, Nebraska; Norton, North Dakota; Blanchester, Ohio; Baraboo, Wisconsin; Northfield, Wisconsin; Yellow Lake, Wisconsin; Pleasant Hill, Illinois; Caroline, Wisconsin; Nez Perce, Idaho; Sullivan, Illinois.

The Minnesota Co-operative Dairies Association.

ON THE 12th of June, the Minnesota Coöperative Dairies Association was organized in the old state capitol building at St. Paul, more than 100 delegates from the various coöperative dairies of the state being present. The intention of the association is to ship the butter produced by coöperative dairies to a central exchange to be maintained by the organization, from where it will be forwarded to Eastern markets. The capital stock of the association is fixed at \$12,500, divided into 500 shares of \$25 each, and it is organized under a special act of the last Minnesota legislature authorizing dairymen to unite for the purpose of disposing of butter products.

Robert Crickmore of Owatonna, who is secretary of the association, states that the butter makers of this state last year paid to commission men between \$1,250,000 and \$1,500,000 in commissions for handling the state's output of that product, and as there are 681 coöperative creameries out of a total of about 900 creameries in the state, the saving of those who join the association will amount to a very considerable sum each year.

The American Society of Equity.

THE AMERICAN Society of Equity, of which Mr. J. A. Everitt is president, is making rapid progress in the establishment of coöperative organizations throughout the Middle West. Many farmers of North Dakota have recently organized under the plans of this society by means of which they will provide themselves with a system of marketing grain which will keep the supply steady and prices equitable. Besides handling grains this organization is to deal in hay, broom corn, etc.

An effort is being made by the society to organize a coöperative store for union labor patrons in Chicago. The society offers to purchase a dollar of stock for every dollar invested by the union laborers of the city and it is their intention to incorporate with a capital of \$50,000, shares being \$5 each. In Milwaukee a similar coöperative store is being organized. The St. Louis members of this organization have a successful coöperative store under the leadership of the Rev. Father J. Tuohy, but this store is not affiliated with the labor unions.

Chicago's Co-operative Market.

ANOTHER report from the *Chicago Chronicle* concerning the proposed coöperative market to be opened in Chicago, says that it is promulgated by the United Citizens Pedlers' Association, composed of 5,000 pushcart pedlers. They are planning to erect a large central market on the lower east side, which will cost \$2,000,000 and will occupy one entire block—600 x 200 feet. The building is to be two stories high, with a roof garden on top for the children of the pedlers. In the two floors below will be 5,000 booths. The architects' plans for the market have been completed.

Three California Towns.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT which a successful coöperative enterprise inspires is especially noticeable in the experience of three California towns, Tulare, Manteca, and Tipton. In each of these towns a Rochdale Coöperative Store was organized and Tulare followed with a creamery, a coöperative meat company, and a Farmers' Coöperative Insurance Company. Manteca now has a Rochdale meat company and a coöperative fire insurance company, and Tipton, where about a year ago the Rochdale Company was organized, has recently established a coöperative creamery. This growth of coöperative enterprises promises to be widely duplicated in a large number of Western towns.

Linden, Texas.

A NUMBER of negroes of Linden, Texas, have filed articles of incorporation for the Negro Farmers' and Laborers' Educational and Coöperative Union, whose purpose as stated in the charter is "to induce the negro farmers and laborers to coöperate for the purpose of fostering in the race a disposition

to coöperate in buying their necessities and selling their farm products to the best advantage, promoting industry among the members of the race, educating their children and themselves in the industrial arts, and preparing themselves for the duties of good and useful citizenship."

Co-operative Commission Service.

THE COÖPERATIVE Commission Company composed of cattle shippers of Kansas and Nebraska, and having offices in Chicago, Omaha, St. Joseph and Kansas City, have taken up a fight against the live-stock exchanges which it is claimed are unlawful combinations and are trying to ruin the coöperative concerns. The live-stock exchanges have forced the packing houses to boycott the coöperative concerns at one point by threatening to refuse to sell them any live-stock. The coöperators sent a committee recently to confer with Governor Hoch of Kansas, and to try to secure state aid in the fight.

Farmers' Unions in Washington.

A NUMBER of local societies are being organized by the Farmers' Union among the wheat farmers of Washington. La Crosse, with an initial membership of 20, and Pomeroy, with 30 members, being reported very recently.

Co-operative Electric Plant.

It is reported that an association of farmers has been formed in South Dakota to establish an electric plant to be run coöperatively, which will supply electric light, heat, and power to the farms.

Mobile, Alabama.

A LARGE Rochdale coöperative society has been organized at Mobile, Alabama. They have two large stores, at 400 and 402 State street, one of which will be used as a social hall where the members will meet weekly for social intercourse, and the other as the merchandise store of the society.

Cape Cod Cranberry Growers.

It is reported that the Cape Cod cranberry growers have formed a coöperative union for their mutual benefit.

Lincoln, Illinois.

MINERS and laboring men of Lincoln Illinois, have joined in an organization for

coöperative buying which is to be known as "The My Store." More than 100 stockholders are reported.

Co-operative Coal Mine.

THE CALEDONIA Company, the only coöperative concern to engage in coal-mining in Michigan, has worked out its first shaft which was sunk just south of the city of Caledonia. The mine has been in operation three years and is owned, officered and worked by the miners themselves. The miners have realized large profits cleaning up \$28,000 for the three years. The company holds leases adjoining and has already sunk a new shaft in a thick vein and is taking out coal.

Snohomish, Washington.

THE SNOHOMISH farmers, assembled at the Farmers' Institute held in Everett, Washington, decided to form a coöperative association for marketing their products. The session of the institute was made very interesting and instructive by several lectures given by professors from the State college.

Farmers' Union in Kansas.

A CONVENTION was held at Hutchinson, Kansas, in May, for the purpose of effecting a state organization of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America, 225 local societies of which exist in Kansas, with a membership of 6,000.

Gifford, Iowa.

AT GIFFORD, Iowa, a number of farmers and business men have organized a coöperative company known as the Gifford Coöperative Company. The enterprise is capitalized at \$20,000 and will do a general retail business.

Co-operation Means Prosperity.

THE DAIRY and Food Commissioner of Minnesota, Mr. H. T. Sandergaard, is reported to have said that the experience of the different localities having coöperative creameries is that wherever they are maintained the farmers are much more prosperous than under other conditions.

Allison, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Coöperative Elevator Company of Allison shows a net gain of \$2,191.45 for the past year.

Iowa Falls, Iowa.

THE ANNUAL report of the Farmers' Coöperative Elevator Company of Iowa Falls, Iowa, shows a net earning of \$2,064 from August 1, 1906, to June 1st. The company has handled about 160,000 bushels of grain.

Crystal Falls, Michigan.

THE MEMBERS of the Finnish and Swedish Merchants' Coöperative Association of Crystal

Falls, Michigan, have issued a contract for a \$13,000 brick store-building to be used in carrying on their business.

Two Minnesota Villages.

A FARMERS' coöperative creamery has been organized at Milaca, Minnesota, and the farmers of Fairmount are planning the building of a coöperative elevator.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

By Right Divine. By William Sage. Cloth. Pp. 370. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS novel is worthy of special attention at the hands of thinking men and women who enjoy fiction. It is a strong and intensely interesting love romance dealing with present-day life. It reaches the heart because of its compelling human interest and the natural and convincing manner in which the story is told. It abounds in stirring situations and there are some very dramatic passages. Though the element of improbability is at times present, the book as a whole is very true to life, and as a present-day political study it ranks with the best romances of recent years. Indeed, quite apart from its interest as a novel, its value as a vivid, faithful and thought-arresting pen-picture of the battle between the corrupt influences of commercial politics or politics for personal enrichment and power, and good government or the ideal of a noble free commonwealth, is so great that it is a work which all friends of free institutions, of fundamental democracy and clean and honest government should widely circulate. It is a book that will make for a better day.

The story is concerned with Senator Fordyce, a multi-millionaire United States Senator strongly allied with the interests, not only for the power he derives from the feudalism of privileged wealth, but also because he is more or less openly financially connected

with various commercial enterprises from which he is reaping a princely revenue. Senator Fordyce's beautiful daughter, Ruth, the heroine of the romance, is the one being in the world who is really and deeply loved by the father,—the one person to whom he loves to turn from his insane absorption in the game of politics and gold. Ruth returns her father's love with all the intensity of an idealistic nature endowed with strong affection, but she loves him because he is to her the personification of nobility, honesty, and civic rectitude. His public addresses, after the manner of his kind, are filled with moral platitudes, glittering generalities and lofty patriotic utterances, and apparently issue from a mind instinct with moral idealism. So in his home, the Senator is very careful not to allow his daughter to gain an inkling of his many shady political transactions. He has long been the absolute boss of his state; as much so as were Quay, Hanna, Gorman or Platt the rulers or bosses of the respective commonwealths they so long misruled and misrepresented; as absolutely the master of the machine of the dominant party as is Henry Cabot Lodge the boss or master of the Republican machine of Massachusetts.

Unfortunately for Fordyce, his health compels him to leave America before a convention was held to nominate a state ticket. The corrupt practices that had long marked the machine-rule of the state, and the reactionary and autocratic acts of the politicians, had aroused such general discontent that there was serious danger of losing the state to the party, and the opposition after the

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

departure of Senator Fordyce became so giant-like that the boss's slate could not be pushed through in his absence. The clamor for a certain brave, aggressive and high-minded young statesman of the La Follette stripe to lead the ticket was so great the convention got beyond the management of the masters of the machine, and the popular young leader, one Francis Thayer, was chosen for governor.

Thayer is a man of inherited wealth, of broad culture and upright character; but beyond this, he is a passionate lover of justice and the fundamental principles that are the life of free government. Naturally enough, the genial but corrupt practical political boss, Senator Fordyce, and the aggressive and upright Governor Thayer clash, and when it is seen that the governor has determined to serve the interests of the people instead of betraying the people in the interests of the privileged few, a bitter war is declared between these two leaders.

But during a patched-up truce or lull in the storm that is to follow, the young Governor and the beautiful daughter of the Senator fall deeply in love with each other. The struggle between duty and love that ensues forms the master theme of the romance while affording a favorable opportunity to place in antithesis government for the classes through the boss and the machine, and government for the people,—an opportunity which is effectively improved; for here the author lifts the curtain and takes the reader behind the scenes where the plutocracy and the minions of privilege conspire to deceive and despoil the people.

The chapters describing the breach between the Senator and the Governor, when the latter refuses to appoint a corrupt judge to a higher place on the bench at the dictation of the Senator, and the vivid description of the masters of privilege and politics mapping out their campaign for the destruction of Governor Thayer and the recapture of the state by means of a lying platform, the establishment of a tainted-news bureau and a powerful opposition daily, their preparation for foreclosing the mortgage on a church where the minister is sustaining the Governor, and other details of the campaign, are so photographic and true in character that they cannot fail to prove of real value to the friends of good government in the great battle now being waged between the upholders

of class-rule and privileged interests and the defenders of a democratic republic.

This is a book that our readers should possess and which, after reading, they should start out on missionary duty; for as a story it is so strong that any person who reads at all will enjoy it, while no one can peruse it without having certain truths vital to free government forced upon his consciousness.

Hundredth Century Philosophy. By Charles Kirkland Wheeler, M.D. Cloth. Pp. 171. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Press of James H. West Company.

IN REVIEWING Dr. Wheeler's former work, we called attention to the fact that the author was a Harvard graduate, a careful and painstaking reasoner; but we ventured the prediction that his thought and conclusions would not be readily understood or accepted by present-day readers.

His new work, *Hundredth Century Philosophy*, confirms us in the conviction that comparatively few readers in this age of rush and feverish excitement would take the time to attempt to follow the author in his search for an explanation of the riddle of creation and the meaning of man. The very nature of the investigation is such as to lure minds that incline to speculative philosophy, but in this work all the idealistic philosophy of the ages is discarded, and by more or less abstract reasoning the author attempts to prove that matter is at the root of all. The Absolute Reality, which he regards as entirely inscrutable, is not soul or spirit. He holds that consciousness or mind is a resultant of matter, or is not primary; that matter is the spring of consciousness. Man is regarded by Dr. Wheeler as a by-product or by-end.

The work, it will be noted, is an argument for the materialistic hypothesis, but the author, in common with many philosophers who essay to answer the question of the Sphinx of Creation, employs so many vague terms or terms which are vague in meaning to the ordinary reader, that he is difficult to follow. His construction is also often involved, and the confusion is at times increased by redundancy in expression. To illustrate what we have in mind we quote the following passage from the author's chapter on "Mind or Consciousness not Primary":

"Now to hark back, as we will say, for a

moment to evolution proper again. Why must we not further in the light of that doctrine think consciousness not primary when it is an *axiom of it that only that primarily obtains which, only as it should primarily, can at all*; and when consciousness would seem from the condition of the event of it within our observation of them *to be no such thing that, to obtain at all it must aboriginally obtain?*"

The volume is written in Socratic form, the Inquirer questioning the Oracle. The following opening paragraphs from the first chapter will give the reader an idea of the author's style:

"*Inquirer.* Consciousness, as we know it, would seem associated only with matter, matter as brain, and as dependent on it; so that matter, which is the foundation, proximate or ultimate, of everything else, would seem even the foundation of everything altogether,—but is it?"

"*Oracle.* Yes and no; matter, *as such*, is not that foundation; but matter, *as something*, is."

"*Inq.* What do you mean by matter, *as such*, in contradistinction from matter as something?"

"*Or.* Well, take a billiard ball (or a solid cube, which would be to the same effect), tie a string to it, and whirl it around as rapidly as you can; it will then look to be a ring. But the billiard ball is *not* a ring, it is a sphere. The ring, then, as a ring, that is to say, the ring, as such, is the sphere as it *appears*; and we say that that, what it appears, is not what the billiard ball is *in itself*, or in reality, which is, in reality, a sphere. But still the ring is *something*, something *absolute*; as whatsoever could be nothing save only as from which everything withdrawn nothing would be; and everything of the ring withdrawn and the billiard ball would be, which itself at least something, not everything could be withdrawn from the ring and nothing be. The ring, therefore, cannot be nothing; in other words, must be something. But, as something, it is what the billiard ball is, which itself, as I have said, is at least something, whatever more it is. The ring, then, *as such*, is *not* what the billiard ball is; but *as something*, it is."

"Matter then, as such, is not, but matter

as verily something, is indeed the Absolute Reality and foundation of all things, even of consciousness itself."

Matter as something, it will be seen, the author holds to be the foundation of Absolute Reality. Again reverting to the ring to illustrate his idea of Absolute Reality, the author says:

"Even though the ring persists any moment where, for that moment, the ball is not, and persists only by reason of the eye and mind, yet even *then* it does so only by reason of the billiard ball *first or last* still, since it only obtains at all to be anything to persist because of the billiard ball."

"So, matter itself, even though a group of qualities having no existence independent of the mind, has still, too, none even *with* the mind, but for the Absolute Reality and foundation of all things beyond, only for which once ever obtains our impression of matter at all; and so only for which, once for an instant in the conceivable contingency of the momentary absence of the Absolute Reality, ever persisting."

The author, after a long discussion in which he attempts to prove that man is only a by-product, passes to a consideration of the main end of creation or the creative act, which is treated as follows:

"But if a man is only a by-product or by-end, what, then, is the main product or end of the creative act or activity?"

"Why, the creative act or activity itself, itself as realized; *that act or activity itself for its own sake* the prime motive at the heart of things; *that* the infinite passion; *that* the genius of the universe; *that the main product or end*, and nothing beyond—or nothing unless this perhaps were to include an accompaniment or aftermath of ecstasy of that act or activity as it was to be supposed conscious;—everything else whatsoever, even man, even human consciousness, but incidental and by-product or by-end."

In the last chapter of the work he arrives at a natural conclusion from the reasoning that precedes it,—that the ultimate fate of the individual is extinction. On this point he says:

"But if . . . you shall mean what is the fate at last of the individual man, then it

might be answered that what is the fate of any particular wave of the sea, or of any particular blood-corpuscule of man's life-current, namely, extinction and supersedure by others,—that may, perhaps, be the fate of one and another particular man, still that men, or man, like waves and like blood-corpuscles, should go on forever and ever."

Notwithstanding this lame and impotent conclusion, which we confess, from what we have been able to understand of the author's

reasoning, does not impress us as by any means convincing, the author holds that the crowning occupation of the individual should be the pursuit of truth. On this point he says, in answer to the question, "And now, what, at last, the crowning occupation and enthusiasm of the individual life?":

"It is this: when not the passionate pursuit of truth, then the alternating experience in consciousness implied in—'I am God in Nature, I am a weed by the wall.'"

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE CABLE TELEGRAPH SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD: The July ARENA contained a paper on the Cable Ring, written in a popular style by the Hon. J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., the distinguished English statesman who for years has led the fight for cheaper postage and a more efficient postal system. In this issue Mr. HEATON treats the subject of the world's telegraph cables in a more serious manner. Indeed, the discussion this month will prove one of the most comprehensive and authoritative articles that has ever appeared on this important subject. Every thoughtful American should carefully read this masterly exposition of the manner in which the great and potentially beneficent cables are kept from the use of the people in order enormously to increase the wealth of a small handful of men.

A Statesman Faithful to the People's Trust: Every month the line is being drawn more and more sharply between statesmen who are loyal to the people and faithful to the fundamental principles of democratic government, and the betrayers of the people who serve the feudalism of privileged interests while pretending to be loyal to popular government. The industrial autocracy which is undermining free institutions and advancing to the position of mastery of the people and their government, through the aid of the money-controlled machines, the bosses and the traitors whom they succeed in placing in positions of vantage, is ever loyal to its own. True, often some part of the autocracy will offer hostility to certain of their men in order to deceive the people and give the recreant public servant influence and power which he could not possess if the people knew him as the feudalism of privileged interests knows him. But when you see the enemies of the Republic unitedly opposing statesmen like ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, WILLIAM J. BRYAN, JOSEPH W. FOLK, and TOM L. JOHNSON, you may know at once that there is a reason,—that they have been tried and found incorruptible; that they have refused to sacrifice

the people, to compromise in a vital way with the enemies of the Republic or to betray the ideals of free government for the bribe of office, power or wealth. Such men are the hope of the Republic in the present crucial hour; and as the masters of the corrupt money-controlled machine are loyal to their own, so it behooves the people to rally as one man to the support of statesmen who embody the spirit of FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON and LINCOLN,—statesmen who have been tried and not found wanting and whose marked ability no less than their rugged integrity makes them worthy of the support of the millions of wealth-producers and consumers. In this issue of THE ARENA Professor WILLIAM KITTLE of Madison, Wisconsin, gives a very comprehensive sketch of the public stewardship of Senator LA FOLLETTE, which we commend to all our readers.

Hon. Thomas Speed Mosby on Capital Punishment: Like war, capital punishment is a relic of barbarism that shames modern Christian civilization. For generations philosophers and humanitarians have pleaded for its abolition, and recently statesmen on various occasions have sounded the note of ethical progress in demanding that the state shall set the example of regarding the life of her children as something sacred; that society should be protected from crime, but protected without taking life. In this issue we present an admirable paper on this subject from the able pen of THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, Pardon Attorney of Missouri.

The Meaning of the Invasion of European Socialism: Second only in importance to Mr. JAMES MACKAYE's extremely valuable paper on *Democracy and Socialism*, that was a feature of the June ARENA, is the brilliant and masterly paper by HENRY FRANK on *The Meaning of the Invasion of European Socialism*. Mr. FRANK has made a profound study of the question. He is a student of SPENCER, but he shows and shows so

conclusively that it is impossible to conceive how any one can escape his deductions, that the exact form of slavery that SPENCER described as a resultant of Socialism, actually obtains under the present oligarchical commercial feudalism, and that it is the despotism of concentrated wealth or the feudalism of privileged interests that has fostered the rapid growth of democratic socialism in America. The American people are determined to escape what LINCOLN STEFFENS once so aptly described as "a government of the people, by the rascals, for the rich," by reinstating a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" and extending the functions of government so that at least the public utilities which are vitally connected with the comfort, happiness and prosperity of all the people shall be owned and operated by the people for the benefit of all instead of for the enrichment of a privileged few. This paper, is a contribution that no thinking American should fail to read.

Daniel's Vision: In this issue we publish the first part of an essay by Mr. GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS, a serious student of ancient history and the Old Testament. Mr. JARVIS is the author of a thoughtful work entitled *The Bible Allegories*, which was some time since reviewed in THE ARENA. In it he discusses many passages of the Old Testament whose meanings have been a puzzle to commentators. He believes that with the key he has given in his work, the true significance becomes at once apparent.

A Well-Known Massachusetts Clergyman on the Divorce Problem: This is a brief but well-considered article on the divorce problem, by the Rev. ROLAND D. SAWYER, a well-known Congregational clergyman of Massachusetts and Secretary of the Anti-Profanity League. Mr. SAWYER is more fundamental than most clergymen in the discussion of this question. He sees root causes and faces them in an earnest and thought-suggesting manner.

Mr. Satterthwaite's Judicial Characterisation of Direct-Legislation: All friends of Direct-Legislation will read with pleasure the calm and judicial discussion of this great and overshadowing issue by

Mr. LINTON SATTERTHWAITE in this number. He shows how baseless are all the shallow and mendacious objections that are being advanced by the agents of the corporations and the tools of the money-controlled machine to deceive and mislead the public. Happily the people are beginning to think for themselves, and no one can do that and fail to see the pitiful character of the sophistry advanced by the servants of privileged interests to prevent the people from enjoying the blessings and benefits of democratic or free government.

THE ARENA the *Hand-Book of Progressive Democracy and Civic Reform:* We have received a number of strong words of praise from our subscribers relating to the Editorial departments of THE ARENA as conducted at the present time. One friend insists that these departments are alone worth far more than the subscription price of the magazine to all persons interested in live political issues, and especially in the preservation of free government. "The Mirror of the Present," he says, "is a monthly magazine of ammunition for friends of the Republic of the fathers, while the departments conducted by Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON and ROBERT TYSON dealing with the news of the day as it relates to Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation, Coöperation and Proportional Representation, make THE ARENA a complete hand-book of progressive government and civic progress that is not approached in value by any other publication in America or Europe." This writer seems to express the views of a very large proportion of our readers, and we wish to take this opportunity to call the attention of all readers to the superb work being done by Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON in compiling and digesting the vital news as it relates to the great questions of Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership and Coöperation, and also to the monthly digest of Proportional Representation news of the world, which is being carefully prepared each month by Mr. ROBERT TYSON, Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. They who would keep abreast of the age cannot be ignorant of the progress being made in regard to the great movements that touch free government and life so vitally, and THE ARENA is the only magazine published that gives a comprehensive news summary of progress in these fields.

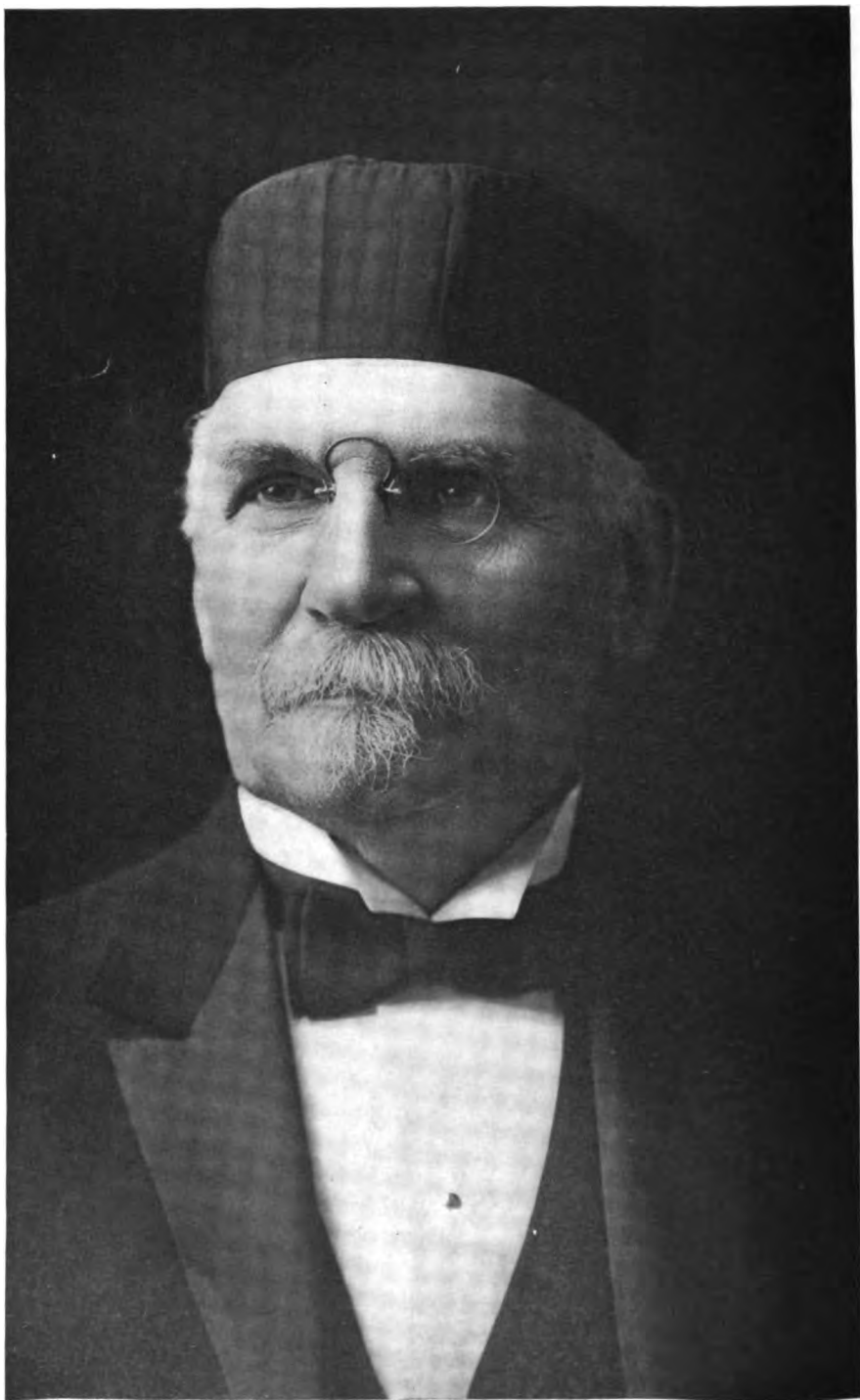


Photo. by Steckel, Los Angeles, Calif.

T. S. C. LOWE.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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THE SENATORIAL ELECTION IN COLORADO.

BY ELLIS MEREDITH.

SUCCESS in politics is sometimes accidental; often it is "the long result of time." This is preëminently the case in the election of Simon Guggenheim to the United States Senate by the legislature of the State of Colorado. For nine years Simon Guggenheim has been a political possibility; at first he was something of a joke; a man who was "easy," from the politician's point-of-view. He believed what was told him, spent money lavishly, did n't know "the game" and was considered available whenever he might be wanted. For the last two years the Guggenheim campaign has been no joke, but even those who regarded it as a menace, were inclined to think of the persistent little man as a kind of Lilliputian Black Douglas who would never be able to make good his threat to secure the highest office any state has to give.

Once upon a time Simon Guggenheim might have been made senator by popular vote. Once in his life he rose to a great occasion and did a great thing without fanfaronade or blare of trumpets. Once in his life he was a popular possibility, but he had neither the imagination, the breadth of vision, the experience or

the traditions to make him realize his opportunity. All he had to do was to live up to that ideal of duty and wait until he was old enough and he might have been elected United States Senator. If he has found it easier to purchase success than to steadily deserve it, he is not the first man who has had that experience.

It is worth while to recall that historic moment, for there are other things to be said of this young man that are not so pleasant. It was during the year 1893, a date that will never be forgotten by any citizen of Colorado. Chicago had her fire and San Francisco her earthquake, but Denver had '93 when one bank after another shut its doors; when one mine after another in the state shut down and the men flocked to Denver, and the Coxey Army marched on Washington, and want and despair were on every hand and men's hearts failed them, and winter was coming.

A meeting was called at the Brown Palace Hotel, by the mining men, the operators and the smelter magnates of the state, and thither went Simon Guggenheim, representing his own interests. Probably he was the youngest man in

the room, for he was but twenty-five, and the older men believed that it was necessary to close the smelters and after a long discussion they decided that this action should be taken at once. It meant throwing three thousand men out of employment, and leaving them and their families destitute. The young fellow had said nothing up to this point, when someone turned to him and asked what he was going to do. Then Simon Guggenheim stood up and said simply, "Gentlemen, the rest of you can do as you like. Our smelters will not close down," and the smelters did not close down. If the operators cursed this obstinate young man the people blessed him.

Someone who knows it better should write the story of the smelting industry, and describe the growth of the trust that has ruined this community and built that one, that has made one mine pay while another exactly similar in location and output has had to be abandoned. The story of the trusts is pretty well known, however, and the story of one is but a variation on the history of the others. The smelter trust is one of the most oppressive known to the people of the West and the Guggenheims are its head and front. In 1893 Guggenheim did not care whether the other smelters closed or not; later he did care, and he closed them.

It would be hard to say exactly when the political bee commenced buzzing about the ears of Simon Guggenheim, but nine years ago last summer, having reached the age of thirty, he wished to become Governor of Colorado. To understand the situation at all one must bear in mind the fact that the silver question was still the only issue talked about in the Centennial State at that time. There were Bryan Democrats and Cleveland Democrats—sometimes called "White-Wings"; there were McKinley Republicans and Silver Republicans; Senator Teller being the leader of the latter and the late Senator Wolcott

of the former; there were Populists and "Middle-of-the-Road Populists," Senator Patterson being the leader of the "regular" organization while the late Governor Waite was the chief of the little band of "Middle-of-the Roaders."

Guggenheim, who had supported Bryan loyally, with his money at least, was allied with the Silver Republicans, and wished to secure the nomination of that convention for the governorship. The chairman of the Silver Republican State Central Committee was Richard Broad, of Jefferson county, and he was heartily in sympathy with the Guggenheim desires. So was one D. C. Webber, private secretary to Guggenheim. But both of these men had been friends of Wolcott's long before Guggenheim had ever come to Colorado, and Wolcott's one object was to prevent a fusion of the silver forces, and secure control of the Silver Republican organization as well as of the "straight" Republicans. Wolcott's personal interest was in securing the election of hold-over senators favorable to him in the senatorial election by the legislature meeting in 1901. This was impossible unless he could prevent the alliance of the other parties. It was well understood that Teller desired it, and that Patterson and the Democratic leaders would favor a tripartite organization that would make victory certain.

How much of all this was clear to Guggenheim no one can tell. It is certain that there were many conferences between his lieutenants and those of Wolcott, so many, that Teller's friends began to be afraid that the party was about to be betrayed. At a conference held in Denver in July, it was decided to hold the Silver-Republican convention in Colorado Springs early in September, and Charles S. Sprague, a newspaper man of that city immediately telegraphed the manager of the opera house there, Mr. S. N. Nye, engaging the theater for this occasion. A little later, when the alliance between Guggenheim, Broad and Wolcott had been perfected the two

former went to Colorado Springs in the absence of Mr. Sprague, called on Mr. Nye and secured a receipt for \$100 paid on the rent of the opera house. The plan was to get possession of the meeting place, pack the hall with Wolcott delegates, nominate Guggenheim, and refuse any fusion with the Populists or Democrats.

When Sprague returned he told Nye he had been tricked, and Nye returned Broad's check, while Sprague paid him \$225 for the lease of the building and Mr. J. C. Plumb, acting for the local committee, hired the building for the county convention, so that it was let to the Teller people for September sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth. In the meantime, wherever it was possible to secure delegates favorable to the Wolcott alliance at the various county conventions this was done, and with such effect that when the El Paso (Colorado Springs) county convention was held, Mr. A. M. Stevenson, now a member of the Republican National Central Committee for Colorado, warned the convention that unless they guarded the hall they would find it occupied the next day by delegates unfriendly to the principles of the Silver Republican party.

By this time the understanding between Guggenheim and Wolcott was complete. Guggenheim was to be nominated, fusion was to be prevented, and later, when the McKinley Republican convention met in Denver, it was to nominate Guggenheim as its leader. On the eve of the convention Mr. I. N. Stevens of Denver and District Attorney McAllister of Colorado Springs advised the McKinleyites that "possession was nine points of the law," Sheriff Boynton of El Paso county was called in conference, a train-load of gun men came down from Denver, and the opera house was attacked from the front and also at the side door. It is conceded that the first shots came from the attacking party, shattering windows and piercing doors, but those who were within re-

turned the fire and a man named Harris, one of the attacking party, was mortally wounded. The Broad men remained in possession of the building.

Both parties went to the courts, and held their conventions elsewhere.

Then Guggenheim had his first experience of what is known as "the double cross." To be sure, he had given it to Teller and the Silver Republicans, who had relied on his good faith, but he was to receive it, and that is quite a different matter. He found that Wolcott was not for him, but for an ex-sheriff of Arapahoe (Denver) county. The ex-sheriff came and told him all about it, and promised to let him be lieutenant-governor, but Guggenheim did not see it that way. The other leaders came and said the same thing. Finally Wolcott himself appealed to Guggenheim to get out of the way and let the procession go on, whereupon Guggenheim made this speech which sounds very like some he has recently repudiated:

"I want you men who are opposing me to understand that you are down here on my money. I am supporting you, paying your board, paying you cash. I want you to understand that I must be nominated for governor. I want you to understand that I have preserved a list showing the name of every person to whom I have paid a dollar, and what it was paid for. If I am not nominated I will publish the list. And I want you to understand that if you nominate another man that I will spend \$300,000 to defeat him."

This interview, published in the *Rocky Mountain News* at that time, Mr. Guggenheim did not deny. The fact that the men whom he addressed believed that it was not an idle threat is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that he was duly nominated, and Senator Henry M. Teller came out and said over his own signature, "I charge, as I did in the Republican convention, that he was by

the free and improper use of money endeavoring to secure the possession of the high office of governor of the state." And he did not deny the charge. He had bought and paid for the office and expected the goods to be delivered.

The friends of Wolcott would probably claim that he was never party to any understanding that Guggenheim should have the first place on the ticket, whatever his lieutenants may have said. It is well known that he and his brother, who was president of the Denver Club, had not permitted Guggenheim to become a member of that exclusive institution. In any event, when the McKinley Republican convention was held in Denver Henry Wolcott was nominated for governor, and Guggenheim was left facing certain defeat.

Under the circumstances, he cast about him to see what other alliances he could make, and effected some kind of agreement with ex-Governor Waite to secure the support of the Middle-of-the-Road Populists. They held a behind-closed-doors convention, to which nobody was admitted without the sign and the pass-word, and Waite nominated the smelter man, telling the story with which I have begun this narrative, and concluding in these words: "Mr. Guggenheim said to the Grant smelter, 'Simon says thumbs up!' and the Grant smelter put up its thumbs, and they did n't stop the smelters and the laboring men and the miners did not lose their jobs. I believe that, in the providence of God, he is the one man in this state whom we can elect against aristocracy, against monopoly, and standing upon our principles as Populists."

The resolutions adopted by that convention declare "That we as a true body of the National People's party, accept the declaration of the Honorable Simon Guggenheim as good doctrine, especially his position on direct-legislation, which we recognize as the most vital reform that is now before the people."

Simon Guggenheim as the choice of

the Bloody-Bridled Waite should need no further commendation in congress.

There was yet one other possible chance of support, and he attempted to secure it. In Colorado the women vote, and there was in Denver at that time a strong non-partisan organization of women, known as "The Civic Federation," of which Mrs. Sue Hall was the president. Mr. Guggenheim's brother, William, waited upon some of the members of that organization, while other friends of his saw Mrs. Hall, and offered to meet all expenses if the women would nominate a local ticket, which would be filed with the Guggenheim state candidates at its head. There were reasons why Mr. Guggenheim could not be an acceptable candidate to women, even had these women been less loyal to the cause of silver than they were, and they declined any alliance.

Things were not going to the smelter man's taste. He found it easier to buy a nomination than to buy any chance of election, and went East, forgetting to file his acceptance of his nomination. Later, when all hope of success was gone, while he might have still had his name placed on the ballots by petition, he withdrew. In his letter of October 7, 1898, withdrawing his name, he gives his reasons as regard first for his business interests, and then to the "cause" of the "Silver Republican party."

But there is another story. The straight Republicans were determined to get him out of the way; otherwise, success against the fusion ticket, with Charles S. Thomas running for governor, was impossible. They learned that Mr. Guggenheim had brought a suit in the Federal Court, alleging that he was a resident of Philadelphia. At the same time they found a record of his vote locally. They pointed out to him the advantage of not having the two facts played up in the newspapers as a deadly parallel, and he was able to grasp the situation.

It is estimated that this experiment in

politics cost Mr. Guggenheim \$70,000, but probably it was worth it, for without it he would hardly have been able to complete the deals which have finally put him in the United States Senate. For this is not a mere triumph of machine politics, nor is it the ordinary story of the corrupting of a legislature by the buying of votes, which is so sadly familiar to us. Guggenheim did not put all his eggs in one basket, nor rely upon one campaign to give him the necessary backing. He intended to have the machine, but he intended also to have "the god of the machine"—the Warwicks who set the wheels in motion.

Two years ago, the Republican candidate for governor, having been beaten at the polls, a conspiracy was entered into by the Warwicks to contest the election of the Democratic governor, elected by a majority of something over 10,000 on the face of the returns. It is useless to go into the ramifications of that dark and lawless piece of business. Suffice it to say it was expensive. It cost the state some \$128,000 which the taxpayers have had to meet, but it cost the Warwicks \$50,000 more, and they did not feel disposed to part with this amount of ready money. What happened was told in this language to the members of the senate of Colorado last January, by Senator Tully Scott:

"I am advised that pending the so-called contest for the governorship two years ago, and when the corporation managers were in some distress, Mr. Guggenheim was called into a room in this city to meet twelve others who proposed that in consideration of the immediate payment of \$50,000 by Mr. Guggenheim, to carry on the contest, that these twelve would pledge him their support for the senatorship, accompanied by the statement that he could not doubt the certainty of his election with that support; that after securing the individual pledge of each in the presence of the others, Mr. Guggenheim con-

sented and paid the initial payment on his purchase in advance."

Mr. Guggenheim's manager was the same gentlemen who was at the head of his campaign nine years ago, Mr. Richard Broad, of Golden, a quiet, shrewd politician who is accused of growing wealthy in the Guggenheim service, though there are no startling evidences of it. Perhaps he has suggested certain benefactions from time to time; perhaps they have been the outcome of real generosity. At any rate, Mr. Guggenheim has given large sums to several causes, more especially to the State School of Mines, located at Golden, the home of Mr. Broad, the home of the recent secretary of the Republican State Central Committee Mr. John H. Vivian, who is now state chairman, and incidentally, the site of the Golden smelter. It is also the home of Morton Alexander, hold-over senator, who refused to go into the caucus called by the state chairman, and would not cast his vote for Guggenheim. Every possible argument was brought to bear on him by his party leaders. One of them pointed to the fine building erected for the School of Mines by Guggenheim. "Can you need any better argument than that?" he asked triumphantly. "Is n't that reason enough to vote for this man?"

Alexander is a tall, slender, dark-haired, dark-eyed man, in frail health. He looked at his interlocutor for a moment, and then turned the other way, and looking up the valley pointed to the silent Golden smelter, closed by order of the trust. "Look at those smokeless chimneys," he answered. "Do you think the gift of \$100,000 makes up for the injury done this valley? He can well afford to give; it is but a small part of what he has taken away," and the tempter was silent.

Having secured the Warwicks, and the central machine, it would have seemed that success was certain, but Guggenheim had had experience with that or-

ganization before, and he did not propose to turn his fate and his barrel over to state headquarters. Indeed, he was convinced that the barrel campaign was a mistake; better fifty-nine kegs, one in each county in the state. Politics is a tremendously expensive game, even when no illegitimate expenses are incurred. Every county chairman is apt to call upon his state chairman for funds, in addition to literature and speakers. When the calls came in Chairman Vivian responded that he was very sorry, but there was no money; sometimes he asked how the legislative candidates stood; sometimes he waited a day or so, but as soon as it was wise he put the county chairman who needed funds in communication with the man who had them, and the relief was sent out forthwith, in the shape of a personal check from Guggenheim. Once more he was in a position to say, "I want you to undersand that I have preserved a list showing the name of every person to whom I have paid a dollar, and what it was paid for. If I am not nominated I will publish the list." The legislative candidates may have never seen a dollar of the money; it is not charged that he bought them personally, but his keg was in the local headquarters, and they knew it, for everybody in the state knew it; every Democratic paper charged it, and no Republican paper denied it. The Democratic platform stated specifically:

"We directly charge that the Republican party has entered into a compact under which the sovereign power of the legislature of this state to elect a United States Senator is delegated to the executive committee of the American Smelting & Refining Company."

And no Republican orator denied it on the stump.

The campaign was a hard-fought one, and but that Judge Ben B. Lindsey saw fit to inject himself into it, running as an independent candidate, and vilifying

and decrying Alva Adams, the Democratic candidate, whom he had himself declared the only logical candidate, the result would very likely have been the other way; Lindsey polled over 18,000 votes and Haywood over 17,000, and most of them were a Democratic loss, while Buchtel, the Republican candidate for governor, ran 20,000 votes behind the vote cast for Peabody two years before. The Republican victory was much greater than even the Republicans expected, and when the entire vote was in it showed that the Republicans had seventy out of the hundred members of the legislature. Guggenheim's work in the counties had been done well, but he left nothing to chance—such a chance, for example, as a caucus called by the members of the legislature themselves for a full and free discussion of the various matters to come before them. A caucus was called by Chairman John F. Vivian for two o'clock, December 31, 1906, and all the Republican members of the legislature were there, and all of them were obedient to the lash of the party whip, save two, Senator Morton Alexander, who cast his vote for Governor MacDonald, and Representative Merle D. Vincent.

The resemblance between the two men is singular; a description of one fits the other exactly, save that Alexander is a sick man, so sick that the importunities of his friends, and both Broad and Vivian are life-long friends, worried him into a serious illness. He was still confined to his house when the election of United States Senator was held, January 15th.

But Vincent is as strong and healthy as anyone needs to be, apparently, and threats and cajolings had no more effect with him than they had with Alexander. If anything, they but served to make him set his firm lower jaw a little more firmly, and the steely glint of his eyes grew a little colder. He was right, and his people were with him. They had no power over him, and they found it out.

His was the one voice raised by any member of the majority against the crime they were about to commit. The minority members in the senate and house spoke well. It is doubtful whether a more scathing speech was ever made there than that of Senator Tully Scott from Teller who placed Honorable Charles S. Thomas in nomination, and in doing so took occasion to review the Guggenheim campaign up to the crowning infamy when the goods long since paid for, were delivered.

In the house, Bernard J. O'Connell, member from Clear Creek, spoke eloquently, with all the fire and feeling of his race, but after all this was to be expected. The speech of Vincent was expected also, but it was listened to with uneasiness as well as attention. The galled jade winced over nearly every well-rounded sentence, while calm and collected, Vincent stood in the aisle, or occasionally took a few nervous steps that betrayed the strain he was under, and grilled the majority for an action that placed Colorado in the same category with Delaware and Montana.

"No body of men have a right to bolt the promises and the platform of the Republican party, and I know that if they do they can not carry me with them, if there is not one man left," he said. "You and I went out before the people of Colorado and said, 'We recommend the enactment of a law governing the railway commerce of this state along the lines of the National Rate Law.' What did we mean by it? Do you think the man you have nominated would support an extension of the powers of the National Inter-State Commerce Commission as recommended in the last message of President Roosevelt? Let me say to you that Inter-State Commerce Commissioner Clark, sitting a few weeks ago at Pueblo, disclosed the fact that the American Smelting Refining Company, of which this man is the head, was enjoying preferential rates granted

upon a secret letter written by the freight and general traffic agent of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad, greatly reduced from the public tariff that other shippers have to pay. And yet you expect this man to support an enlargement of those powers. The idea is preposterous.

"You cannot elect him without bolting your platform; you cannot elect him without repudiating it in spirit and letter. You cannot elect him without hurling it into the face of the people who voted for you and for me,—'We got this up to get votes, that is all.' And who is it wants this man's election? Is it you? Is it the people of Colorado? I tell you that five men, purporting to act for the Republican State Central Committee have bargained the election to this man in return for contributions to the party, and they ask you to ratify it.

"Let me say to you that the greatest evil in this age is the indifference to and disregard of law manifested by individuals and by big business interests. Men have become intoxicated with material prosperity and have grown indifferent to honest methods—the square deal that you and I boast of to our people. They have conducted and operated their business in defiance of law, and I say to you that to send a man representing that class to the United States Senate is equivalent to serving notice on the President of the United States that we care nothing for him nor what he represents. It is equivalent to saying to him, 'You will carry out your enforcement of law without our aid. We are going to send to you a man who is the most conspicuous evader of law that lives in Colorado.'

"I have heard what Simon Guggenheim represents in business. I am opposed to class representation. I would oppose a representative of the laboring classes just as quickly as I would oppose this man. A man who is not a representative of all classes and of all business, of laborer, farmer, merchant, miner, smelter man, is not fit to be the representa-

tive of an American commonwealth."

The roll was called and sixty-eight votes were cast for Simon Guggenheim. The next day, in joint session, the deal was completed, and the little Hebrew was invested with the toga in the presence of a crowd that was more than half of it grim and silent. William G. Evass, the great Republican "boss" of the state, high in the Methodist church, D. B. Fairley, ex-state Chairman, and John F. Vivian, present chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, Richard Broad, Guggenheim's manager, Congressman-elect Cook and a few others prominently identified with Republican politics were on hand to see that their plans were consummated. The certificate was handed him, the people filed by, as they do when the officiating undertaker bids them "view the remains," and it was all over. Colorado will be represented in the United States Senate for six years by a man who could not have carried any single precinct in the state by popular vote.

Guggenheim made a nice little speech, stilted and platitudinous, and smiled a

pleasant, rather unctuous smile, and the people drifted away.

Before the election Senator John H. Crowley made two attempts to have the charges against Guggenheim investigated, but the rules were suspended and his resolution expunged from the minutes on the motion of Senator Milton L. Anfenger, who, a Jew himself, was perhaps the one really loyal and ardent supporter that Guggenheim possessed in either house.

Possibly some of these men received money, but this is not charged. The charge that is made against them is that like "dumb driven cattle" they permitted their party leaders to barter away the office of United States Senator, and then made good the bill of sale. They permitted a handful of men to betray the party honor, and then betrayed their own. They did at the behest of party leaders what they well knew their constituents did not desire, and at a time when loyalty to principles has done much to supplant the mere party shibboleth, they have bowed down to the god of the machine. *Vale!* ELLIS MEREDITH.

Denver, Colorado.

CHINATOWN AND THE CURSE THAT MAKES IT A PLAGUE-SPOT IN THE NATION.

BY ELINOR H. STOR.

PREVIOUS to the 18th of April (1906) the number of Chinese living in Oakland was comparatively small; a few blocks really comprised what was known as Chinatown. But the earthquake and the fire in San Francisco changed conditions in the twinkling of an eye, for in the mad flight to a place of safety, the Chinese came here in droves; here they have elected to stay. Jack's beanstalk has found a parallel in the rapidity of the

growth of the new Chinatown in our midst. This new section now includes a much larger area than that formerly occupied by the Chinese quarter in old San Francisco, though it can never be so picturesque. The streets here are wide and level; whereas, in San Francisco they were narrow, hilly and Oriental dirty, but they were attractive and interesting to artist and tourist the world over, with their high-balconied houses, gay with Chinese lanterns, bunt-

ing and many-hued potted flowers; their hum of many voices in varying keys of Chinese jargon; their shuffle of many feet; their hints of dark, winding passage ways. The Chinese love secrecy and they found it in old San Francisco; in mysterious underground cellars concealing opium dens and hiding places for criminals, fleeing from the clutch of the law. There were warring tongs whose appetites for feuds led to their shooting up the town, with the same spirit and handiness which characterizes a Kentuckian in manipulating a pistol, or drawing a cork, where jealous rivals killed each other—or one ran off with the almond-eyed maid in dispute. All these were features of the old Chinatown in "The City that was," and all these came to Oakland in the days of the hegira from over the Bay. Already the tongs "have been at it again," six or eight men have been shot and killed in a street fight between the Hop Sings and the Bing Gongs over the possession of a slave girl, who had been given by one man to another as security for a debt of two thousand dollars.

The Chinese, men, women and children, a human tide, poured into Oakland during those memorable three days of the fire in San Francisco, bringing with them everything—or nothing. I recall one of a terror stricken group bidding the lady for whom he had worked a hasty adieu, saying, "Missy Bennet, I so solly for you beclaus you so sick, I so solly for me beclaus I so scared, I hully up to Chinatown," and he too found refuge in Oakland. Thus our Chinese population has grown in less than twelve months into thousands.

The Chinaman likes to live to himself, and this privilege is accorded him. Talk about race prejudice against the negro in the South! It is mild indeed when compared with the race feeling manifested toward the yellow man on this coast.

The houses on the streets now occupied by the Chinese in Oakland were

mostly small and old, and were of but little value, before the influx of the Chinese, but have risen enormously in price. The Chinaman, however, has a long head and "ways that are peculiar" when it comes to business. His method has been to go to the owner of a piece of property in the neighborhood and buy it at any price asked; this would condemn the whole block, which he and his associates would then buy at *their* own price.

The old dwellings have been transformed by raising them two or three stories, making stores and shops on the ground-floor and surrounding them with alleys and wide awnings. New houses have been hastily run up, in some of which are located the club houses, chop suey restaurants, tong headquarters, gambling dens, opium joints and brothels. The *ensemble* and the atmosphere give the effect of a strange, far-off country. These people do not love the white man; the white man does not love them; but they are bound together by one common bond—money-getting.

The quarters are small, and what strikes one especially, is the number of narrow passage-ways out of wide entrances with wicket doors at the side. At each brightly painted and lighted entrance where these peculiar little wickets are found, sits, night and day, on a high stool, a sentinel, silent, watchful. The atmosphere reeks with mystery, secrecy, and suggests that behind those closed doors are many things that will not bear inspection. Huge lanterns swing gaily from wide wooden awnings and balconies, peacock feathers wave above signs over windows, and flags flutter in the breeze, giving to the surroundings a pleasing medley of color.

A short time since we went into one of the gaudily painted Chinese houses, bright with flowers and flags, and bear in the sign, "Chop Suey," to find out what that might be. It is a Chinese dish made of chicken, mushrooms, and—I dare not even guess what else. A Chinese band was making a horrible

din, the gongs were being pounded at a mad rate, the fiddlers were fiddling, other unnamable instruments were squeaking. It was impossible to hear one's own voice. We made a short stay for Chinese music has this quality, the more you hear of it the less you are reconciled to it.

The Chinese are great fowl eaters. We walked through feathers almost ankle-deep on one street. We saw chickens, ducks and geese dried and mummified, hanging by their necks, and the odor gave strength to the belief that they had been a long time "dead."

A glance into windows and through open doorways showed many things curious as to shape and size, and as to smells—unspeakable.

The import trade is very large and Oakland is a distributing center. Heavily loaded trucks file along the streets; huge bales done up in straw matting, long coffin-shaped boxes neatly bound with bamboo, boxes with bright covers and queer lettering line the sidewalks, showing the volume of business being done, and explaining from a commercial standpoint why Chinatown is tolerated in Oakland.

Streams of Chinese ebb and flow through the streets, chaffer and chatter, crouch on the corners with small kits of tools, busily at work, or wander aimlessly about, some dirty and ragged, with haggard old faces, as hideous as death's heads, smoking long-stemmed pipes and dreaming pipe dreams—presumably. Others are smiling, pleasant looking and apparently self-satisfied. The long queues are everywhere in evidence. The men wear the same canoe-shaped shoes and same cut of garment as those worn by the women, and all have that shuffling, stealthy tread, which gives one a sort of "beware behind," feeling.

Crowds stand before the posters plastered on the fronts and sides of houses, printed on great sheets of bright-hued paper. The passion for color predominates everywhere. These are bulletins

and embrace all the news of the day, important business meetings, calls of the tongs, etc. In addition to this means of publishing news, there are three newspapers published in Chinatown—progressive and liberal—with a large circulation.

The Chinaman who has a family and home life is said to be a model husband and father, but married men are the exception! A vast number are unfettered by family ties; hence the slave-girl trade. Home making is not a coolie occupation. The immigrants who cross the Atlantic usually bring their families with them and in time amalgamate. Not so with the class who cross the Pacific. From everlasting to everlasting he is—"Chinee." Since Hawaii and the Philippines have come into our possession the slave trade has grown enormously.

The Chinese are inveterate gamblers and have all manner of superstitions regarding chance.

The women are always an interesting study. Some are wrinkled and bald-headed, old and haggish; others are fat and gross; others are slight and delicate, with clear-cut features and very pretty and graceful, even though disguised and handicapped by the ugly costume of their native dress. Loose black coats reach to their knees, floppy pantaloons, and feet encased in canoe-shaped shoes, with whitest of white stockings "peep gayly in and out."

There are class distinctions in dress, indicated by the material of which the garment is made—a sort of Chinatown "Four hundred" distinction; the merchants' wives wearing silk or satin beautifully embroidered. The head is always bare, the hair glistening and smooth with some kind of glue, and is dressed only once a month! Artificial flowers, jade hair-pins and gold ornaments stuck through these queer horn-like rolls make a most fearful and wonderful coiffure. They go about in groups, laughing, chatting and shopping

with all the freedom and zest of their white sisters—"the eternal feminine."

The little children are bright and cunning, playing happily about the streets, or fighting and crying. They are always dressed in brilliant colors and as they dart about suggest a swarm of butterflies. The babies wear little trousers and little aprons in green, red, pink and royal purple and wear the most curious skull caps on their heads, with bands of gilt around them, set with imitation jewels and with funny little ears lined with fur sticking up at the sides, so that viewed from the rear, the child's head resembles that of a kitten. It is no uncommon sight to see little girls of seven and eight years, carrying, strapped on their backs, fat Chinese babies too young to walk alone. These are slave-girls. Going into the shops one may see them standing all day at work, with the fat babies still strapped on their backs. Think of the weariness of to-day—the dreary future of many to-morrows, stretching out before them—waiting till old enough to be placed in houses of prostitution! For it is a well-known fact that girls are kidnapped or sold while yet babies—in China and Japan—and are all their lives familiarized with vice. From infancy they are trained to the life of a prostitute.

In the city schools the Chinese children learn rapidly and are invariably polite and well-behaved. In these latter respects they are superior to the American children. That Chinese are not unobservant is well illustrated by the Chinaman, who, correcting his child for some breach of manners, said, "You all same bad, likee Melican child."

And now I come to that which interests me most; horrifies me most; makes me most indignant—the slave trade in Chinese and Japanese girls, right here in California! A business of no small proportion, when it is conservatively estimated that not less than ten million dollars is invested in it! and Oakland is doing its share. Furthermore,

it is a matter of common talk in Chinatown that there is a syndicate of white men carrying on this trade.

A San Francisco paper said recently that there are more than a thousand Japanese women held in slavery in this State! There is not the slightest doubt of the truth of this statement, except that the number of women held in this vile bondage is underestimated. Owing to the scarcity of Oriental women in the United States, Japanese men place their women at the disposal of Chinese men. Famine and the hard times following the war with Russia have been factors in the increase of the slave trade.

At the time of the earthquake and fire in San Francisco the soldiers rescued from the slave pens in Chinatown about three hundred Japanese girls, many of them mere children. The soldiers said these girls did not know in what part of the world they were living! It is true there are women held in slavery in other towns in the State, and along the coast, but we ought to be sweeping before our own doors, for quite recently one hundred and twenty-five Japanese prostitutes have been brought to Oakland and another cargo was expected. In Oakland, where churches throw the shadow of their tall spires across this iniquity in the heart of the town and only four blocks east of Broadway, the principal thoroughfare—almost under the eaves of the Court House—there flourishes in Little China this hideous vice-culture that ought to thrill and stir in indignation the womanhood of city, state and nation. This indescribably horrible plague-spot is only a little way from the State University, the Schools, the Churches, the Court House and the Health Office! Sources of educational, religious, social, civic and *germ* culture. Chinatown is inoculating the community with its virus and dragging humanity downward; and we are so blinded by money madness that we close our eyes to the evil whose very toleration is morally disintegrating to society at large.

The owners of property met the Chinese with open arms. There was "big money in it." Old houses were remodeled and new ones builded in hot haste. Two are especially noticeable. The ground is leased and the buildings owned by two physicians in good standing, a man who is in the building supply trade, and a member of the Board of Education! The larger building is three stories high and is said to contain 600 rooms. These vary in size from ten to twelve feet. They are arranged in groups off a central passage, eight in a group, reached by narrow hallways less than three feet wide. These rooms and passages are locked. On the ground floor are shops and on the top floor a theater. There is no secret as to the purpose for which these houses are used.

Entrance is denied white people. A sign on the door to one of these passages says significantly, "Not allow any white person, only Chinese," but a determination to *see*, got a party into the middle court and on every side to the height of three stories Japanese and Chinese girls could be seen in their little rooms. Some had men visitors, some were alone. This building is a fire trap, and only officials who are blind, but with the sense of "touch" wonderfully developed, would have permitted its erection. The outside rooms had windows; the inner rooms were windowless. The stench was horrible.

The other building is long and narrow. It has shops on the ground floor and is approached through an alley left at each end by an outside stairway. Here girls can be imprisoned indefinitely, for here also only the initiated find their way in. A passage two and a half feet wide led to these cell rooms, seven by nine feet. Each cell door had its wicket of wire netting. Behind these bars were seen the painted, pathetic faces of slaves, who shrank back as the party approached.

Here they live in solitary confinement; day in, day out. Your sisters and mine!

(Even the men who visit them do not speak the same language). With no share in the sunny outside world; no sight of the sparkle of the sea; the freedom of the birds; the dancing of the leaves on the trees; no sweet air of heaven to breathe its balm of healing. Only days and nights of black despair in the bitterness of bondage, under the cruelty and bestiality of the Chinese men, who go in and out, a steady stream, increasing in numbers as night comes on. The outside windows are barred, but we saw women's faces peering through them as we stood on the street beneath, looking up at them, with aching hearts, impotent to give them aid. They sometimes take their own lives; the only way out of their misery. A woman who had dragged out her life of slavery was found just the other day hopelessly insane from the brutal treatment accorded her by her owners. She was about forty years old, but looked twice that age.

While yet the city of San Francisco lay in desolation and ruins, upon the ashes of old Chinatown men were employed rebuilding houses to be used as brothels and slave pens, and the slave traders were as actively engaged in their sordid and shameless business as before. The daily papers are calling attention to the fact that the graft trials now in progress include the charges of traffic in slave-girls, and state that a Federal investigation is going on in regard to the sale of human beings, who are taken from the auction block, so to speak, to the slave pens; dens of immorality that even now flourish in Baker Court and Sullivan Alley. The charge is made that landing permits have been issued by white lawyers and notaries public and that large sums of money have passed hands for attorneys' fees and "incidentals" connected with the landing of these women, who are sold for \$3,000 and more; these "incidentals" alone ranging from \$500 to \$700.

A vigorous protest has gone, also, from Seattle, to the government at Washington,

against what is asserted to be an organized traffic in Japanese women, who are being brought into this country for immoral purposes. In connection with this traffic there are said to exist organized blackmailers, who live on the "hush money" collected from the slave-girls. Hundreds of these women are scattered in the logging and mining camps and are gradually drifting into the cities. Japanese slaves are in every port. They seem especially adapted to the trade.

Slave-girls are worth from fifty to one thousand dollars in their own country! Even the most ill-favored sell in this country for from one thousand to three thousand dollars! The slave business pays. There are enormous profits in rentals. All that many a man hath, of self-respect and humanity, will he give for gold and there is but little difference, the Occident and the Orient meet together and worship one God—Money!

We need a new "Abolition Party" made up of American women, demanding not more *restrictive* laws, but laws so constructed and backed by public opinion that this "covenant with death and league with hell" (to use the old shibboleth) shall be annulled—for the shame of it! the shame of it! is that American men are in this infamous business because "there is big money in it"—this craze which possesses nearly all classes of society; this grand mistake that because "a little money is a good thing, unlimited means is the sum of all good"—no matter how acquired.

I have been told that there are many club women who have said they are longing to throw themselves into some work which will enthuse and vitalize

them, for something to which they can give all of themselves. Why not turn their attention and energy to this "sum of all villainies," and to the third partner in this infamous compact to this wrong done to all womanhood; this shame which is the shame of all women?

I listened to a Fourth of July oration last year, in which a minister said, in a burst of patriotism, "The flag no longer floats over slavery." Within a gun-shot of his own church were the slave pens and brothels of Chinatown, and all over the land "The bitter cry of the children"—the white slaves of labor! The flag still floats over slavery. American money and American men traffic in human chattels in the market places, under the Stars and Stripes.

Whitman said he "Sometimes wondered if he were alone in something that urged him to serve for the love of God and the glory of manhood and womanhood, for the service of humanity." When these hideous facts are set before them, it is my firm belief that there will be a quick response. This same "urge" is in the hearts of our women; this call of true patriotism, which shall, "in the service of humanity" destroy forever this league with hell. There is a solidarity among men, when shall there be a solidarity among women?

That the America we love may be truly the hope of the forlorn and disinherited in every land, for whom a hope remains, and that we shall yet sing together our great national hymn, the womens' voices leading, loud, clear, sweet and strong, "My Country, 't is *for Thee*," is my prayer.

ELINOR H. STROY.

Oakland, Cal.

MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE: A PURPOSEFUL POET OF THE HIGHER LIFE.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE STUDENT of human progress who accepts the evolutionary philosophy and sees in the story of man the steady unfolding—the slow but on the whole onward and upward march of being to fuller expression and nobler ideals, will be struck with the phenomenon of the ebb and flow of the ideals that are the dynamic power of civilization. Man is rising, but that rise is not unlike the incoming tide, which advances but to retreat, though every onward sweep registers a higher advance than that marked before; and during this eternal ebb and flow we see nations born, flourish and die, and civilizations rise and fall.

It is not the phenomenon that so impresses the philosophical observer, however, as the cause of this rise and fall, for in this we see the secret of life and death for nations and civilizations. Life rises only under the impulsion of moral idealism. So long as the eternal ethical verities of love and justice, faith and nobility, honor and integrity, and consecration to noble ends, or, in a word, the spirit embraced in the Golden Rule and the ideal of self-sacrifice and all-encompassing love taught by the Great Nazarene, are the overmastering spirit with a people or a civilization, it moves upward and onward. The compulsion of moral idealism or the placing of the spiritual verities above material considerations alone can ensure perennial youth to peoples or civilizations. Under its influence alone are enduring or real advances made.

But these periods of growth and true greatness are ever followed by reactionary periods, when high ideals more

and more give way to material concepts. It is no longer the soul or spirit, but the body and raiment that engross popular attention; no longer the ideal of justice and right, but the desire for power, pomp and luxury that forms the keynote of the age; no longer character, but reputation which receives first consideration; no longer what one is, but what he appears to be to others; no longer right but might, or material power, that is the end and aim of man. These are the days when the high, fine idealism that is the vital breath of enduring progress gives place to the demands of sordid materialism and egoism; when nation and civilization flame forth in the splendor of death, the glory of autumn, a glory that is almost always mistaken for life, vitality and the perfection of health.

When Rome was smitten in her vitals and was reeling forward to her doom, she flamed forth in material splendor and the outward show of power and prosperity that long deceived all but the sages and philosophers of the Empire in the early days of her decline. Men saw not the hectic flush of death in the red cheeks and dreamed not of the corruption eating her vitals under the rich and gorgeous raiment that swathed her form. The Rome of the Cæsars was a Rome of materialistic splendor, but it was a visionless Rome, and therefore a Rome smitten with mortal malady. There is no more profound truth in the wonderful words of the Old Testament than the declaration that "Where there is no vision the people perish."

It is the ages of material prosperity, of large armies and the insistence on centering the public imagination on physical forces instead of the compul-

sion of moral idealism, the ages of the piling up of vast fortunes and the gradual concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever-narrowing circle, accompanied by the concentration of the public mind on the acquirement of power, wealth and material acquisitions, that mark the destruction of nations and civilizations; and in these periods men are more concerned with the fleeting things of sense than with the moral ideals that alone can give happiness or afford growth to men, nations or civilizations. As the materialistic tide rises, man thinks less of the approbation of his soul than of the plaudits of a public trained to mistake sound for sense, the transitory for the enduring, the superficial for the fundamental.

Such was the spirit of the age when Jesus trod the sands of Galilee, as is shown by his startling characterization of the representative pillars of society in His time.

The France of Louis the Fourteenth dazzled all Europe, but it was a period that made the French Revolution inevitable. It too was a day wanting in all high visions—a day when materialism was the dominant note of life; a time when churchianity was as much in evidence as Christianity was absent from the hearts of king, court and aristocracy; a time when the state church was guarded, protected and sustained, and freedom of thought was exiled from the land.

Since the close of our Civil War our Republic has been steadily moving along the lines of egoistic, materialistic opportunism. The same promoting causes that sounded the knell of Roman greatness became startlingly apparent during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. During the past half-century there has been a rapid increase of vast fortunes acquired largely by indirection, by special privilege and by farming the public through monopoly rights and the possession of power that placed the people at the mercy of the ever-increasing strength of an industrial feudalism or

autocracy based on political mastership and monopoly rights, or on corruption and privilege. Gradually, but quite noticeably to the student of history, there has been a steady surrender of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence for the fatal class-rule ideals that preceded the democratic epoch and that have been evidenced in imperialistic aggression and the theory of the right of forcible subjugation of the weak by the strong. And there has been a persistent attempt to instill into the minds of the people the belief that a nation's greatness is dependent on its military power, and a corresponding attempt to destroy the tap-root that differentiates democratic government from class-rule,—an attempt to so change the ideal of a democratic republic or a government of the people, by the people and for the people, to that of an imperial republic, in which the supposed servants of the people become for the term of their office the absolute masters of the people. All these signs of that materialistic advance that speaks of national and individual decay have been more and more in evidence until the past few years.

Happily for the great Republic and for civilization at large, there are to-day everywhere signs of a change; everywhere evidences of the gathering together or union of the forces of moral idealism; everywhere signs of the awakening of the old democratic spirit that was embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Among the positive factors that are making for a moral renaissance are our singers whose brains have been touched by the fire from the spiritual altars. One by one they are sounding the higher notes, embracing the nobler ideals and seeking to awaken the gold-drugged conscience of a great people. These workers are the true heralds of the morning. Every one is hastening the day. The seed-thoughts thus scattered abroad cannot fail in a large way to neutralize the false ideals, the militarism,

materialism and commercialism, that go hand in hand and that make for moral death.

II.

Among the younger of these singers of advancing civilization, these priests and priestesses of moral idealism, of democracy, of justice, freedom and fraternity, is Margaret Ridgely Partridge. In her most recent poem, "The Call of the Lyre," published in *Harper's Magazine* for August of this year, Mrs. Partridge voices the master ideal or thought that must fire the true poet of progress. In speaking recently of this beautiful little creation, the poet expressed to us something of the strong conviction that urges her pen and gives color to her verse; and inasmuch as her words lift the veil as it were and give us an intimate and informing glimpse of the thought and ideals which are to many of her poems what the potter's wheel is to the clay, we give them to the reader:

"The Call of the Lyre," said Mrs. Partridge, "is a direct appeal to the ideal against the material—a summons to Poetry to regain her almost lost position of power and influence in the actual life of to-day. I feel strongly concerning this neglect of one of the most ennobling and directly inspired of all the arts, and I see no reason why Poetry should not be as prominent and subtle a factor in modern life as music, art, or prose literature. To express in lyric form, the great idea of relating poetry to modern conditions, in such a manner that by finding beauty, truth, God, in all things, the appeal must in the end be universal. 'The poetry of earth is never dead,' though the human heart may be unresponsive to its music; but it is *there* that the great revival of poetry must take place. When we come to the understanding of the message of poetry, its beneficent power and uplifting charm and influence, then will it become as spiritual and actual a need in every-day life as music, color or form."

How well the poet has succeeded in her high purpose is seen from the poem, which we give below:*

"In a world where all voices are praying,

For the things that a day disavows,

For the chaplets of rose that decaying

Will not leave a stray leaf on their brows—

O daughters and sons of the Lyre!

A loftier message is yours,

Immortal with lyrical fire

And Love that endures.

"As of old when the hosts of the nation

Were led forth to the thunders of war,

By your torch were they stirred to elation,

And their Light was outpoured from your Star!

Overthrow the false creeds that assail you,

Reestablish your truth among men,

Till they need you, and love you, and hail you,

And crown you, as then!

"In the Courts that are songless though golden

With the greeds and the gains of the throng,

From whose eyes your pure light is withholden,

Recreate your white Temple of Song!

By the side of the statue of Mammon

In his garments and tissues of gold,

Interwoven with jewels that summon

The world to behold!

"Refashion your statue of Beauty,

Rose-white and lithe-limbed as a boy,

And consign to the pale lips the duty

Of song from the wellsprings of joy!

In his hand the unperishing lyre,

In his heart immemorial youth,

And his eyes shall be stellate with fire—

Resplendant with Truth!

"And his voice shall be golden and peerless,

Full of thunder, prophetic, his words,

Soaring skyward, unfettered and fearless

As the lyrical music of birds.

He shall visit the lowly with fire,

He shall sandal with wings the unshod,

He shall comfort, interpret, inspire—

A priest and a god.

"O daughters and sons of the Lyre!

Foregather, exult, and rejoice

In the strength of your mystical quire,

In the luminous star of your choice!

Wake the heart of the people with rapture,

Voice their sorrow, their laughter, their wrong.

And with faith, reinstate and recapture

The Kingdoms of Song!"

In a poem called "The Message" Mrs. Partridge gives voice to a great truth that all poets, artists and men and women of true insight, of genius and imagination, must, we think, often have felt when enjoying the master works of

*From *Harper's Magazine*. Copyright, 1907, by Harper & Brothers.



MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE.

Greece, of Italy and of other lands. There is present almost perfection in form and grace, marvelous outpicturing of all that marks man, save that subtle, elusive spiritual quality which we call the soul. To picture this is the august mission of the twentieth century sculpture and artist, and this, we think, is being done to-day in a larger degree than at any other period. Never, we believe, has sculpture brought out the character or conveyed the idea that makes a human being more than something beautiful—the divine light, as it were—as to-day. And as man climbs the spiritual Alps, as his perception of the great eternal verities becomes clearer, this master message of the artist will find fuller and fuller expression. The true poet is ever a prophet, and these stanzas from "The Message" reveal the true prophetic insight:

"Earth still awaits the artist hand
That shall reveal on stone or scroll
The deep, unuttered moods that sweep
Their subtle fires through the soul.

"We see upon the human face
Shadows of things beyond our ken,—
Still unportrayed their silent grace,
Their message still untold to men.

"Artists with god-like skill have wrought
The pageants, passions, deeds of life,
Informed the Parian stone with thought,
Mingled the hues of peace and strife.

"But who, as yet, behind the veil
Of human flesh has wrought so long
That at his master touch the Soul
Becomes the key-board for his song?

"Whose fingers to his chosen art
Transmute the things his insight knows—
The tapestry of mind and heart,
Where fancy blooms and impulse grows—

"To such perfection that the form
Seems but a mould of tissues frail,
Through which the spirit shines alone
As through the chalice shone the Grail.

"The future holds this artist-priest,
Who waits till his divining rod
Shall blossom in the soul of man
And manifest the truths of God."

In "The Children of the Mind" we have a fine poetic concept freighted

with suggestive thoughts exquisitely expressed:

"The children of the Mind! Their steps resound
Along the silent corridors of dream;
Their shining brows with laurel wreaths are bound,
Their eyes with visions beam.

"We speed them to the waiting world—each heart
Full-freighted with its theme of prose or rhyme;
They seek their destined place in every art,
In every land and clime.

"They flash their life upon the storied page,
Fulfilling ill or well their glowing tasks;
They animate with joy or tragic rage
The drama's hollow masks.

"Inspired with sparks of bright Promethean fire
They wake to life the marble's death-like sleep,
Or strike to sapphic strains the lyric lyre
With music sweet and deep.

"Heroic ones there be whose enterprise
Takes form in deeds renowned from pole to pole,
While others bear in consecrated guise
Their message to the soul.

"Children of Thought and Love, immortal twain!
Fair offspring of the soul's profoundest mood—
Who gave ye birth has known the sacred pain
And joy of motherhood."

"Mid-Course" is the title of a poem that is a sermon in itself, carrying as it does a lesson of profound significance—a lesson that we wish could be burned into the consciousness of every young man and woman in America to-day. Life's pathway is strewn with wrecks of lives that promised great success and which, if they had pursued some fine ideal with faith and steadfast purpose to attain, would have achieved victory.

"Midway, oftentimes, across life's ocean faring,
The wind that filled our ship's brave sails seems spent,
The heart at anchor lacks its wonted daring,
The hands that steer forget their high intent.

"Star-born adventure, wrecked in indecision!
When ships, however noble, are the sport
Of every storm that mocks in wild derision
The helmsman seeking an uncharted Port.

"O faltering mariner! whose eyes beclouded
May not behold the harbor through the night,
In mists of doubt, in shades of tempests shrouded,
Still guard your early vision of its Light!

"Through dark mid-ocean terrors, specter haunted,
Toward whatsoever land you hold most fair,
Believe—with faith in God and ship undaunted—
The Compass in your soul can guide you there!"

Another fine waif containing an ethical fact of deep import is found in these lines entitled "The Perfect Life":

"Ye who would lead the Perfect Life should pause
And measure well its meed of joy and pain,
Light loves renounced for true love's deeper gain,
Self-sacrifice that scorns the world's applause,
The Mystic Way once taken, that withdraws
The soul from things unlovely or profane,
Against the scented garlands that would chain
A spirit captive to their flowery laws.

"And yet, as ye behold the dark disgrace
Of sordid souls, and their unblest estate,
Then turning, see some pure uplifted face,
And on those Eastward-fronting brows elate,
That bright, imperishable beauty trace,
Unborn of Earth—how can ye hesitate?"

The true poet-heart goes out to all in need of the strong arm or the loving heart,—all who are groping for the light or are calling for balm for wounds of the soul, with a wealth of feeling that carries help to all who come under the influence of the thought expressed. In the following prayer to the night we have one of these heart cries of the poet nature which are present like threads of gold in the messages of all the finest lives, from before and since the days of the peerless Nazarene:

"Not for myself, Oh ebon skies! this night
My voice would rise beyond thy farthest star.
No quest or hymn of praise hath urged the flight
Of my deep prayer to thy vast depths afar.

"But for the head, bound like Christ's with thorn,
For hands that clasp the cross and bear no crown,
For those who lose the world and know its scorn,
The balm of thy still heights I would call down.

"For souls that waver betwixt thought and deed,
And stand inert amid dim ways that cross,
For lips bereft by doubt of prayer and creed,
For tears that tell some forgotten loss.

"Bend over these, deep-bosomed Mother, Night!
The weak who falter, and the strong who weep—
From thy deep silences of starry light
Bestow thy peace upon their troubled sleep."

Mrs. Partridge is very versatile. Her poems deal with many themes; with human aspirations and emotions; with life in its varied aspects and the dream that haunts the imagination and floats before us, guiding to the spiritual Canaan as in olden time the shining cloud led

Israel from the bondage and the flesh-pots of Egypt to the Promised Land. At times she gives us fine pictures of the country or suggestive contrasting scenes, in which the spirit that pervades country and city is vividly outlined in a few strong lines. Here are two poems. The first is entitled "Berkshire," and in it we have a charming pen-picture of one of the most picturesque haunts in fair New England:

"I know not if when bridal mists of day
O'erhang the leafy forehead of thy hills,
I like thee best, O place of flowers and may—
Or if when night fulfils

"The whispered promise of her twilight dreams
And folds thee sleeping to her darkened side,
When stars, like fallen comets in thy streams,
Shine through the misty tide—

"Or if when through thy sylvan solitude
Runs rioting the sorcery of spring,
When song is given to every thrush's mood
And life to every wing.

"Thy lands are fairer—or when crowned with gold,
And scarlet robed, the harvest wealth attained,
Thy woodland ways of flying flame unfold,
Flaunting the glory gained.

"But whether blooming or deflowered hills,
The haunting image of thy gracious face
Heightens the laughing hours of joy and fills
The hours of pain with grace.

"Beneath the benison of alien skies,
In lands whose beauty would our love estrange,
Thy charm still holds the fancy and defies
The subtlety of change.

"A vision of the loveliness of things
To carry through the city's crowded mart;
A fadeless memory that blooms and sings
Deep cloistered in the heart."

The companion poem is entitled "Near-ing the City." In the first section we see the poet's power as a descriptive artist. Indeed, so vivid in description, so rich in clear-cut imagery are the lines that the reader actually sees and feels the fading away of the charm, glory and witchery of the country as the train rushes into the bustling suburbs of the mighty modern maelstrom we call the city. The last section admirably complements the lines that have gone before and leave a fine feeling with the reader. The country and the city alike have their purpose for

those who have the seeing eye, the strength to become masters rather than to be mastered, and to reflect the best that is resident in the soul:

"The quiet hills stretched far behind,
The swift train cut the broad, green plain
Like some mad stream of impulse blind,
That rushes headlong toward the main.
The peace of apple trees in bloom
No longer wooed the soul to dream,
While songs of hillside brooks made room
For harsher sounds of brass and steam.
The keen electric thrill of life
Rose vibrant through the smoke-veiled air;
Already traffic's noisy strife
Foreboded the unrest of care.
Not ev'n the memory of the thrush
Outpouring lyrics o'er the fold,
Could drown the cries or still the rush
Of those who bartered health for gold.

"Yet in this maze of complex ways,
Where time is all too brief for dreams,
With heart still stirred perchance by days
Spent long ago near willowed streams—
The Child named Thought, who hither came
From guardian hill, from cradling mead,
And learned through God or lure of fame
To master Life—became a Deed."

The following poem entitled "The Dream-Child," which was first published in *Harper's*, has been widely copied and is said to have been the most popular of Mrs. Partridge's little poems:*

"Within encircling arms he lies,
That shelter him from all save love,
Uplifting dream-inspired eyes
In wonderment to smiles above;
The warm gold curls are closely pressed
Against each lonely mother's breast.

"They touch the curls, they see the smile,
They feel the arms that clinging, bless—
These wistful mothers, who, the while
In joy, their phantom babes caress;
As Mary, by the Christ-Child's side,
Each keeps eternal Christmas-tide.

"It may be they shall never know
Save in fair dreams this child embrace,
That their full love must ever flow
In fancy round a silent space—
Their lips bestow their treasure where
The blessed vision fades to air!

"Yet cradled against Age and Death
Each holds her dream-child sweet and warm;
Time cannot still the slumbering breath,
No grave shall change the rounded form—
Deep cloistered in the mother heart,
What Fate can breast and dream-child part!"

*From *Harper's Magazine*. Copyright, 1906, by Harper & Brothers.

Here is a little heart-song that will appeal to almost all readers:

"Salt whistling wind for the home-turned sail,
The siren song for the sea,
The nightingale for the lotus vale,—
But the voice of my love for me!

"The lighthouse flame for the angry deep,
The star for the twilight tree,
The flashing dream through the mists of sleep,
But the eyes of my love for me!

"The buried pearl for the ocean bed,
The egg for the tree-swung nest,
Rare gems and gold for the crowned head—
But the heart of my love is best!

"Oh heart of my love! Oh voice, Oh eyes!
All gifts of the world to me
Are as ropes of sand, since I've found life's prize
And its star and its song in Thee!"

Mrs. Partridge has many ancestors whose lives have been and are a source of constant inspiration, teaching lessons of loyalty to ideals and the patriot's high duty, constancy to friends in time of peril, and other lessons which render precious those who journey with us on life's road. Her great-great-grandfather was Chancellor Livingstone, who held the Bible by which George Washington was sworn into office. Her great-grandfather was Commodore Ridgely of Baltimore. Another ancestor from whom she is directly descended was Katherine Douglass, or the Kate Barlass of Rossetti's poem, the lady-in-waiting to James the Second's Queen, who by making her arm serve as a bolt through the iron bars of the door saved the King's life, giving him time to escape from his enemies.

But our poet is a true American. She holds with Bulwer that

"Not to the past, but to the future looks true nobility,
And reads its blazon in posterity."

She is a woman of modesty, refinement and culture. She has traveled extensively and being a student and lover of art has utilized her opportunities to enjoy the wealth of the world's art creations that are accessible to the traveler in the great centers of the Old World,

even extending her quest for the beautiful from the world-famed ancient art centers to the galleries of Russia, Scandinavia and Finland. This education has naturally broadened and enriched her imaginative vision.

From early childhood she evinced a passion for poetry. In reply to a question we recently asked, she said:

"Poetry I have always read and loved, I might say from the time when I was but four years old and could repeat almost half of 'Locksley Hall.' My first poem, 'The Battle of Trenton,' of seventy-four lines, was published when I was fourteen, in the *Mail and Express*, having won a prize in that paper. During the ensuing years I wrote when the call came, frequently publishing in the minor magazines, but without any serious or definite aim. It has been only during these last few years that I have been conscious of the message of my poetry and of a sacred duty to fulfil in giving my gift, however small, to the world. This purpose and determination are growing daily with my growth, as is also the conviction that poetry must more and more reflect the *perfect*, the joyous, the hopeful and inspirational moods of life and character, and cut out the suggestions of sorrow, melancholy, and the subtle shadows of the soul's moods, if the poets of to-day would be *constructive*, uplifting and a true inspiration to their times."

Her recent poems have appeared in leading and popular magazines, chiefly in *Harper's*, *The Century* and *Scribner's*. Some have appeared in *Lippincott's* and *Munsey's*.

There is noticeable in her work a steady growth, not only in literary excellence but in the thought and purpose underlying the creations. This is doubtless due to the steady unfoldment of character, the constant awakening to the graver and grander meaning of life; and we imagine the congenial companionship which she enjoys with her husband, the famous sculptor, William Ordway Partridge, is also a never-failing source of inspiration, for Mr. Partridge is not only one of the most gifted sculptors of America, but he is also a true poet, a man of imagination and of heart, whose fine humanitarian feeling is only equalled by his love of the beautiful in all its varied aspects. We close this little sketch with a magnificent tribute of pure love which we imagine was inspired by the poet's artist-lover, who is also husband, councillor and sympathetic critic, whose judgment is most highly prized by the devoted wife. The stanzas are entitled "I Take Thee As Thou Art."

"I take thee as thou art, O great of soul!
A friend that Life's deep tides have drawn to me,
Nor, envious, seek to know the joy or dole
That shaped thee to such wondrous symmetry;
By what lone ways thy spirit reached those heights
Where all the great of soul forever are,
What love upheld, what sorrow vexed thy nights—
It is enough to feel thee there—a star!

"Life turned thee on his circling wheel of Time,
Till forth thou camest from the dreams, the strife
As some creation of a thought sublime
That ever haunts an artist, wakes to life
The senseless marble, and mid hopes and fears,
Stands out, a Truth against the clinging clod—
So I behold thee, graven from the years,
Freed from their bondage by the hand of God."

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

WILL PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP INCREASE OR DIMINISH POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY CLARENCE ARTHUR ROYSE.

THAT our political and business world is pregnant with far-reaching and fundamental reforms, that democracy is engaged in a titanic struggle with plutocracy, requires no argument. Our newspapers and magazines are filled with evidences of a moral awakening, investigation follows investigation disclosing the extent to which monopoly has grown and the imperative need of action if we would escape a condition of industrial feudalism. It is generally agreed that the eighteenth century doctrine of *laissez faire*, the notion that that government is best which governs least, must be definitely abandoned. That doctrine developed from an industrial system of individual, unorganized effort and a conception of government as a thing imposed on the people by a superior, privileged class. The conception of government as the organized coöperation of the whole people is the achievement of the nineteenth century, but it is a conception which now generally prevails; and the perfection of the democratic principle as well as the liberty and welfare of the individual, are now threatened, not by a political aristocracy but by an industrial oligarchy. Competition has ended in combination; the opportunity of the great majority and the vast and growing wealth of the nation are being absorbed by a diminishing group composed of the owners of privilege and monopoly. How to avert this movement is the problem that confronts the twentieth century.

No one, except the hired defenders of privilege, now suggest that we can safely trust any longer to the simple right of private contract and to the benevolence and sense of fairness of men who possess a monopoly control of our great systems

of transportation, of the necessary means of urban life, and the great natural sources of our national wealth. Everywhere the principle of control by the people, acting through the law, is applied. More and more experience is demonstrating that mere regulation of monopolies is not effectual. The combinations of wealth and power become too great. They corrupt and seize our government, they control and direct our organs of public opinion, they drug our moral sense by their huge philanthropies. We pass through a tremendous agitation and with a great effort and under the leadership of some powerful personality we achieve a law that can be characterized only as a step in the right direction; and then a "joker" is discovered that undoes the work, or a court is found to set it aside, or a weak or corrupt official fails to execute the law; and when we wake up to the true situation the monopoly has grown like the fabled bean-stalk.

By repeated failures in our effort to regulate trusts and monopolies, we are driven to consider the wisdom of public-ownership. As yet the American people as a whole look with suspicion on the public-ownership and operation of business enterprises. The idea makes its way slowly. It is looked upon as an innovation that is dangerous. The great business interests, intent on retaining their powers and privileges, systematically conduct a campaign of misrepresentation and corrupt the public press, and of the common people themselves, many regard it as a measure of last resort, and others honestly believe that the remedy would be worse than the disease.

When William J. Bryan returned from Europe and fresh from a study of conditions there, ventured the very mild

opinion that if railway regulation should prove ineffective to correct railway abuses then it would be well to resort to public-ownership, his statement called forth dissent from almost the entire press of the country. The only objection urged against his suggestion that is worthy of attention and the objection that is always repeated by those who oppose public-ownership, was the objection of our political corruption and the spoils system. That is supposed to be an unanswerable argument, an insuperable obstacle, the obvious and self-evident reason why public-ownership is bound to be a failure in this country, whatever the experience of other countries may be. When overwhelming evidence is furnished of the great success of public-ownership in England, Germany, New Zealand and elsewhere, the answer always is that the conditions in this country are so different that foreign examples are worthless and the difference lies in our corrupt politics.

The assumption is made that the American people are naturally and necessarily corrupt and that little or no improvement can be expected, whereas the people of England are honest and public-spirited. Further it is assumed that corruption, the spoils system, the partisan machine run by the boss are somehow the natural outgrowth of democratic institutions, that these constitute the price we pay for the privilege of self-government and that Europe succeeds in public-ownership because she is committed to the monarchical system.

It is of the greatest importance that the basis for these assumptions should be examined with care and to that end it is necessary to consider the experience of England as to corruption and the spoils system at former periods of her history and at the present time, to ascertain if possible the reasons for her present superiority, and to compare the history of England with the history of America in this respect.

Until the time of the Revolution of

1688 the King, assisted by his courtiers who enjoyed the royal favor, ruled the land for their own profit. The theory was that the government belonged to the king, it was his by divine right and he was responsible to no earthly power. For many ages the king was the state, the land and the people were his, he threw to his favorites honors, manors, pensions, monopolies, according to his pleasure and by the same token he revoked them. The history of those ages is occupied with quarrels among the nobles for the privilege of plundering the people. Justice, economy of administration, the personal worth of the citizen were nothing. After the government was differentiated into departments, the ministers were responsible to the king alone and he disposed of the revenues, of sentences, pardons, offices, monopolies and estates in the wanton exercise of authority, for money, or so as to strengthen and fortify his power or that of his friends. There was practically no change in this respect until the time of William III., although protests were made from time to time. Watt Tyler led a rebellion in 1377 and this was followed in the next century by an outbreak under Jack Cade but these revolts of the people were quickly suppressed. From time to time disaffected nobles extorted a share of power and occasionally statutes were passed to forbid abuses, but the abuses continued. However the statutes reveal the character of the corruption that was common at the time and disclose the fact that all our modern abuses were well known many centuries ago. As parliament gradually acquired importance the king used honors, pensions and the patronage of office to control parliament.

In our own day we can still observe in the Russian empire the spoils system carried to its extreme development, all the powers of government exercised without responsibility for the advantage of the sovereign and the privileged class. Dorman B. Eaton in his history of the English civil-service well says, speaking

of corruption in the United States, that "our spoils system is only a faint reproduction in an uncongenial age and government of vicious methods, of which the coarse and more corrupt originals are to be found in the most despotic periods of English history. It is in fact that part of medieval despotism, inherited by us, which we have allowed to survive." (*Civil Service in Great Britain*, by Dorman B. Eaton, p. 41.)

The extent to which corruption was carried by the Stuarts and the steady employing of every influence by James II. to restore the Catholic religion ended in the Revolution of 1688. Henceforth parliament held the nation's purse-strings, the worst abuses of the royal prerogative were cut off and the patronage that was taken from the king passed to the dominant party in parliament. From the reign of Anne to the Reform Bill of 1832 England was governed by the powerful aristocratic families and the means steadily employed to secure and retain their power was the influence of bribery. Seats in the House of Commons were owned outright by great lords and were filled with their nominees or were sold in the market; where the borough was not owned absolutely the election was carried by bribery, intimidation and fraud; members of parliament when seated were influenced to support the ministry or the king by patronage, pensions, honors, and direct bribes of money; every office in the civil service, in the army and navy, in the church and the colonial service, was treated as spoils to be dispensed by favor or for a consideration and for the private advantage of those in authority.

Sir Thomas Erskine May, the distinguished historian of this period of English constitutional development tells us that in some towns the right of election was vested in a bailiff and twelve burgesses as at Buckingham and Bewdley, that at Bath election was by the mayor, ten aldermen and twenty-four councilmen, at Salisbury by a mayor and cor-

poration of 56 persons. In other boroughs the franchise was more liberal but there were few inhabitants; for instance in Gatton and St. Michael there were seven electors and in Tavistock ten. "Seventy members were returned by thirty-five places with scarcely any electors; ninety members by forty-six places with less than fifty electors; and thirty-seven members were returned by nineteen places with not more than one hundred electors. Such places were returning members while Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester were unrepresented; and the members whom they sent to parliament were the nominees of peers and other wealthy patrons. The Duke of Norfolk was represented by eleven members; Lord Lonsdale by nine; Lord Darlington by seven; the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Carrington, each by six. Seats were held in both houses alike by hereditary right." (*May's Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 267.)

Only a few instances can be mentioned of the bribery and corruption which were the universal and recognized practice of the day. In the middle of the eighteenth century the landed gentry complained bitterly of the entry into parliament of "nabobs" who had amassed great fortunes in the East and West Indies and who had the effrontery to buy seats that of right belonged to the landed aristocracy. Speaking of them Lord Chatham said: "Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament by such a torrent of corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist." (*May*, Vol. I., p. 269.) In 1762 pecuniary penalties for bribery were first enforced but the object appears to have been not to purify elections but to preserve the boroughs for their owners, and of course the law was ineffectual to stop the practice. Sudbury, long infamous for its corruption, publicly advertised itself for sale and Oxford in the

election of 1768 offered to reëlect its two representatives on payment of the bonded debt amounting to \$28,350. The members refused and the Mayor and Aldermen were imprisoned for a short time in Newgate and while in prison completed a bargain for the sale of their city to the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Abingdon. "Meanwhile," says Sir Thomas Erskine May, "the town clerk carried off the books of the corporation which contained the evidence of the bargain; and the business was laughed at and forgotten." (May, Vol. I., p. 271.) Luggershall was sold by its owner for \$45,000 and the general price of boroughs was raised from \$12,500 to \$20,000 and \$30,000 by the competition of the nabobs. There were contests between the great lords for boroughs that cost vast sums. Lord Spencer spent \$350,000 contesting his borough and for his election contest. The following extract from the diary of Sir Samuel Romilly, writing in 1807, well illustrates the situation: "Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seat to be disposed of. He has offered \$50,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon and which are to be made the most of by the trustees for creditors and has met with a refusal. The truth is that the new ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H., the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to the ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the king, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse. This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into parliament. To come in by popular election, in the present state of representation is quite impossible; to

be placed there by some great lord and to vote as he shall direct is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune." (*Life of Sir S. Romilly*, Vol. 2, p. 200.) This man, who was in fact a pure and patriotic statesman, afterwards bought his seat for \$10,000 in order to preserve his independence.

In Scotland the farce of elections was even more monstrous and the following grotesque case was related in parliament in 1831 by the Lord Advocate. In the County of Bute with 14,000 inhabitants there were twenty-one electors of whom only one resided in the county. At the election this one elector attended, called the meeting to order, called the roll and answered present, elected himself chairman, moved and seconded his own nomination and was unanimously returned. (May, Vol. I., p. 286.)

Such being the condition of parliamentary elections, the members naturally made full use of their positions to reimburse themselves and to gorge themselves at the public expense and the king and ministers habitually used money, places, government contracts, lotteries, loans—every species of corrupt influence to gain their ends. The evil of placemen holding seats in parliament was so threatening that laws were repeatedly enacted excluding customs officers, government contractors, pensioners and judges from parliament. The names of Walpole, Newcastle, Bute and North are synonymous with the ideas of corruption and bribery reduced to a system, a theory of government. Horace Walpole relates that in December, 1762, Mr. Fox, the lieutenant of Lord Bute, opened a shop in the Pay Office whither the members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank bills even to so low a sum as \$1,000 for their votes on the treaty. \$125,000 was spent in one morning, and the truth of this story is corroborated by other testimony. (May, Vol. I., p. 302.) The secret-service fund

was used in vast sums without any accounting and most of it went for the corruption of parliament.

Government loans were issued to favored persons and members of parliament, and at once rose to a premium. Of such a loan Sir Thomas May says, "The participation of many members in the profits of this iniquitous loan could not be concealed; and little pains were taken to deny it. Stock-jobbing became the fashion and many members of parliament were notoriously concerned in it." (May, Vol. I., p. 305.) In 1781 Lord North issued a loan of \$60,000,000 for the American war, which at once commanded a premium of 11 per cent. It was computed by Mr. Fox that a profit of \$4,500,000 was derived from the loan and by others that half the loan was subscribed for by members of the House of Commons. Lord Rockingham said "the loan was made merely for the purpose of corrupting parliament to support a wicked, impolitic and ruinous war." (May, Vol. I., p. 306.)

A perusal of these historical records might lead one to suppose that reform was hopeless and that there was no way to overthrow a corrupt machine so firmly entrenched in power. Nevertheless, during all this time, the forces of reform and the will of the people were not entirely dead. Public opinion from time to time did make itself heard, the freedom of the press was after a long struggle achieved, parliamentary debates were finally made public and the principle of responsibility to the people was gradually established. James II., with the advantage of every corrupt influence, could not resist an outraged people when they were finally aroused; again Walpole, the great master of corrupt parliamentary methods, was driven at last from power; and again Lord Bute and later Lord North, each the boss of what seemed a perfect political machine, had to yield to an indignant and long suffering people. Through the perplex-

ing changes of ministry during the long reign of George III. is perceived a gradual awakening of a sense of political justice and the dawning of the spirit of democracy which in the nineteenth century has so thoroughly transformed the English people and their government. The growing demands for reform voiced by Rockingham, Burke, Fox, Wilkes and their contemporaries were silenced for a generation by the insane fear of revolution inspired by the events in France. Then followed the long Napoleonic wars. When the country was again at peace the corrupt conditions in the government cried aloud for redress. The industrial revolution was in full progress, the old days of hand labor and rural life were gone forever, steam and machinery were well started on their triumphant progress that was to astonish the world, the great manufacturing cities were growing at a marvelous rate, wealth was increasing in geometrical ratio; but the condition of the laboring classes reached its lowest depths. Poverty grew more intense, the cities unprepared for their sudden growth could only crowd the people into vile slums, the death-rate and the poor-rates suddenly rose, misery was everywhere, all the horrors that preceded the era of reform were driving the people to revolt. The first reform on which all others depended was parliamentary reform and at last, after the greatest internal struggle England has ever known, after riots and the angry demands of the people had brought the nation to the brink of revolution, the privileged aristocracy was forced to yield and the great reform bill was passed. The direct bribery of members of parliament with cash had ceased with the ministry of the younger Pitt and the reform bill did away with the nomination boroughs but political corruption was only scotched, not killed. Bribery at elections continued with little abatement in spite of laws passed to restrain it for more than a half-century and the

spoils system of appointment to office continued to flourish until within the present generation.

The disastrous Crimean war and the scandals it brought to light, and the revolutionary movement of 1848, which exercised such a powerful influence throughout Europe, compelled a reform in the government departments and Lord John Russell appointed a commission in 1849 to examine the condition of the civil service. This commission headed by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote, made an exhaustive investigation extending over five years and submitted an able and elaborate report which is a land-mark in English history. The report showed that the service was filled with the lazy and incompetent; that political favor and seniority were the only qualifications for office; in short it showed a spoils system worse than was ever tolerated in the United States. An executive order in council was adopted in 1855 creating a civil-service commission and providing for examinations, but the heads of departments still could determine how far the rules should be extended and the examinations were not by open competition, but three candidates were appointed to the examinations for each office. Nevertheless, the pressure of public opinion gradually brought more of the civil service under the rules and at last in 1870 another order in council established open competition, the civil-service rules were made to cover practically the entire government service and the merit system was finally and permanently adopted. The same principle is in full operation in India, Canada and all the colonies. The spoils system is absent in England not because the English people were not familiar with it, nor because it did not naturally belong to the monarchical system, nor because our English cousins are more moral and patriotic than we. It has been superseded because the vast growth of the functions of the state in

this modern era, the great extent, complexity and importance of government operations as compared with former periods, are incompatible with the old corrupt method, and because the growing intelligence of the people, the general advance of popular rights and the principle of governmental responsibility to the people, the spirit of modern democracy has forced the adoption of honest and efficient administrative methods.

Bribery at elections, intimidation and coercion by landlords, priests and employers persisted even longer. In 1854 a Corrupt Practices Act was passed defining election crimes and providing penalties. In 1872 the Ballot law was passed establishing the Australian ballot system and it was thought that this would correct the abuses, but the English politicians were no more scrupulous in obeying the law than their brothers in America, and the law was not enforced. There was no efficient way to secure evidence, there were many ways to avoid the penalties, and if one only secured the election he was willing to take the chance of a possible prosecution. Nevertheless, the modern spirit among the people would not tolerate permanently a situation where the results of a great campaign, the expressed will of the people, could be set aside by corruption at the polls. With the election of 1880 Mr. Gladstone became prime minister and the attorney-general in his cabinet was Sir Henry James. He prepared and introduced a Corrupt Practices Act which became a law in 1882 and which has actually banished corruption in every form from parliamentary elections. The objects of the bill, as explained by Sir Henry James (*Forum*, Apr., 1893, Vol. 15, p. 129), were to consolidate the laws against corrupt practices, to check corruption by punishing offenders, to render detection certain and easy, to abolish or reduce paid agency and to limit expenditures. The law is very elaborate and complete. It defines in the most comprehensive way the four

principle offenses of bribery, treating, undue influence and personation. Every possible guise under which the law might be evaded is carefully provided against. The law provides just how much may be spent for election expenses, that it must all be spent by the candidate or his duly appointed agent, the exact purposes for which it may be spent and for a full accounting under oath with vouchers for every disbursement. The number of halls and committee rooms that may be rented is limited, the amount and character of advertising is prescribed, the expenditure of any money for conveyance of voters to the polls is forbidden, and all election agents are disfranchised. The law provides full penalties, by fine and imprisonment, for every violation but the feature of the law which abolished corruption and made the law effective was the provision that a violation of the law, shown either in a criminal proceeding or a contest for the office on an election petition, should forfeit the election and give the seat to the opposing candidate. This result follows even though the corrupt practice is committed by an agent and without the knowledge of the candidate. Bribery or personation by a candidate or with his knowledge and consent further forever disqualifies the candidate from sitting in the House of Commons and a violation of the provisions as to expenditures, called an "illegal practice," by a candidate renders him ineligible for seven years and his election void. Further, if the illegal expenditure is made by an agent the election is void and the candidate ineligible for that parliament. The law at once made each side zealous to discover and prove a violation by the opposition and caused each party manager to be eager to instruct all party workers as to the law and to warn them against any violation even if unintentional. At once corrupt practices ceased to exist in most localities and vastly diminished everywhere. It is to the interest now of the candidate to keep down expenditures.

If one side does not spend the other does not have to. Occasionally an over-zealous politician will still take a chance and overstep the law but he is usually detected and the risk is so great that such a course is everywhere discouraged and, practically speaking, corruption in elections has ceased. As said by the author of the law, "popularity now receives its true reward and cannot be counteracted by the effect of money expenditure," and further, "a corrupt class has been banished from the scenes of political contests and zealous and enthusiastic bands of assistants substituted for it." (*Forum*, Apr., 1893.) This result is commended to the consideration of those who belittle legislation and declare we have law enough if it only were enforced. There are two elements in reform; first, a public opinion that is educated and aroused, and second, and quite as essential, is a piece of legal machinery that is efficient to express and execute the public will. Public opinion is impotent until it issues in the enactment of an adequate law as comprehensive and complete as the evil to which it is directed.

The history of municipal corruption and reform in England discloses a striking parallel to parliamentary conditions. Municipalities in England grew in a haphazard way in the midst of rural communities. The vestry in each parish exercised certain local governmental functions and with the growth of trade-guilds and merchant-guilds municipal control was vested in them. In ancient times all the inhabitants paying taxes had a voice but the guilds or city companies became self-perpetuating close corporations and the wealthy and influential gradually assumed all power and by the close of the fifteenth century this usurpation was complete. After the time of Henry VII., the king, in order to secure his revenue and strengthen his power, granted charters of incorporation to the towns, the power being vested in a mayor and aldermen, appointed in the first instance by the crown and then

self-elected. The organization and the powers granted differed in the various towns. Occasionally some noble in local central did give a fairly benevolent government but the prevailing type of local government is described by May as follows: "Neglecting their proper functions, the superintendence of police, the management of jails, the paving and lighting of streets and supply of water, they thought only of the personal interests attached to office. They grasped all patronage, lay and ecclesiastical for their relatives, friends and political partisans, and wasted the corporate funds in greasy and vulgar revelry. Many towns were absolutely insolvent. Charities were despoiled and public trusts neglected and misapplied; jobbery and corruption in every form were fostered." Speaking of Scotch towns, where the same conditions prevailed, he says: "The property was corruptly alienated and despoiled; sold to nobles and favored persons at inadequate prices; leased at nominal rents to members of the council and improvidently charged with debts. The revenues were wasted in extravagant salaries, jobbing contracts, public works executed at an exorbitant cost, and in civic entertainments. Incompetent persons and even boys were appointed to offices of trust. At Torfar, an idiot performed for twenty years the responsible duties of town clerk." (May, Vol. 2, p. 471.) The following is the testimony of Dr. Albert Shaw in his well-known book on English municipal government: "The municipalities became in large part a vested interest, held in a few hands and used corruptly and wickedly to demoralize politics and misgovern the nation. The mortality became a fearful thing. Epidemic diseases could not be controlled and cleanliness was a physical impossibility. The streets were abominable. Efficient services of water, drainage and illumination were of course wholly lacking. There were no schools worth mentioning, no libraries, almost no civilizing agencies

whatever." (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, pp. 23-25.)

After the reform of Parliament in 1832 the reformation of the municipalities was at once taken up. A commission conducted an investigation and in 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act was passed which provided a municipal charter for 178 boroughs and since then 125 others have been created. After a half-century of experience the law with its various amendments was codified in 1882, but the general plan of organization remained the same, and this law is still in force. The voters, including practically all adults who have a fixed abode, including women who pay taxes but excluding paupers, elect the members of the common council for a term of three years, the number varying with the size of the town; the councillors add to their number one-half as many aldermen elected for six years and both classes sit and act as one body. If a councilman is made an alderman a successor in the council is elected. The aldermen and councilmen together elect the mayor for one year, usually but not necessarily from their own number. The mayor is usually a man who has rendered distinguished service in the council for many years, his position being one of great honor and influence but little independent power. The mayor has no appointing power and no veto. The council appoints its own committees, who take charge of the various departments, appoint the heads of departments and carry on the executive work of the city, reporting to the entire council, and the mayor is ex-officio a member of every committee. The law includes the same safeguards for elections as are provided for parliamentary elections. As to this Dr. Shaw remarks: "It is enough, perhaps, to say that these bristling regulations, which hedge about the election of town councillors with as formidable defenses as those that guard parliamentary elections are absolutely efficacious." (Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great*

Britain, p. 34.) Mention should be made also of the method of nominating candidates both for the town council and parliament. No conventions and no primary elections are held, but anyone may be placed on the official ballot by filing a nomination paper signed by a proposer and seconder and eight other voters. This has the effect of keeping the national parties out of local politics, it is an effective safeguard against machine-rule and is the most important feature of the Australian ballot system.

The universal testimony is that corruption, bribery, favoritism, and graft are to-day non-existent in English municipalities. Evidence on this subject is not necessary, because the most severe critics of public-ownership admit that England is free from these abuses and allege that fact as the very reason why we cannot follow her example in the matter of public-ownership. The best talent in the cities is enlisted in the municipal service, public office carries with it great honor and the vast business of the cities is carried on by men from all grades of society and with economy, intelligence, honesty and a local pride in municipal achievements.

The causes of this condition of administrative efficiency are not difficult to discover. It will be observed that corruption flourished in the old days when the government governed least, when nearly everything was left to private initiative. There was a time when even war was a private business, when the collection of taxes was let out to farmers-general, when the administration of justice was a private franchise, and then privilege and despotism were supreme. The course of history from one point-of-view consists of the gradual enlargement of the functions of government and each step in this direction has enlarged the liberty and opportunity of the individual. In this modern era both the national and local governments perform a thousand new functions made necessary by our modern civilization, the individual has a

constant and intimate relation with the work of public officials and the situation itself demands strict responsibility, efficiency and honesty. The other great cause of the overthrow of corruption is the spirit of modern democracy, the idea that the government exists for the sake of the people and to secure to them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The spoils system is as out of harmony with the modern world as the ancient government of the people, by the privileged classes, for their private advantage which gave it birth.

That bribery and graft flourish in the United States is apparent although the worst abuses of Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati and St. Louis appear mild when compared with the practice that was formerly universal in England. No extended account of American political corruption is necessary for it is admitted by every one and the details are available in every magazine and newspaper. Not every charge of corrupt dealing of course is made in good faith and supported by facts. The sensational and reckless newspaper reporter is abroad; and moreover a favorite method, used by guilty men to distract attention from themselves and confuse the public mind, is to make false charges against the innocent. Every faithful officer should be protected by public opinion quite as zealously as the unfaithful should be exposed and held to account. Every case of wrong-doing must stand on its own evidence and further, the evil complained of is not so much a matter of personal wrong-doing as of maintaining a vicious system, by which disloyalty is made easy and profitable. But the fact that false charges are sometimes made is no reason why real wrong-doing should not be exposed. The fact that the real thief raises the false cry of "stop thief!" should not secure the guilty person from arrest and punishment. In each case due diligence and caution should be combined, that is all. Abundant and undeniable evidence does justify the

statement, not that our politicians and business men are all corrupt, but that political and business corruption are painfully and dangerously common and that the power of privilege in private hands has in large measure transformed our democracy, representative of the people, and rendered necessary what Mr. Steffens calls a new struggle to restore self-government.

In the early days of the Republic, the wealth of the country was small and fairly well distributed, the government was a small concern and the public employes were few. The principle of equal rights for all, special privileges to none, on which our nation was founded, for a time served to keep us in the main above the spoils system although Hamilton succeeded in planting the seeds of privilege and setting the example of legislation by and for the rich and favored classes of society, which seed has borne abundant fruit. Under Jackson the spoils system of appointing federal office-holders was established and the growing wealth of the country brought a steady increase of abuses, but corruption and the spoils system did not reach their full development until the period following the Civil War. That was a period of expansion and speculation and of rapid industrial development and it was the period also of Star Route scandals, of Whiskey Ring scandals, of imperial grants of land to railways, of the Tweed régime in New York, of the real beginning of our political machines in the various states and the foundation of our great private fortunes. At the same time when England was developing her system of administrative efficiency, overthrowing her age-old practice of bribery and corruption and bringing in the modern era of democracy, America was permitting her original democracy to be replaced by corruption and privilege. We have been so proud of our industrial achievements, that we have showered our captains of industry with franchises, powers and privileges and loaded them with wealth and failed to see that they

were working a revolution in our government. We have praised the business man and have blamed the politician. When brought face to face with corrupt conditions, we have deplored the apathy of the good citizens and have put the responsibility on the politician and his miserable allies the saloon keeper and gambler. To-day a great awakening to the true cause of our trouble is taking place. Our reporters and social investigators have laid bare the shame of the cities and placed the blame where it belongs and have shown that our real task is not to put out of business the vulgar law-breaker but to restore self-government. In the city, in the state and in the nation the true source of political corruption is seen to be the big business man, the man of whom we have been so proud, the prominent and respected citizen. The great source of wealth is privilege and to obtain and protect privileges and franchises, the machine, the boss and the legislative agent are maintained and supported, alliances are made with vulgar thieves and gamblers, lobbies are kept about our legislative halls, governors and senators are made and unmade, the press is purchased and the church and college subsidized.

Mr. Lincoln Steffens says that when he began to write his articles on the *Shame of the Cities* he meant to show how the people were betrayed and deceived by the politician, but that in his first study of St. Louis the startling truth lay bare that corruption was not merely political, it was financial, commercial and social, its ramifications were complex and far-reaching. In St. Louis and Minneapolis and Philadelphia, wherever a reform movement has taken place the most significant fact was the high class of citizens who openly or secretly defended and supported the boodler, the briber and the blackmailer.

There are two kinds of graft in our cities and each is supported by the other. One kind may be called police graft, and this leads one down among the

dregs of society, it is vulgar and shocking, and, without support from the men higher up, it could not long stand against public opinion. Reform of this kind of graft is called achieving good government. The other kind of graft is financial, it leads one up to our leading business men, our respectable bankers, lawyers and corporation officials, the pillars of society and the church, and from them to their employes their friends and associates, all who are connected with them or dependent upon them for employment, for business or for assistance in favorite philanthropies. Reform of this kind of graft is called restoring self-government.

The chief source of corruption then is business graft, the tremendous stake of the promoter and the financier in obtaining private privileges from the government. Obviously the method of reform is to destroy the source of corruption, the private-ownership of monopolies and franchise privileges. Regulation has been tried, and of course the fullest possible relief from regulation must be insisted on until a more complete justice is possible, but regulation leaves at work the source of the trouble. The private monopolist still has the same interest and a stronger interest the more strict the control, in preserving his franchises, in combating the public and in entering and corrupting politics to control governmental agencies. The same objection applies to public-ownership with private operation under leases. The "interests" have the same inducement to obtain favorable leases and to escape the fulfilment of onerous conditions as they have to obtain favorable franchises.

The fear of increasing the number of public employes, of corrupting our politics and strengthening the spoils system need alarm no one. It is true there is a possibility that the civil service may be filled by favor and not by merit and efficiency, and that extravagance and incompetence may mark public administration and that one source of corrup-

tion, the salaries of public officials, would still remain. Public-ownership is no panacea for all the ills of government. It is not a trick device which can be adopted and which will run itself and will exclude the possibility of further trouble. Each generation will continue to face its own problems. Nevertheless, public-ownership would do one thing among others. It would eliminate the chief source of corruption and would open the way for the correction of the spoils system, for the suppression of police graft, for the development of municipal experts. It would certainly not introduce the public utilities into politics. They are unfortunately already there. It would not increase corruption and the spoils system for two reasons: first, because our most influential and capable citizens would no longer have this tremendous stake in corrupt and disloyal public servants, the antagonism between the private welfare of the most influential class in the community and the public welfare would no longer exist; and second, because public-ownership would bring with it and make easy the means of correcting its own particular possibilities of evil. Public opinion would have a free chance to compel not merely common honesty but efficiency and skill. The increased stake of the people in governmental action, the intimate dependence of each citizen on the public utilities taken over, the direct connections between each man's pocketbook and the conduct of public officials and the honest pride that the people take in their own property and the development of their own business, will result in a civil service based on the merit system. No one proposes public-ownership to be run without restraint or accounting by an irresponsible political machine. Even that, as shown by actual experience in the St. Louis and Philadelphia water-works and in many other cases results in a vast saving to the people as compared with private-ownership. But the reform suggested is public-ownership accompanied by the merit system,

by the most approved methods of accounting, and a full responsibility to the people; and the assertion is made, based on abundant experience, that public-ownership naturally brings with it a progressive development of these safeguards. Our legal notions of property rights produce this result. We always admit that the private-owner of a public utility who has his money invested in it is rightfully entitled to all the profit and private advantage he can secure so long as he keeps within the letter of his legal rights. On the other hand, when the public utility becomes the property of the people, the people are rightfully entitled to all the profit and the full benefit of their own property and they cannot be deprived of it without an actual and positive malfeasance in office. Those who oppose public-ownership say reform the civil service and banish corruption, if you can, first, and then consider public-ownership. This means that we are to preserve the chief cause of corruption until we have banished its natural fruits. It is like the mother's advice to her son to learn to swim before going into the water. The truth is that the same public opinion, the same awakened civic conscience, which will rebel against the evils of private monopoly and demand public-ownership, will also demand efficient and honest service from public servants. The necessary conclusion from a study of corruption both in England and the United States is that expanded government functions and the principle of government responsibility develop together. In this country as in England the spoils system of making federal appointments became intolerable as the importance and complexity of government business increased and the civil service was accordingly reformed. The condition of the service is not perfect but public opinion requires and produces continual improvement and to-day more than half of the 300,000 federal employés are in the classified service, many cities have adopted a similar system

and the spoils system is everywhere in disfavor and is slowly but steadily yielding to an enlightened public conscience. The significant thing in our politics is not the point to which democracy has arrived but the direction in which it is marching; not the democracy of to-day but the democracy of to-morrow.

This sketch of political corruption in England does not imply by any means that England is free from privilege and all forms of graft. *Ça ira*—it will go—that is all. She still has her house of lords, her land and great industrial wealth is still owned by a small and powerful class, the private beneficiaries of franchises and tax exemptions and land monopoly still absorb the fruits of her industry in undue measure, but the way is open for the future and the future belongs to the people. England *has* reformed her civil service, she *has* secured honest elections, she *has* administered her various municipal enterprises with economy and skill and strict integrity, to the great and manifest advantage of her people. A very little historical information is sufficient to show that this is true not because the English are more moral than we, certainly not because she was unfamiliar with corruption, nor because a monarchical and aristocratic form of government does not breed selfishness and the abuse of power. The exact opposite is the obvious and undeniable fact. Privilege, monopoly and the spoils system are the inherited remnant of a despotism that must wholly yield to the triumphant advance of democracy. The example of England in the expansion of governmental functions, so far from being inapplicable to political conditions in the United States points the path along which lie, not only the economic and social advantages of public-ownership, but also the restoration of self-government and the overthrow of political corruption.

CLARENCE ARTHUR ROYSE.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

SAINT GAUDENS: AMERICA'S GREATEST SCULPTOR.

By F. EDWIN ELWELL.

THERE is on the wall of the hemicycle, in the famous College of Fine Arts (*École des Beaux Arts*) at Paris, France, a great painting by Paul Delaroche.

In the center of this wonderful art production is a wide throne on which are seated three of the master minds of Greece. The two on either side are of the same type of face as our lamented and only great American sculptor; and as these powerful minds are represented enthroned amid a galaxy of world-renowned men of artistic genius, typifying their true positions, so we must in justice accord to Mr. Saint Gaudens as high a place among the artistic geniuses of the world.

One or two cold and cunning minds who follow the business of manufacturing statues with nothing to commend them but arms and legs, and whose zeal in business has led them to look with disfavor on the work of so great a soul, have said that he was a much overrated man.

Facts do not bear out this envious statement.

Not, I think, since the time of the illustrious Greeks has the world produced so remarkable a genius in the noble art of sculpture, and had he accomplished nothing more than the making of the Shaw Memorial and the heroic statue of Lincoln, his place in history would still be the foremost among the sculptors of the world to-day.

There was nothing frigid, wooden or cold about his work, and he never made the mistake of the crafty commercialist in putting (his decorative detail on a poor underneath). He worked for the soul of the thing first; sought out its great masses and put them in their place

before he proceeded to the finer detail.

The writer remembers how long he struggled with the Shaw Memorial, to have all its great masses well arranged and the soul of the thing great before he finished the detail that makes this a masterpiece.

The little men who have tried to occupy his place cannot do this; their nervous haste to rob their patron and get rid of him for new work prevents them from realizing the splendor of the atmosphere of sincerity in which this great mind moved until his last hour.

Rodin is satisfied with the great masses alone, but here are two temperaments equally great in their own ideals, and the public appreciates them both. The only difference between them is the quality of nobility of thought, and in this respect Mr. Saint Gaudens was far above any other living sculptor.

It is not strange to the thinking mind that the forces which are life, should select with unerring exactness a mind so simple and strong as this Master for the work he did in lifting our professional life out of the commonplace.

At the time when Mr. Saint Gaudens entered the field of sculpture in America, it was under the cloud of the Greek imitative effort of a group of men who almost never had a sincere artistic feeling. Whatever they did was from established canon and in an almost mechanical way. A great impulse never stirred them beyond convention and we have in our museums quantities of stuff that is as uninteresting as it is useless as indicating our artistic ability as a nation.

The intellectual processes of these men were similar and their result the same in almost every case.

The man most admired at that time

conceived a bitter dislike for this new fresh genius who thought his own thoughts and was grand enough in spirit to ignore the horde of imitators and push them entirely out of his artistic atmosphere, so that they would not hinder the natural flow of that sublime quality in art,—sincere individuality. But this great man was gifted with two rare qualities, besides his genius,—silence and determination. Here indeed was a fine starting point for the new era in our professional life, a nature so strong and gentle that nothing could swerve it from the direct and simple path to great sculpture,—that through honest individual feeling expressed with strength and power.

The silence of the man was a terrific power in itself and he silenced his enemies in this way many times. It is impossible to think that he ever hated any one, he simply put them out of his mind and went on with his work.

First of all there was a stalwart nobility in the character of Mr. Saint Gaudens that is entirely lacking in those who have assumed to occupy his place.

The reason that his work was so full and strong, breathing of nobility and truth, was because these qualities inhered in the man. He could not express anything in a cold, soulless way. Whatever his little outward faults were, if he had any, they never went deeper than the surface, and there always remained that well-spring of the sublime mystery of his own nature.

When he was angry at the mean tricks resorted to by his brother sculptors, it was because of a fine sense of the injustice to his profession. He saw no reason for it and therefore condemned with merciless speech those who degraded art for their own ends.

This combination of sweetness and strength and these great impulses drove home into the clay a vigor and refinement which is not possible with a cold, cunning and calculating mind. In the hour of the writer's own suffering, this

towering genius did not hesitate to express, in a letter, his hearty sympathy and good-will for the man who despite all remained honest in a nest of dishonorable men, whose cunning and sycophancy had been kept at bay by one of the grandest minds, in art matters, this country has ever known and who said of Mr. Saint Gaudens, "He is a very great man."

When this quiet, reserved and dignified nature was willing to lift the honorable man back again on his feet, he did what he has always done in his sculpture, he let the nobler impulse guide him first, and then he thought of his own interests later.

It is natural to speak of his "later works," but in truth there are no later works. He labored so sincerely to the end that the first was as good as the last, and his long training in the *École des Beaux Arts* and in Europe made of him a master from the first to the last day of his work in the active field of his profession. *his home has been removed*

The writer cannot pass the Shaw Memorial, in Boston, without instinctively lifting his hat, not for pose or effect on the passerby, but out of reverence for the presence of those silently marching slaves in whose faces is that wonderful expression and human cry for freedom, for justice and for life. *pro - liberation, pro - justice, etc.*

The sculptor is forgotten, but his ideal dominates the mind of the spectator. Truly, this is great sculpture.

Not far away from this masterpiece is another work, cold and meaningless, just legs and arms of animal and man. One has only to look at these two works in close proximity to discover on the instant what a vast difference there is between sculpture developed from character and that manufactured without it.

It is well to call attention to this difference at this time, when we are passing through one of the most distressing periods of commercialism in our art life



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SAINT GAUDENS' STATUE OF LINCOLN, IN LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO.

and for the public to go and worship at the Shaw Memorial and then turn about and feel how chilling is sculpture that has no soul.

Mr. Saint Gaudens made great sculpture possible in America because he made it himself. He set an example of industry and sincerity that will last through all our history, and the feeble intellects who assume to occupy his place will find that they can not destroy and tear down to their own level for jealous reasons, but if they live at all they must live up to his high ideals and honorably seek to surpass them.

The Shaw Memorial cost the sculptor nearly twice what he received for it in

money; yet so brightly burned the fire of true genius that the group went on to place the stamp of truth upon the greatest work in sculpture of modern times.

How much it cost of time and sacrifice no one may know, but the result stands to-day as a living example of the splendid individuality of the man.)

He knew full well that if he was true to his own ideals he would be true to his own race and time.

FRANK EDWIN ELWELL,

In grateful memory of a true friend, who was not afraid to be a friend in adversity

Weehawken, N. J.

THADDEUS S. C. LOWE: ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST INVENTIVE GENIUSES AND BENEFACTORS.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago there was born at Jefferson Mills, now known as Riverton, New Hampshire, a boy whose future life was little dreamed of by those who heard his first baby cry. There were other children in the family and the parents were poor, yet the mother found time to read something of the better literature of the time, and she had been thrilled with Jane Porter's interesting novel, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, shortly before the birth of her boy. Who knows what dreams the sensitive mother heart had for her unborn child? Who knows what ambitions stirred within her as she asked herself what her child should be? And with a mother's pride and a mother's ambition she daringly gave to the tiny creature of pink flesh that had so recently come to her arms the high-sounding name of Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt. Two were great patriots and great military heroes. How

foolish her neighbors must have thought her! "How absurd the triple and heavy name with which she has weighted down her son," the more learned doubtless exclaimed; and yet it is no figment of the imagination to assert that Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt Lowe grew up to benefit and bless more people by far than did both of the historic heroes whose names he bears.

When quite a lad, Lowe's father died. As the family was large the mother was required by the selectmen of the town to do what was quite common in those days, viz., sell out the services of her son for a certain period to whoever would care for him. The man who bought Thaddeus' services was rough and rude, and he treated the lad so harshly that he determined to run away. Not far from where the noted Waumbek hotel now stands is the cottage from which he fled and outside was a pile of

stones upon which he sat with his bosom friend, Nathan Perkins—one of New Hampshire's most distinguished sons—and declared his intention. How the two lads clung to each other. What a desperate and daring undertaking it seemed. Yet in the night it was done, and the poor lad, with but a few cents in his pocket, trudged through the clearing, out onto the Portland road, determined to make his own fortune. It was not long before it came. Studious as a child, he had watched the clouds play about Mt. Washington and the other peaks of the Presidential range. He had felt the differences of the breezes of summer and winter; he had experienced the muggy heat of one day, followed by the cool, delicious breezes of the next. The why and wherefore of these things bothered him. He was a born interrogation point—a

searcher for the truth—and he was born with the tireless energy of Thaddeus of Warsaw, the daring resolution of Sobieski, and the cool, logical brain of a Roman conqueror. So he set to work to find out. But how could he tell of the movements of the air-currents if he remained on the ground? Then he would ascend! But how? In a balloon. Whence could he secure the funds? By balloon ascensions. So he



Photo, by Steckel, Los Angeles, Cal.

PROFESSOR LOWE AND MRS. LOWE AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THEIR WEDDING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1905.

blossomed out into an aëronaut. One of his first friends and helpers was Tilly Haynes, the well-known hotel man, who then lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, and who said: "Come to Springfield and give us an ascension on the Fourth of July and we 'll pay you well."

On the strength of the promises of friends he went ahead, constructed a fine balloon and prepared for the ascension, which was a complete success.

Others followed in rapid succession. He was making a name for his daring and his ability; but he cared nothing for that. *He* was learning. His ascensions were not made for glory; they were for study. Long before the applause of the giddy and excited crowds below had left his ears he was taking careful note of the air-currents through which he passed, and the direction other currents were flowing.

Scientists soon began to learn what he was after. His ideas were new and novel. He scouted the thought that we were compelled to remain in ignorance of the weather until it came. He ventured the bold assertion that the time would come when the government of an enlightened country like the United States would soon inform the people of the respective sections what kind of weather they might reasonably expect for the following twenty-four or forty-eight hours. He was laughed at, of course, as a visionary, but other and wiser men further questioned the studious youth with the far-seeing eyes, and listened in amazement as he outlined the possibilities of what he conceived to be the duties of the United States in this regard. And in later years, when his ideas were taken in toto and out of them was formulated the United States Weather Bureau, then the scoffers began to realize as scoffers have always realized when too late—that any fool can scoff, but it takes a wise man to listen and heed.

Among the wise men who heeded Lowe's ideas was Joseph Henry, the greatest American scientist of his day, and then Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Lowe was certain that at a certain distance above the earth an air-current would be found that invariably flowed eastward, no matter how the surface currents were blowing. To thoroughly test this he built the largest *aërostat* ever constructed. It was 150 feet perpendicular diameter, by 104

transverse diameter, the upper portion being spherical. When fully inflated with hydrogen, its atmospheric displacement amounted to a lifting force of twenty-two and a half tons. For its outfit were provided, in addition to the car, all the necessary scientific instruments and a Francis metallic life-boat, schooner-rigged, so that all reasonable precautions would be taken against accident. The gas envelope weighed over two tons, and the net-work and cordage added another ton and a half, while the extra outfit and passengers brought the total weight up to over eight tons.

A practical purpose for the use of this balloon was the bringing of speedy news of the markets of Europe to this country, for it will be remembered that the Atlantic cable, though laid in 1857, was practically useless until 1866.

Professor Henry, however, was not willing to allow Professor Lowe to risk his life on this trans-Atlantic trip until he had first demonstrated the existence of the eastern air-current. He practically said: "Why can't you build a smaller balloon, and when all the surface currents are blowing *westward* make an ascension? Then if you come *eastward* for any long distance, we shall be reasonably certain that this eastern current exists, and I will then further your plans all I possibly can."

No sooner suggested than done. Professor Lowe built a balloon, went to Cincinnati and waited for telegraphic reports that should tell when all the surface winds were blowing westward. When the news finally came, he was at a banquet, in full dress clothes, and with a high silk hat. Yet such was his enthusiasm and delight at being able to go that he would not wait to change his clothes, but dressed as he was, made the ascent. Murat Halstead, the distinguished editor of Cincinnati's leading newspaper, wrapped up a jug of hot coffee for him in a blanket, and amid the shouts of his



friends, the balloon, which had been kept in a state of perpetual readiness, was cast loose and rose into the heavens. All the newspapers chronicled the event and laughingly stated that when this balloon, which had made the ascent for the purpose of demonstrating the existence of a perpetual eastern air-current, was last seen, it was rapidly moving *westward*. Yet, had the humorists looked a little longer and seen the balloon ascend higher, they would soon have witnessed a change. It was not long before—as Professor Lowe was assured—the balloon struck the eastern current and he began to travel rapidly towards the Atlantic. What a journey that was. Over a mile in the blue of the heavens, the silence of night surrounding him, and, though traveling at so great a rate of speed, the motion of the balloon and of the air was so harmonious that he was able to read with an uncovered candle in his hand. In eight hours he had crossed the Alleghenies, and, seeing the ocean in the distance he landed in South Carolina. It would take too long to tell of the peculiar and thrilling experiences Professor Lowe passed through at this time. The war of the rebellion had begun, Fort Sumter had been fired upon; and he was taken for a spy, captured and guarded as a prisoner. He came near being hanged without ceremony. At last he persuaded his captors to take him to Columbia, where he was known as a scientist and duly released. Hence it can safely be said that he was the first prisoner of the Civil War.

Now President Lincoln sent for him, and in a short time he had organized the United States Balloon Corps and was making daily and hourly ascensions for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy below. He invented methods of making gas so that he could speedily fill his balloon when movements in the field were required. He invented and put into constant operation a means of telegraphing from the balloon when in

the air, to the headquarters of his general, and also to Washington. The good service he rendered the government during the war has been nobly recognized and it was owing to that service that the Loyal Legion elected him an honorary member of its distinguished fellowship.

It is also undoubtedly owing to the impetus he gave to the use of the balloon, and the practical methods of its application that he invented and set in operation, that has led to the great advancement in the airship, the one being the natural forerunner of the other.

Before the close of the war, ill health, caused by exposure, compelled Professor Lowe to resign his work and leave it in the hands of the subordinates he had trained. For a while he retired to a farm in Pennsylvania, but his active mind allowed him to take no mental rest. During his period of recuperation he invented and patented a machine for making artificial ice by compression of gases. As soon as possible the plant was in operation. Everything worked perfectly and it is a wonderful tribute to his mechanical skill and foresight that the first machine thus made, with several others manufactured at the same time, are still in active operation, turning out their daily quota of ice.

This invention led to the sister one of an artificial refrigerating plant, and then to the equipment of a refrigerated steamer for the transportation of perishable meats, vegetables and fruits from Galveston to New York. I have before me now as I write one of the certificates of stock of this new company, launching a new business which was to have so important a bearing upon the food supply of the world. It is dated December 21, 1868. And from an article that appeared in the *New York Sun* at that time I quote the following:

“It is encouraging to note the practical efforts that are being made to obtain abundant and cheap supplies of fresh



LOWE MEMORIAL UNION CHAPEL, ERECTED ON THE SITE OF PROF. LOWE'S BIRTHPLACE.

beef, an article which ranks second in importance only to bread, in our cities and large towns. The forestallers and middlemen have such a control upon the cattle markets, that the most exorbitant prices are exacted from consumers, even when the supply from the West is large. This state of affairs has directed attention to the immense supplies of cattle in Texas, and to scientific methods of supplying Northern markets from that source. Experiments with refrigerator steamers, to which we have before directed attention, have recently been made between a Texas port and New Orleans with entire success. A lot of thirty head of cattle arrived at New Orleans, on the 10th inst., in the steamer 'Agnes,' which had been fitted up with refrigerating apparatus for the purpose, and came out in perfect order, looking as if freshly slaughtered, though killed five days be-

fore. The means used for preserving the beef is so effectual, that it may be shipped for long distances—to Northern as well as Southern ports. Arrangements are in progress for sending large quantities to Mobile and Havana. As before remarked, Texas abounds in beef cattle, thousands of which are slaughtered for their hides and tallow alone, and if this new process proves to be as successful as it now seems likely to, it will be a great step toward cheap beef.

"A very extensive beef-packing establishment has also been completed at Shreveport, Louisiana, by the gentleman who built the Communipaw abattoir across our harbor on the New Jersey shore. The plants, to slaughter and pack the Texas beef at the time when it is in the best condition for market; to employ the newly-invented refrigerator steamships, to bring the beef fresh to our

markets. Nearly the whole of each of these vessels is an immense refrigerator, kept cool by ice, made by the use of carbonic acid. Texas beef can be bought on the spot for about two cents a pound; and the hides, horns and tallow, it is estimated, will pay for slaughtering and transporting. We conclude that there is a fair prospect of an increased supply of fresh beef at materially lower prices than those now current here, which range from twenty to thirty-five cents per pound to the consumer."

But both these inventions were far ahead of their time. The world was not ready for them, and the inventor not only failed to realize his financial hopes from them, but was actually placed many scores of thousands of dollars in debt thereby. To most men this would have been a staggering blow, preventing further inventive activities. But not so to this sturdy son born and bred on the granite hills of New Hampshire. With energy and vigor all the keener because of the drawbacks and obstacles, he set to work to give the world an invention for which it was not only ready but waiting. For sixty-five years, since its first introduction, there had been no improvement upon the old, clumsy, wasteful and barbarous retort methods of making illuminating gas. Professor Lowe invented a process by means of which, by superheating the retort, water ejected therein was reduced to its gaseous condition. In this state the hydrogen was separated and properly treated so as to make a most powerful and brilliant illuminant. The cost of manufacture was reduced wonderfully, the labor of handling the plant was also reduced, and a far better product supplied to consumers. The invention immediately began to revolutionize the gas industry, and I was personally present at a banquet given to Professor Lowe in Philadelphia, and another in New York, where it was openly stated that he had made the fortunes of more men in the gas

industry than had been made by any other man in any profession then living. But while this is undoubtedly true, it is equally true—even more so—that the primary object of Professor Lowe's invention from the financial side has not been—as too often is the case—to add to the wealth of the capitalist. He has always strenuously worked for the benefit of the poor. By means of his gas inventions hundreds of thousands of the poor are using gas for fuel, for cooking and heating, who without them could never have afforded to do so. Think of the saving of labor by the use of gas. Fires do not have to be made, kindlings and wood split, the ashes, etc., removed. A turn of the wrist, the striking of a match, and all is ready, either for cooking the morning's meal or heating any room in the house. Gas to-day costs less than one-fourth what it did when Professor Lowe's first invention was given to the world.

Feeling the need of recuperation after his busy and arduous life, Professor Lowe now removed to California. Here the great peaks of the Sierra Madre range allured and attracted him, reminding him daily of the wonderful White Mountains of his boyhood home. He had visited them again and again in his manhood; had ridden up the wonderful Mt. Washington railway, and with these remembrances in his mind, he determined to make the peaks of the Sierra Madres as accessible as were the slopes and summit of Mt. Washington. Accordingly he built the Mt. Lowe railway, the first and only all electric mountain railway in existence. The great cable incline is 3,000 feet long and in some places has a grade of 62 per cent.,—that is, it rises 62 feet in elevation to every 100 feet it goes forward. A hundred thousand people during the last few years have enjoyed the marvelous scenery it discloses. Four hotels were built on this railway for the enjoyment of travelers and others; one at Rubio at 2,200 feet elevation, two on Echo Mountain at

3,500 feet elevation, and the fourth, Alpine Tavern, on the shoulders of Mt. Lowe, 5,000 feet above the sea.

Just above Echo Mountain he established at his own expense the Lowe Observatory and equipped it with an Alvin Clark refracting telescope, 16 inches in diameter. Dr. Lewis Swift, the eminent astronomer of Rochester, New York, was in charge for many years and is now succeeded by Dr. Edgar Larkin who is also well-known for his scientific attainments.

Readers of THE ARENA will remember that it was here, on Echo Mountain, that the beloved James G. Clarke, our poet of the people, wrote several of his most beautiful descriptive poems. He was one of many poetic and literary friends of Professor Lowe, all of whom were entertained with generous hospitality in the hotels on this beautiful mountain.

For the past fifteen years Professor Lowe has been devoting all his time and energy to the last and crowning achievement of his life. It is most successfully accomplished, and that which it does is as marvelous as were the stories of the telephone, graphophone, wireless telegraphy, radium, etc., before they became common. By means of his new invention, which is a combined coke and gas oven, a million or more feet of gas (according to the size of the plant) may



Photo. by Steckel, Los Angeles, Cal.

PROFESSOR LOWE AND THREE SONS.

be made each day, as a mere by-product that costs nothing; and the coke that comes from this new oven, made by the new process, is so purely anthracite and so hard that it burns without a particle of smoke, is consumed entirely, and for metallurgical purposes such as the smelting of ores, is capable of bearing twice the weight of ore as is the ordinary coal coke.

The metallurgist will readily recognize the great advantage this coke affords over the old coke. The one cry in smelting ores is for a coke that will "hold up" the weight of ore that necessarily must be placed upon it while in the furnace. This "Lowe anthracite coke"



FIRING THE SALUTE OF SEVENTY-FIVE GUNS.

has an upholding strength that is marvelous, and the most refractory ores, requiring the greatest heat, can be easily and successfully reduced in a furnace fed by it.

But this is only one phase of his new invention. By a careful and studious arrangement—in which work Professor Lowe's peculiar genius manifests itself—a plant is secured which, under one roof and one management, and at scarcely more than the cost of operation of an ordinary gas plant, and at little more than the original cost of a fair-sized gas or electric-light plant, produces the following: coke, which supplies all the *hard* fuel of the community; gas, for lighting, cooking and heating; artificial ice and refrigeration; with steam and electric power for sale for all manufacturing purposes, or even for the operation of an electric railway. Think what such a plant would mean to a small community! By its means these luxuries of the highest civilization, which have hitherto been confined to the larger cities, are put within the reach of the humblest, for the cost is so materially

reduced that the common laborer can well afford to use gas for cooking and electric light in his humble cottage, while ice from the same plant keeps the milk, meat and vegetable supply of the family sweet and pure.

There need be no wonder, then, that with such a long and successful life of useful and helpful invention behind him, the people of his native village in New Hampshire showed desire to do him especial honor on his seventy-fifth birthday, which occurred on the 20th of August last. At the time of his birth, in 1832, the place was called Jefferson Mills, but as there were several "Jeffersons" near by, it was deemed advisable to change the name to Riverton. It is now on the line of the Maine Central. A fine flag-pole was secured from the slopes of Mt. Starr King, surmounted with a golden ball, painted and erected, and on the appointed day over a thousand people assembled from all the region round about in carriages, buggies, tallyhos, phaëtons, straw wagons, automobiles and by railway train, to witness the raising of a monster 20 by 30 feet

United States flag, especially presented to his townsmen by Professor Lowe. Ex-Governor Chester B. Jordan of New Hampshire presided and in most happy vein related incidents connected with the Lowe family of seventy-five and more years ago. He extolled the spirit of this poor, barefooted lad who went out into the world to benefit and bless his fellows, educating himself and placing his name high on the mountain of fame by his own unaided efforts. Two local poets read or sang odes in honor of their townsman, and the great audience joined in the song heartily and cheered lustily when another speaker gave a brief account of Professor Lowe's inventions and achievements. The Rev. Dr. Logue, one of the best known and loved of the ministers of New Hampshire, made a telling speech and fairly electrified the audience, when he dedicated the chapel (before which the ceremonies took place and which was built on the site of the old Lowe homestead) as the Lowe Memorial Union Chapel. A beautiful black and gold tablet has since been

placed over the doorway of the chapel, bearing the following inscription:

Lowe Memorial Union Chapel
Dedicated to the Glory of God
and the benefit of humanity on
the seventy-fifth birthday of
Thaddeus S. C. Lowe
August 20, 1907.

A battery of cannon fired a salute of seventy-five guns and solid and liquid refreshments were served with generous liberality to all who were present.

It was throughout a most enjoyable affair, because of the marked spontaneity of the feelings of the people who had gladly assembled to give honor to Professor Lowe, and the unanimous feeling of all the observers was that as a genuine outpouring of popular feeling and as a tribute of high esteem its spirit and observance was perfect. A fitting conclusion is found in the fact that the citizens have now set on foot a movement to again and finally change the name of their town, this time giving it the name they all delight to honor,—that of their distinguished citizen, *Lowe*.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES
Pasadena, California.

IDEALISM: A SKETCH. PART I. PLATO, AND KANT'S DELIMITATION OF KNOWLEDGE.

BY JUDGE L. H. JONES.

THAT the services which philosophy has been able to render the cause of religion, while of great and acknowledged value, are yet of a purely negative character, is vouched for by no less an authority than the great Immanuel Kant in the following language: "The greatest and perhaps the sole use of all philosophy of pure reason is, after all, merely negative, since it serves, not as an organon for the enlargement [of knowledge], but as a discipline for its delimitation; and instead of discovering truth, has only the

modest merit of preventing error." Nevertheless, the history of philosophy is undoubtedly the history of the finest achievements of the human intellect; and "the modest merit of preventing error" is second only to the supreme merit of discovering truth.

Among no people, ancient or modern, has philosophy reached a higher stage of development than among the ancient Greeks; for no people have reached a higher state of mental development; or exhibited greater capacity for sustained

discursive thought, or greater subtlety of discrimination, or profounder insight into purely philosophic problems. Greek philosophy meant Greek culture; and, for several centuries both before and after the Christian era, that meant, practically, the culture, education, and enlightenment of the world. Furthermore, the philosophy of the Greeks constituted their religion, as distinctly as Hebrew sacred literature expressed the religion of the Hebrews. The Greeks, like their great forbears, the Egyptians, were an exceedingly reverent people, exceedingly religious, whose ideas of God and the worship due Him surpassed in important respects any nation of their time, not excepting the Hebrews. While the Jews were offering to God the blood of goats and rams and were thinking of Him in anthropomorphic images—as a conquering and terrible Jehovah who would appear to avenge the wrongs of the Jewish nation by slaughtering and subduing other nations—Plato was teaching the Greeks that God is Mind, Wisdom, the supreme Good, and that the *summum bonum* of individual man is union with God by assimilation to Him in character. This was really Plato's idea of the atonement. The soul had lost its primitive purity and oneness with God and become immeshed in sensuous elements of which the corporeal body is the grossest expression and most hindering incumbrance in man's struggle to regain his primitive estate of blessedness. "Philosophy is with Plato as with Socrates, not something purely theoretical, but the return of the soul to its true nature, a spiritual regeneration in which the soul regains its lost knowledge of the ideal world, and thus the consciousness of its own higher origin, of its original superiority to the sensuous world. In philosophy the mind purifies itself from all admixture of sense; it comes to itself and re-obtains that freedom and rest of which its immersion in the material had deprived it." (Schwegler's *Hist. Phil.*, p. 117.)

Plato's conception of creation is not inferior to any but that of the Bible, if, indeed, it be not in practical accord with that of the first chapter of Genesis. Man and the universe that God created consist of ideas of pure reason, which are perfect and eternal, and exist together in perfect harmony and oneness—as the many in one—in God, as archetypes, after which an inferior deity called a Demiurge patterned, with more or less faithful imitation, the sensuous or material universe. Plato evidently considered that God is "of purer eyes than to behold evil" (Habakkuk, 1: 13), and so he assigned the work of fashioning a material world to an inferior deity. "With Plato Greek philosophy reached the highest point of its development. The Platonic system is the first complete construction of the entire natural and spiritual universe in accordance with one single philosophical principle; it is the type of all higher speculation, of all metaphysical as well as ethical idealism." (Schweg., *Hist. Phil.*, 124.) Aristotle says: "Plato came to the doctrine of ideas because he was convinced of the truth of the Heraclitic view which regarded the sensible world as a ceaseless flowing and changing. His conclusion from this was, that if there be a science of any thing there must be, besides the sensible, other substances which have permanence, for there can be no science of the fleeting." From Parmenides I quote what Socrates is made to say of these Ideas: "The more probable view, Parmenides, of these ideas is, that they are patterns fixed in nature, and that other things are like them, and resemblances of them; and that what is meant by the participation of other things in the ideas, is really assimilation to them." (Jowett's *Plato*, Vol. III., 249.) Plato was the first to recognize the ideas of pure reason as having objective existence as real living entities; and the first to realize that neither knowledge, nor science, nor being, is possible on any other basis. His separation between the real spiritual

universe of Ideas and its sensuous unreal imitation was radical and complete. Aristotle, his illustrious disciple, was the first to attempt a reconciliation between them, and so became the father of modern materialism, and the Esau of philosophy. For, philosophy has had its Esaus as truly as religion. Men who failed to estimate spiritual values at their proper worth; who do not belong to the spiritual succession. It was so with Plato; it was so with his illustrious and only worthy successor, Immanuel Kant. Ever since the days of Kant there have been philosophers, the Esaus of the *decadence*, ready to explain how Kant missed his way, and failed to bridge the impassable gulf between the spiritual and the sensuous, which neither he nor father Abraham could see a way to bridge.

Schopenhauer, one of Kant's greatest interpreters, says of him: "Kant's greatest merit is the distinction of the phenomenon from the thing in itself, based upon the proof that between things and us there still always stands the intellect, so that they may not be known as they may be in themselves. . . .

"Now as Kant's separation of the phenomenon from the thing in itself, arrived at in the manner explained above, far surpassed all that preceded it in the depth and thoughtfulness of its conception, it was also exceedingly important in its results. For in it he propounded, quite originally, in a perfectly new way, found from a new side and on a new path, the same truth which Plato never wearied of repeating, and in his language generally expresses thus: This world which appears to the senses has no true being, but only a ceaseless becoming; it is, and it is not, and its comprehension is not so much knowledge as illusion. . . .

"The same truth, again quite differently presented, is also a leading doctrine of the Vedas and Puranas. . . . But Kant not only expressed the same doctrine in a completely new and original way, but raised it to the position of proved and indisputable truth by means

of the calmest and most temperate exposition; while both Plato and the Indian philosophers had founded their assertions merely upon a general perception of the world, had advanced them as the direct utterances of their consciousness, and presented them rather mythically and poetically than philosophically and distinctly. Such distinct knowledge and calm, thoughtful exposition of this dream-like nature of the whole world is really the basis of the whole Kantian philosophy; it is its soul and its greatest merit. He accomplished this by taking to pieces the whole machinery of our intellect by means of which the phantasmagoria of the objective world is brought about, and presenting it in detail with marvelous insight and ability." (*World as Will and Idea*, II., 6-9.)

We are, accordingly, not surprised to find Professor Heinze in his *Observations on Kant's Lectures on Metaphysics*, quoting in support of this view the following from the *Critique of Pure Reason* (German edition):

"One may use as a weapon against materialism the argument that the separation from the body is the end of our sense knowledge and the beginning of our intellectual knowledge. The body helps the sensual and animal part, but hinders the spiritual part of our nature. And against other criticisms of the doctrine of Immortality one may adduce the transcendental hypothesis: 'All life is essentially only intellectual and not subject to time changes, neither beginning with birth nor ending with death. This world's life is only an appearance, a sensuous image of the pure spiritual life, and the whole world of sense only a picture swimming before our present knowing faculty like a dream, and having no reality in itself. For if we should see things and ourselves as they are we would see ourselves in a world of spiritual natures with which our entire real relation neither began at birth nor ended with the body's death.'"

Kant criticizes Plato's division of the world into the *mundus sensibilis* or world of sense appearance, and the *mundus intelligibilis* or world of Ideas of the pure reason, calls Plato "the sublime philosopher," and says: "In this distinction, Plato is quite right. It is the beginning of all sound philosophy to recognize that bodies are not absolutely real, but only mere appearances. But he is wrong in holding that the *mundus intelligibilis* is the real object of the knowledge of the understanding. On the contrary, it is the *mundus sensibilis* to which the human understanding is adapted. Its concepts have value for knowledge only as functions for the construction of phenomena." (Paulsen's *Kant*, p. 200.)

Paulsen speaks of Kant's "doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason" as "the coping stone of the Kantian philosophy;" and adds: "It is a protest against attaching too much importance to [physical] science, and estimating too highly its importance for life, as had been the fashion since the days of the revival of learning. . . . So long as one believes that through science and philosophy it was possible to obtain absolute insight into the nature of things, and the being of God, these things appeared to have some part in constituting the dignity of man. Now Kant declares that knowledge of this kind is absolutely impossible, and in its place he sets practical faith [*i. e.*, practical reason], which rests solely on the good will, not on knowledge and demonstration. And this faith is the only way of approach to the super-sensible world, which through it stands open to all alike, to all, that is, of good will. Learning of the schools, theology, and metaphysics are of no advantage here." (*Ibid.*, pp. 341-2.) In other words, since "It is the very essence of the Kantian idealism that objects are not there till they are thought" (see Caird's *Kant*); that is, since the human or mortal or carnal mind is the creator of the sense-world, so its knowl-

edge—all the knowing of which it is in any wise capable—is confined to the objects of its own creating, that is to its own ideas, or the so-called physical phenomena; "for the natural man" can not know "the things of the Spirit of God" (1 Cor., 2: 14), which are the ideas of the pure, or practical reason. Plato and the schoolmen thought different, and it was Kant's great work to destroy this illusion. It was a treacherous claim to knowledge which Kant, under the awakening touch of Hume, realized was fraught with dire calamity to religion, and which he accordingly undertook to destroy. This he accomplished through his "delimitation" of human knowledge, as I have endeavored to explain. Kant says: "I had to destroy [sham] knowledge to make room for [rational] faith." (*Critique*, 2d ed., Pref.)

In this distinction which Kant recognized between the human understanding and the divine understanding or practical reason—Kant meaning by practical reason the divine Reason, *i. e.*, God, the source of all reality and all real knowing—consists, doubtless, the greatest service he was able to render to the cause of religion. By it he administers a rebuke to the foolish pretensions of human wisdom scarcely less severe than Paul administers in the first two chapters of his first letter to the Corinthians. It is clearly the distinction which our Saviour recognized when He blessed Simon's confession that He was the Christ, "for flesh and blood [*i. e.*, human understanding] hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father [*i. e.*, divine Mind] which is in heaven." Others had made this confession before, doubtless Simon Peter had, certainly Nathanael had; and even the devils knew that He was the Christ. (Luke, 4: 41.) But they provoked no such remarkable statement from Jesus. Not until the Master recognized Peter's spiritual growth and that he had his knowledge as a communication from the one Mind does he regard it as a confession on which to build his Church.

This kind of truth-knowing loans, truth known in this spiritual manner, viz., by God's communication of Himself as Mind, in the form of illumining intelligence, Christ Jesus recognized as the only real knowing upon which he could safely build his church. In this he clearly recognizes that there is but the one source of all real knowing, the knowing of the one Mind, which is spiritual knowing or spiritual discernment. This is the "delimitation" of knowledge to which Kant so modestly alludes in the quotation at the beginning of this article. It is the most sweeping, far-reaching principle for which his entire system stands; indeed, from which everything else in his philosophy appears to flow. It (Kant's philosophy) makes fundamental and absolute his separation between the world of ideas of pure reason as the only real world, and the world of sense-experience as a sensuous appearance without any true reality. It divests materialism of every support, and from that good day (his) to this (ours) there has not been a moment when materialism, whether in philosophy or religion, had

the least chance of long withstanding the leaven of this divine principle. It contains the rationale of the distinction between religion of authority and religion of the Spirit, and in announcing it as a fundamental and essential principle of any true philosophy Kant placed Protestantism on its rational basis and sealed forever the work of the Reformation.

This distinction between the divine and only real Mind and the false human or mortal mind is not more clearly recognized nor more strenuously insisted upon than in Christian Science. It is the shibboleth on the border land between the false and the true, between human speculation and divine revelation. As Schopenhauer says of Kant, Mrs. Eddy approached the problem "from a new side and on a new path," guided by the Christ light or divine Reason she arrived at the same conclusion, but in a way that transfigured the arid abstractions of philosophy into life-giving truth and this Christ truth again becomes incarnate in the consciousness of men.

JUDGE L. H. JONES.

Louisville, Ky.

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION AND ITS NEW REPORT ON PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

THE NATIONAL Civic Federation Commission on Public-Ownership has completed its investigation and made a report which will probably be ready for issue by the time this article is published. The report is in three volumes and contains by far the most thorough-going statement of facts relating to public and private operation of municipal monopolies that has ever been presented to the public.

The commission employed expert engineers and accountants in pairs; one

of each pair representing municipal interests and the other private interests. These couples examined each of the water, gas, electric light and street-railway systems selected by the commission for special investigation, and reported the results in the form of answers to the questions in printed "schedules" which were framed by the commission and put into the hands of the experts as the basis of their work. These schedules contained hundreds of questions relating to the four departments into which

the subject was divided, viz., (1) History; (2) Labor and Politics; (3) The Plant and Its Value and the Service Rendered by it; (4) Finance.

In addition to the expert schedules and special reports, the commission visited the various plants and made a personal examination of them. Water, gas and electric light were studied in this country, and gas, electric light and tramways in Great Britain. In each country three or four public plants and as many private plants were chosen in each industry for special investigation and visitation; and in addition to these a pair of experts were employed to report on sixteen electric lighting systems in Massachusetts, eight public and eight private. Full comparisons, however, were only obtained in Great Britain, for the private companies in this country would not permit the appraisal of their properties and the investigation of costs, which are essential to complete comparisons of the two systems. In Great Britain only one company, a street-railway company, refused to allow full investigation by the commission and its experts. All the other plants investigated, both public and private, were valued by our engineers, and those valuations furnish a basis for accurate com-

parison and calculation of actual costs, depreciation, fair capitalization, etc., such as no other investigation has supplied.

The prime credit for this important piece of work is due to Mr. Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation. His tireless energy, superb initiative and remarkable ability to get men of different views and interests to work together for a common purpose, have enabled him to accomplish marvelous results in the way of organization for social and economic service of the most liberal and progressive sort. Witness this public-ownership investigation, the immigration investigation now on foot, the trust conference in Chicago this fall, and the National Civic Federation itself, with its great union of the leaders of labor and capital, and its departments of conciliation and arbitration and welfare work.

About two years ago, while the question of municipal operation of street-railways was at white heat in Chicago, the Civic Federation invited a hundred leading men from various parts of the United States to form a Public-Ownership Commission and investigate the merits of public and private operation of public utilities in such manner as they might deem best.* The commission met in

*This commission included such men as *M. E. Ingalls*, Chairman and ex-President of the Big Four Railroad; *Samuel Gompers*, President of the American Federation of Labor; *John Mitchell*, President of the United Mine Workers of America; *Dr. Albert Shaw*, author of *Municipal Government in Great Britain* and Editor of the *Review of Reviews*; *Hon. Carroll D. Wright*, President of Clark University and ex-United States Commissioner of Labor; *George Harvey*, Editor of the *North American Review*; *August Belmont*, President of the National Civic Federation and a controlling owner of street-railway interests in New York City; *Walton Clark*, General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia and a director of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey; *Professor John Graham Brooks*, author of *Social Unrest* and President of the American Social Science Association; *Walter L. Fisher*, who was Secretary of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, and afterwards counsel for the city in its negotiations with the street-railway companies; *E. E. Clark*, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors; *William J. Clark*, Foreign Manager of the General Electric Company; *H. B. F. MacFarland*, President of

the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia; *Professor E. W. Bemis*, editor-author of *Municipal Monopolies*, etc., and now Superintendent of city water-works, Cleveland; *Charles L. Edgar*, President of the Edison Electric Lighting Company of Boston; *Professor John R. Commons* of Wisconsin University; *Thomas Lowry*, President of the Twin City Transit Company of Minneapolis; *W. D. P. Bliss*, sociological author; *Oscar S. Strauss* of New York, merchant and publicist, now a member of Roosevelt's cabinet; *Dr. Milo R. Malbie*, formerly editor of *Municipal Affairs* and now a member of the New York Public Utilities Commission recently appointed by Governor Hughes; *Frank A. Vanderlip*, Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York; *Professor Frank Parsons*, author of *The City for the People*, *Railways, Trusts and the People*, etc., and President of the National Public-Ownership League; *Cornelius N. Bliss*, New York capitalist and ex-Secretary of the Interior; *Timothy Healy*, International President of Stationary Firemen; *Professor John H. Gray* of Northwestern University, now of the University of Minnesota; *Harvey S. Chase*, public accountant, Boston; *Talcott Williams*, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*; *Professor J. W. Jenks* of Cornell University;

Earl Hall, Columbia University, October 5 1905, President Gompers presiding. M. E. Ingalls was chosen permanent chairman, John Mitchell vice-chairman, E. A. Moffett secretary, and Cornelius N. Bliss treasurer. A committee or sub-commission composed of the twenty-one men whose names are printed in italics in the list in the foot-note, was chosen to investigate municipal monopolies here and abroad, and another committee was appointed to raise funds.

President Belmont told the committee of his hearty interest in the investigation. He said he thought that if the facts were fully brought out they would prove to be favorable to private enterprise, but he wanted the facts, whichever way they pointed, and he assured the committee that the funds would be forthcoming to cover the expenses of the work. The writer is far from approving some things Mr. Belmont's companies have done—inflations of stock, etc., but the Civic Federation and its President have certainly shown an admirable spirit of fairness and impartiality in this investigation.

M. E. Ingalls of the Big Four Railroad was made chairman of the Committee on Investigation, and a most admirable chairman he proved to be. His great

executive ability, intellectual grasp, open-mindedness, genial wit, and love of fair play, combined with a large and handsome physique, frank and kindly manners and a rare tact, stamp him as one of nature's noblemen and one of the ablest and fairest of our great captains of industry. His interests and his training incline him to think that private-ownership is best if the companies can be thoroughly regulated and kept from corrupting politics or entertaining demoralizing relations with state and city governments. The writer agrees with the English people, that in the case of public-service monopolies public-ownership under good conditions is superior even to honest and well regulated private-ownership, as tending to secure a better diffusion of wealth and power, shorter hours and higher wages for common labor, direct and continuous public control of the streets and all monopoly uses of them, development of civic virtue and intelligence through the widening of the sphere for their exercise and intensifying the demand for them, transfer to the side of good government of the financial interests of wealthy and influential men who as holders of stock in public-service companies find their financial interests in large degree opposed to good govern-

Professor Edwin R. Seligman of Columbia University; Isaac N. Seligman, banker; *F. J. McNulty*, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; *Professor Leo S. Rowe*, of the University of Pennsylvania; Alexander C. Humphrey, President of Stevens Institute; George F. McCulloch, President of Indiana Traction Company, Indianapolis; *Professor Frank J. Goodnow*, Columbia University; *Daniel J. Keefe*, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit; *Albert E. Winchester*, General Superintendent of the Municipal Electric Lighting Plant, South Norwalk, Connecticut; Lawrence F. Abbott, editor of *The Outlook*; James Duncan, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; Louis D. Brandeis, lawyer and publicist, of Boston; Roland Phillips, Editor of *Harper's Weekly*; Professor Henry W. Farnam of Yale; John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Henry C. Watson, editor *Dun's Review*; *W. D. Mahon*, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employés, Detroit; E. A. Moffett, Secretary of the Commission, formerly editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, Indianapolis; Franklin MacVeagh, merchant, Chicago; Professor Graham Taylor, Chicago; *J. W. Sullivan*,

author of *Direct-Legislation by the People* and editor *Clothing Trades Bulletin*, New York; Alexander H. Revell, merchant and manufacturer and President of Chicago Civic Federation; Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard University; Jacob A. Riis, author of *How the Other Half Lives*, *The Making of an American*, etc.; Frederic C. Howe, author of *The City the Hope of Democracy*, and lawyer, Cleveland; Clark Howell, editor *Constitution*, Atlanta, Georgia; Professor John A. Fairlie, Michigan University; Hamilton Holt, editor *New York Independent*; Professor J. H. Hollender of Johns Hopkins University; F. N. Judson, lawyer and publicist, of St. Louis; John Greene, editor *Bradstreet's Journal*; H. E. Andrews, President Cleveland Street-Railway Company; John G. Agar, President of the Reform Club, New York City; Samuel Insull, President of the Edison Company, Chicago; F. E. Barker, Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners; Professor Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, expert statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission; Dr. Le Grand Powers, Chief Statistician of the United States Census; and many other leaders of thought and action from different parts of the Union.

ment, finer relationships among men, and a higher type of character. But this difference of opinion does not prevent me from recognizing in our chairman a man of the highest ability, absolute honesty and most admirable character. From start to finish he stood for fair play and the open door. He wanted all the facts, no matter which way they pointed. He was hearty in his approval of good management and efficient service wherever we found it, whether in public or private undertakings. And it is due to him more than to any other one man that we have a record which is probably as impartial as such a record can be made. The country and the cause of truth owe more to him than is ever likely to be known, for the influence he exerted cannot be represented in words.

Nine of the committee of twenty-one were known to have expressed opinions favorable to municipal-ownership, and five were classed as liberals, inclined toward private-ownership on the whole, but open-minded and free from interests or prejudices likely to interfere with a full appreciation of the facts and a judgment according to the evidence. The other seven members were believed to be firmly convinced of the superiority of private management of lighting and street-railway systems. Three of the seven are financially interested in some of the greatest public-service companies that operate in our eastern cities.

When the committee was organized the writer predicted that the nine publicists and five liberals would be apt to vote together on most propositions, since neither of these groups had any interest, conscious or unconscious, except to bring out the facts in the most effective manner possible; and that some at least of the privatists would, when face to face with the facts, be very apt to vote with the other groups. This prediction came true. For example, when one of the corporation men, the General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company, moved that the expert valuations

of company plants in Great Britain should be suppressed because they showed that the capitalization of the companies was in many cases largely in excess of tangible assets, wherefore the publication of the valuations might injure the companies, he thought, and also injure company interests in America which had been assured, he said, when they subscribed funds for the investigation, that no such injurious facts would be published,—when this motion was made the chairman entered an indignant protest and immediately declared that if the commission sustained any such view of the matter they could have his resignation in five minutes. The commission did not sustain any such view; the proposed suppression was overwhelmingly disapproved, and the valuations were put in the report for publication. They constitute in fact the most vital and interesting part of the record.

So again, when we came, June 10, 1907, to the adoption of resolutions representing the final conclusions of the commission, the report drawn up by Chairman Ingalls (with some modifications proposed by various members and assented to by the Chairman and other members) was adopted by an almost unanimous vote—only Walton Clark of the United Gas Improvement Company dissenting. President Edgar of the Boston Edison, and W. J. Clark of the General Electric filed exceptions on a few points, but voted with the rest of the commission for the resolutions as a whole. A fair degree of unanimity had been expected by many of us, but no one except the chairman foresaw the almost perfect unison that was in fact attained; he predicted while in England precisely what took place a year later in America.

It could not be expected of course that such a commission, in a series of resolutions intended to express its unities, would take any position on the broad question of the general expediency or inherent superiority of either public or private-ownership. But the specific con-

clusions and special recommendations on which we were able to unite are very favorable to municipal-ownership under good political conditions, as the following extracts from the resolutions clearly show:

"We are of the opinion that a public utility which concerns the health of the citizens should not be left to individuals, where the temptation of profit might produce disastrous results, and therefore it is our judgment that undertakings in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"We have come to the conclusion that municipal-ownership of public utilities should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve the public health, the public safety, public transportation, or the permanent occupation of public streets or grounds, and that municipal operation should not be undertaken solely for profit.

"We are also of the opinion that all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be terminable after a certain fixed period, and that meanwhile cities should have the right to purchase the property for operation, lease or sale, paying its fair value.

"To carry out these recommendations effectively and to protect the rights of the people, we recommend that the various states should give to their municipalities the authority, upon popular vote, under reasonable regulations, to build and operate public utilities, or to build and lease the same, or to take over works already constructed. In no other way can the people be put upon a fair trading basis and obtain from the individual companies such rights as they ought to have. We believe that this provision will tend to make it to the enlightened self-interest of the public utility companies to furnish adequate service upon fair terms and to this extent will tend to render it unnecessary for the public to take over the existing utilities or to acquire new ones.

"In case the management of public

utilities is left with private companies, the public should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profit or a reduction of the charges, the latter being preferable as it inures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

"Our investigations teach us that no municipal operation is likely to be highly successful that does not provide for:

"First—An executive manager with full responsibility, holding his position during good behavior.

"Second—Exclusion of political influence and personal favoritism from the management of the undertaking.

"Third—Separation of the finances of the undertaking from those of the rest of the city.

"Fourth—Exemption from the debt limit of the necessary bond issues for revenue-producing utilities, which shall be a first charge upon the property and revenues of such undertaking.

"We found in England and Scotland a high type of municipal government, which is the result of many years of struggle and improvement. Business men seem to take a pride in serving as city councilors or aldermen, and the government of such cities as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham and others includes many of the best citizens of the city. These conditions are distinctly favorable to municipal operation.

"In the United States, as is well known, there are many cities not in such a favorable condition. It is charged that the political activity of public-service corporations has, in many instances, been responsible for the unwillingness or inability of American cities to secure a higher type of public-service. This charge we believe to be true. However, there seems to be an idea with many people that the mere taking by the city of all its public utilities for municipal operation will at once result in ideal municipal government through the very necessity of putting honest and compe-

tent citizens in charge. While an increase in the number and importance of municipal functions may have a tendency to induce men of a higher type to become public officials, we do not believe that this of itself will accomplish municipal reform. We are unable to recommend municipal-ownership as a political *panacea*.

"To sum up, certain of the more important of our conclusions are:

"First—Public utilities, whether in public or in private hands, are best conducted under a system of legalized and regulated monopoly.

"Second—Public utilities in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"Third—The success of municipal operation of public utilities depends upon the existence in the city of a high capacity for municipal government.

"Fourth—Franchise grants to private corporations should be terminable after a fixed period and meanwhile subject to purchase at a fair value.

"Fifth—Municipalities should have power to enter the field of municipal-ownership upon popular vote under reasonable regulation.

"Sixth—Private companies operating public utilities should be subject to public regulation and examination under a system of uniform records and accounts and of full publicity.

"Seventh—The Committee takes no position on the question of the general expediency of either private or public-ownership. The question must be solved by each municipality in the light of local conditions. What may be possible in one locality may not be in another."

In his dissenting opinion Mr. Walton Clark fails to recognize the success of municipal-ownership, even in the best public plants of Great Britain. He states his belief that "the condition of the British people, individually and collectively, has not been improved by

the municipalization of the industries we have investigated." With all due respect to our genial colleague we ask: Is it not strange that the British people do not know of this failure of municipal-ownership to improve their condition? They think their condition has been greatly improved by municipalization of public utilities, and in consequence they keep on municipalizing just as if they were being benefited by it. They have lived right there in Great Britain under former company managements, and under the succeeding municipal managements, but they have not discovered this most important fact which our colleague was able to discover during our brief visit.

There are some of course in Great Britain who oppose municipal-ownership; some of them hold a theory that the government should be only a policeman, and they are consistently opposed to public-schools, parks, fire departments, water-works, post-office, etc. Some are socialists of the kind who object to municipal operation of public utilities because they want a revolution, and desire to have things remain as bad as possible in order that the people may be finally driven to desperation, and sweep away the whole of the existing industrial system at a stroke. Some are persons opposed to socialism, who confuse municipal-ownership with it, failing to distinguish the public-ownership of public-service monopolies from the demand for government-ownership of all means of production and distribution. Some are men who are connected with existing companies, or held stock in the former companies displaced by public-ownership. It is not easy for a man who holds stock in a public-service company to see the benefits of municipal-ownership, at least in the field of service to which his company belongs. We found some owners and managers of private lighting systems in Great Britain who did not believe in municipal operation of gas and electric light plants, but saw no objection to municipal operation

of tramways, and we found some high officials of private tramways who saw no reason why municipalities should not operate lighting systems, but were firmly convinced that municipal operation of street-railways was a great mistake.

It is much easier for the ordinary stockless man who rides in a better car on half the fare he used to pay the company, or the employé who works 54 to 60 hours a week instead of 77, 84 or 91 under company control, and gets more pay besides, and a share in electing the City Council which manages the road—it is much easier for such people to realize the benefits of municipal-ownership than for those who are directly or indirectly interested in public-service corporations.

The effect of the visit to Great Britain was to very greatly strengthen public-ownership opinion in the commission. Mr. Clark in one of his statements has referred to "the members of the committee who remain municipalizers," implying that the investigation has diminished the public-ownership sentiment among the members. This is an error. The reverse is true. Without exception, those who were "municipalizers" before they went to Great Britain came back still more thoroughly convinced of the value of municipal-ownership, by reason of the clear and massive demonstration of its success in British cities; and some members who were not favorable to municipal-ownership have become so during this investigation. Speaking of one of these cases to a private-ownership man who did not go to England, I said, "He 's very favorable now to public-ownership, though not exactly a municipal-ownership *advocate* as yet." "He 's a darned sight nearer to it than when he went away," replied the private-ownership man.

Early in the work of the commission a steering committee of five was appointed to lay out the details, employ and superintend the engineers and other experts, etc. This sub-committee was composed

of Professors Goodnow and Bemis, Mr. Walton Clark, Dr. Maltbie, and Mr. Sullivan. Professor Commons and Mr. Sullivan were selected to report on labor conditions; Gray on politics, Maltbie on taxation, Goodnow and Fisher on British and American municipalities, etc., and a special committee was appointed to correlate the data gathered by the experts. The functions of this committee and the reasons for it are thus stated in the report:

"It was deemed advisable that the principal facts relating to the investigation should be gathered in concise and simple statements, and the leading interpretations of the data collected by the Commission and its experts be made available to all with a minimum expenditure of time and effort, and freed so far as possible from all technicalities for the benefit of those who may not have the time or technical knowledge enabling them to interpret for themselves schedules and other sources of information upon which this report is based. And in order that such statements might be made from various points of view, the Commission appointed a Committee of Four with power to write collectively or individually according to any plan the members might deem best. This Committee consisted of Prof. E. W. Bemis, Superintendent of Water-Works, Cleveland, Ohio; Prof. Frank Parsons, for many years a lecturer in Boston University Law School, and a writer on law and economics; Mr. Walton Clark, Third Vice-President and General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which controls the gas works in about fifty cities and towns in the United States, and a Director also of the Public-Service Corporation of New Jersey, which owns nearly all the street-railways and gas and electric companies in that State, and Mr. Charles L. Edgar, President of the Edison Electric Lighting Company of Boston.

"Clark and Parsons remained abroad

for several weeks after the Commission as a whole completed its investigation in Great Britain, and spent much time in the collection of additional data, the latter devoting special study to tramways and electric light; for tramways in Great Britain and electric light in the United States were the topics on which he was to write according to the original division of the work of the Committee of Four.

"According to the plan of work finally adopted the Committee divided into two parts, each making a statement covering the investigation. The first statement is by Bemis and Parsons, with the coöperation of Maltbie, and the second statement is by Clark and Edgar, with the coöperation of W. J. Clark of the General Electric Company."

These statements from the Committee of Four occupy the bulk of the first volume of the report, which is intended as a

popular exposition, at one dollar in paper or two dollars in cloth. The second and third volumes contain the schedules and technical reports and cost four dollars each.

Press abstracts from advance sheets of the statements by Commons and Sullivan and the Committee of Four, have given the public too strong an impression of inharmony. In their presentation and interpretation of the facts the special statements just referred to differ considerably, but the report contains a vast amount of important data in respect to which there is no dispute, and every reader can interpret the facts for himself in the light of his own intelligence alone, if his experience justifies him in relying on that source of illumination for developing and fixing his conclusions.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

THE SEVEN ALLEGED DELUSIONS OF THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND PRESENT-DAY RESEARCH.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. NEW ENGLAND'S MOST REMARKABLE RELIGIO-LEGAL CASE SINCE THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS.

WHEN, on August the 21st, the senior counsel for the so-called "next friends" in the action brought to deprive the founder of Christian Science of the custody of her fortune, begged leave to withdraw the suit, the curtain fell on the most remarkable legal case involving religious beliefs in the history of New England since the days of the Salem witchcraft and the persecution of the Quakers.

When the suit was brought, the investigators and chief actors against Mrs. Eddy claimed that there was no inten-

tion of attacking the teachings of Christian Science or the religious tenets of its distinguished founder, but it was noticed that almost immediately the claims and teachings of Mrs. Eddy were made the subjects of attack in the long, aggressive and vigorous campaign conducted on *ex parte* lines by these parties in the daily press. Thus their protestations were belied by their actions, and the claim of Christian Scientists, that the attack was aimed at their religious beliefs, appealed to thoughtful people as being probably true.

It remained, however, for ex-Senator William E. Chandler, the senior counsel for the so-called "next friends," to place the question beyond all controversy, clearly establishing the claim that the religious philosophy or views of Mrs. Eddy, and her claim for her message, were the master objects of attack, or at least, the chief reliance of the prosecution in the attempt to wrest the fortune from the venerable head of the Christian Science church.

Mr. Chandler demanded that Mrs. Eddy be deprived of the custody or direction of her fortune, alleging as a master reason that she had been for years the victim of seven clearly-defined delusions, all seven of which related to her religious teachings or her belief in regard to the character and influence of those teachings. With this declaration from the chief spokesman of those bringing the suit, the case ceased to be merely a legal contest between a venerable woman and fortune-hunting relatives, and became at once a case of nation-wide interest and of profound concern not only to all friends of religious freedom, but also to the people in general, as it vitally involved the fundamental rights of free citizens. For obviously, if a person has, during the greater part of a life-time marked by industry and good citizenship, entertained and promulgated religious views that run counter to those entertained by the majority of the people, and then is to be suddenly denied the right of the disposal of the property that he has earned during the years while he cherished these beliefs, on the ground that his theological opinions and teachings in the eyes of the majority are delusions, the ground will be laid for the despoiling of tens of thousands of citizens who might easily find themselves the victims of fortune-hunting relatives whose passion for unearned gold is greater than their regard for human rights, reverence for age or considerations of the ties of blood, especially when wealthy outside individuals, who have ulterior or secret

motives, are ready to gamble on the result or to furnish money to employ shrewd, determined and resourceful counsel and to otherwise finance the cases instituted to deprive citizens of the results of a life-time of toil, for the enrichment of those who have never contributed one cent to the fortune which they covet.

Frequently in families are found persons who are shiftless, idle or incompetent to make a living for themselves and who regard with jealous and covetous eyes the honestly earned wealth of those about them, and when such persons have blunted moral perceptions, how easily they might become the tools of unscrupulous parties in attempts to *wrest* property from its rightful owners, if the fundamental rights of the citizen should be invaded as Mr. Chandler sought to invade them in the case of Mrs. Eddy, when he cited cardinal tenets of her religious teachings and her conviction as to the character and influence of her message as insane delusions that "had led, or would lead, to *Senile Dementia*."

The far-reaching and sinister character of the question here raised is sufficiently apparent to appeal to all thinking people, but it is not our purpose to dwell further on this phase of the case, but rather to examine in the light of history and modern research *these seven alleged delusions*, as here will be found a subject that is as suggestive and thought-stimulating as it is timely and interesting, and the facts brought to light will be surprising to those who have never considered the mighty philosophical concepts of the ages, the life-stories of the great religious leaders, or the recent discoveries and theories in the domain of psychology; and it will be shown as our investigation proceeds, that if Mr. Chandler's criterion is to be accepted, many of earth's profoundest philosophers, many of those intellectual giants, whose thought falls athwart the intellectual pathway of man with sun-like radiance, must be adjudged

mentally incompetent because they have fostered delusions that foreshadow *Senile Dementia*. Furthermore, we shall see that from the foundation of Christianity many of the master leaders of thought in the religious history of Western civilization, if judged by the standards insisted upon by the senior counsel for the "next friends," would also be found insane or cherishing delusions; and,

finally, by parity of reasoning, if Mr. Chandler be right in regard to his contention as it relates to the last or third group of alleged delusions, many of the world's greatest scientists,—men like Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Liébeault and others fully as eminent, could not hope to be fortunate enough to escape the proposed insanity drag-net.

II. THE SEVEN ALLEGED DELUSIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

In addressing the masters appointed to inquire into the mental competency of Mrs. Eddy, Mr. Chandler advanced, as the master reason why the founder of Christian Science should not be permitted to manage her estate or indicate who should manage it, the claim that she was possessed by seven fixed delusions "which had influenced her whole life and which has resulted, or will result, in *Senile Dementia*." These alleged delusions he enumerated as follows:

"1. Fundamental delusion of the non-existence and non-reality of the physical universe.

"2. Delusion of the supernatural nature of the science which she calls her own, and of its supernatural revelation to her.

"3. Delusions conferring upon the diseases of mankind their cure and prevention.

"4. Delusions as to the relation of the

science she calls hers to philosophy and to Christianity.

"5. Delusion as to the nature and existence of malicious animal magnetism.

"6. Delusion as to the alleged operation of this malicious animal magnetism in the causing and curing of disease.

"7. Delusion as to the alleged operation of this malicious animal magnetism in the perpetration of crime."

It will be observed that these seven alleged delusions fall into three divisions which may be classified as follows:

1. The Metaphysical Concept in regard to the physical universe.

2. Remarkable and unusual personal experiences and belief in regard to the nature and influence of her message.

3. Belief in regard to the potential power for good or evil, and especially for evil, of suggestion or thought-transference, termed animal magnetism, hypnotism, etc.

III. THE METAPHYSICAL CONCEPT OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

The delusion which in his list is given primacy, is Mrs. Eddy's religious or philosophical concept relating to the physical universe,—the non-reality of matter. One would almost imagine from Mr. Chandler's address that this concept (which is placed at the head of the list of alleged delusions that incapacitated Mrs. Eddy for the management of the property she has earned while holding the belief) is a new idea, a childish vagary of a disordered mind; while as a matter of fact,

this concept is neither strange nor new. Throughout the ages, some of the most profound and subtle thinkers have held beliefs that are substantially in accord with the concept on which Mr. Chandler bases this claim of insanity, and which he characterizes as the "non-existence and non-reality of the physical universe." To the metaphysical philosopher, that which is eternal and immutable is the real. That which is fleeting, temporal, changing, perishing and unsubstantial

partakes of the nature of the shadow rather than of reality. The world of which the physical senses take cognizance is a changing, fleeting and insubstantial world compared with the world of ideas. Thus to the metaphysical philosopher, strange as it may appear to the materialistic reasoner, that which is seen is temporal, fleeting and less real than that which is unseen; or, as the great Apostle to the Gentiles puts it: "The things that are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal."*

CONCEPT OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS.

If we go back to the ancient cradle of civilization and philosophy we shall find that those deep, subtle and introspective thinkers of the Far East, whose profound thought has justly challenged the admiration of men like Max Müller and our own Emerson, held ideas that partook far more of the metaphysical than the materialistic concept in regard to man and the physical universe. To them Deity was Absolute Intelligence,—the Mind of the Universe. Professor M. N. D'vivedi, a profound Eastern savant, in explaining the religion of the Hindoos at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, said: "The All is self-illuminated, All Thought, the very Being of the Universe. Being implies Thought, and the All may, in the Vadanate philosophy, be aptly described as the essence of Thought and Being."† By thought he further explained he meant "Absolute Intelligence, Absolute Mind as opposed to matter."‡

The great Hindoo or Brahmin philosophers held to the illusionary character of this world of phenomena and of the dream-life lived by what they called the habitual self, in counter-distinction to the real self, which was eternal, immutable

and of the nature of the Supreme Self or Deity. They held that man was passing through successive dream lives, immeshed in the illusion of sense-perception, seeking satisfaction in the transient, changing and unreal phenomena of the sense-world, and that not until through successive failures the habitual self permitted the real self to gain supremacy could the soul know such a thing as happiness or realize the felicity of the Child of Infinite Life and Truth. They identified the real soul of the individual with the All or Supreme Self, thus arriving "at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man." The Brahmin philosophers believed that the future of the soul depended on the knowledge of the essential oneness of the higher self with the Supreme Self or Deity. They held resolutely to the idea that the habitual self was not the real self; that the world of sense-perception was merely a "pictorial world appealing to us and approaching us from below." They held that under all this changing flow of things there is the unchanging reality, the higher self in us, which is lasting, immemorial, eternal.* Our outward appetites, they believed, belonged to the "mirror world," "the world of dreams." The things which the eye of sense took cognizance of were ever changing, undergoing transformation, passing from view, and thus they regarded them as illusionary or temporal. And life, that was persistently fixed on these things, that wandered hither and thither seeking peace, happiness or satisfaction while fastening its eyes and desires on these illusionary, unreal or temporal things, they called dream-life; while the All, the Absolute Intelligence, or the Mind and the higher self of the individual, or the soul, that is in quest of its own, that is seeking to come into perfect rapport with the Supreme Self, they held to be the great Realities of the Universe. This idea of the difference

*Second Corinthians: 4:18.

†*World's Parliament of Religions*. Vol I., page 325.

‡*Ibid.*, page 338.

**The Theosophy of the Upanishads*, edited by Charles Johnson. Part I., p. 118.

between what the metaphysical call the unreal and the real, as we have already seen, is in accord with the Bible concept as enunciated by St. Paul. The higher self, like Deity, they held to be "self-existent, self-subsistent, self-poised, self-based, above time, free from space, absolutely independent of mutation."* We deliberately, they further held, conjure to ourselves a self of appetites and a self of dreams. This bondage will not cease until the soul realizes its oneness with Deity. Then it will know the peace that passes all understanding, and infinite felicity. Then it will enjoy eternal life. Jesus taught this same idea in simpler and more intelligible words when he declared that to know God was Life Eternal.

THE CONCEPT OF PLATO IN REGARD TO
THE WORLD OF SIGHT
AND SENSE.

Coming down to Plato, we find that this greatest of all the idealistic philosophers, observing that in the physical world all which the senses took cognizance of was subject to change and death, all either "becoming or perishing," came to regard the physical world, or the world of sight, as a shadow world, and the world of ideas as the real world. In Books Six and Seven of *The Republic*, these views are amplified. The great Grecian philosopher tried to explain his views in an intelligible manner to his disciples, employing various illustrations. The physical eye, in Book Six, he compares to the soul or mind,—“the real self of man.” The sun, which he terms “the child of Good,” was to the world of sense perception what “the Good” or “the author of science and truth,” was to the soul. The eye, he points out, could not fully behold the full splendor of the objective world without the light of the sun. When the light that was essential to vision was from the reflected light of the moon or stars, the eye failed

to see the color, tone or full splendor of the objective world, and he concludes, “The soul is like the eye when resting upon that on which truth and being shine; the soul perceives and understands and is radiant with intelligence: but when turned towards the twilight of the coming and perishing (the shadow world of sense perception), then she has opinion only, and goes blinking about.”† To clearly impress his idea as to the unreality of the world visible to the physical eye or to the sense perceptions in comparison to the world of reality, of permanency, of truth, Plato employed a striking allegory.§ In this allegory, he pictures a number of men whom he represents as being chained in a den under ground “which has a mouth open toward the light and reaching along the den.” They are fastened so they cannot even turn their heads, but must look straight ahead of them. Behind at some distance a great fire is burning, and between them and the fire on a raised platform men are going to and fro bearing all manner of articles. Their shadows fall on the wall in front of the chained men. They talk with one another, and the cave is so constructed that the echoes of their voices seem to come from the shadows. The prisoners in the den, it will be remembered, see nothing but the shadows, and hear nothing but the echoes. They have been thus from childhood. Now Plato supposes one of the prisoners to be released, and he says, “At first, when any of them is released and compelled to suddenly stand up and turn his neck around and walk and look toward the light, he will suffer sharp pains. The glare will distress him. He will be unable to see the realities of change; in his former state he had seen the shadows. Then conceive someone saying to him that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he was approaching

†*The Dialogues of Plato*, translated by B. Jowett, M.A., Vol. III. *The Republic*, Book Six, page 209.

§Book Seven of *The Republic*, pp. 214 to 218 of above work.

**Theosophy of the Upanishads*. Part I., page 129.

nearer to being and his eyes turn towards real existence, he has clearer vision. What will be his reply? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?"

Again: "Suppose once more," says the philosopher, "that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not liable to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light, his eyes will be dazzled and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities." He then goes on to show how the man will have to become gradually accustomed to the real things. He will see them first mirrored in water, in the moonlight, in the starlight. Later his eyes will be able to see them in their true beauty in the sunlight; and that which before was vague, shadowy or unreal to him will then become truth or reality, and he will see and understand that all those things which he thought were realities when chained below, were merely shadows and echoes. Plato then concludes: "The prison-house is the world of sight. The light of the fire is the sun, and you will not misapprehend me if you interpret the journey upwards to the ascent of the soul."

Here we see Plato clearly illustrating his concepts that the world of sense is more a shadow world than the things of reason or that which intelligence and the soul takes cognizance of. In other words, it is the metaphysician's declaration of the non-reality or the shadow-character of the physical world perceived by the physical senses. Plato could not conceive of the Supreme Good creating the imperfect, insubstantial and perishing. Hence he inclined to believe in two powers, one the Supreme Good, which took cognizance of the things of the soul or the intellectual or spiritual world, the other the ruler of or the Deity for the Shadow-world of sight and sense.*

*The Republic, Book Six, pp. 210 to 211.

KANT'S CONCEPT IN REGARD TO THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE.

Emmanuel Kant, the most profound of all the German transcendental philosophers and one of the deepest thinkers of modern civilization, not only held to the metaphysical concept, but boldly advanced beyond the positions that had been taken by many of his metaphysical predecessors, in that he held that the phenomenal world, or the world of sight and sense was the result not of God's creation, but of human understanding or sense-perception. He held that "the corporeal world is nothing but phenomenal, and sense perceptions are the material out of which it is built."† Kant held that the philosopher in considering the phenomena of life was confronted by sense perceptions, understanding and reason. He affirmed that animals possess sense-perception; that man possesses sense-perception, understanding and reason; and God, the Absolute, took cognizance only of reason.

"The corporeal world of phenomena" "does not exist at all for Him."§ It will be observed that Kant advanced beyond the position occupied by the Hindoo philosophers who, though regarding the sense-world as fleeting, illusionary and unreal in comparison with the Absolute Reality, Mind and Its ideas; yet they did not divorce the phenomenal world from the consciousness of Deity. Even Plato is distanced by Kant in the radical stand taken by the great modern philosopher, for as we have seen, Plato held that the Good, the Absolute, the Real, could not be the Father or the Lord of the fleeting, the temporal, the changing, the evil, or the unreal, and so advanced the idea of two lords, one the Good, the Ruler of the real, the unchanging universe of ideas; the other the lord of the

†See Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 242-243.

§See Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 202-3.

The teachings of Kant will be luminously presented in the November ARENA by Judge L. H. Jones in a masterly paper entitled, "Kant's Doctrine That the Human Mind is Both the Creator and the Law-Giver of the Physical Universe."

phenomenal or shadow world of sight and sense. But Kant boldly holds that the world of sense-perception is not even created by God but that it is the product of sense-perception and understanding, and that God takes no cognizance of it. As one great German professor has observed, "Kant was the first who dared to say, 'It may sound exaggerated and absurd to say the undersanding is the source of both of the laws and the unity of nature. It is correct, nevertheless, and accords with experience.'"

It will be observed that the teachings of Mrs. Eddy on this same subject present in a simple manner the same ideas advanced by the great German philosopher. The author of *Science and Health* states that her concepts came as the result or outcome of years of deep study of the Bible, and especially of the life, deeds and words of Christ Jesus, and His apostles, as found in the New Testament.

Now the question arises, is a philosophy so nearly akin in many points to the conclusion of many of the profoundest philosophers of ancient India, in such substantial accord, in regard to the world of "sight and sense," with Plato, the master idealistic philosopher of all ages, and in such perfect agreement with the

concept of Emmanuel Kant, the most profound transcendental philosopher of Germany, to be adjudged in the twentieth century as an evidence of insanity? Is one who thus believes and teaches to be regarded as possessed by "delusions" that favor *Senile Dementia*? If so, it were well for Plato and Kant that they did not live, think and proclaim their thoughts in the twentieth century America of William E. Chandler.

It is not necessary for one to accept the metaphysical philosophy in order to respect the thought which this school has given the world. One, for example, may find in the evolutionary theory of the development of life a more convincing hypothesis than the metaphysical explanation of "the becoming and perishing" phenomenal world, that confronts the meditative mind, but if he be broad-visioned or intellectually hospitable, he will accord to the other thinkers the same right he asks for himself, and he will hold in respect the opinions of those whom he knows to have been among the most profound thinkers the world of philosophy has known, when they give to mankind the mature conclusions of long years of deep meditation and research, as they relate to the master problem of the ages.

IV. THE ALLEGED DELUSION CONCERNING THE UNUSUAL PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND THE CONVICTION REGARDING THE CHARACTER AND PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE MESSAGE.

We now come to examine the second group of alleged delusions. These relate to the unusual personal experiences and the conviction of the founder of Christian Science in regard to the character and practical value of her message.

To the student of theological history the unusual experiences of Mrs. Eddy will not occasion surprise for he knows that one of the most striking and interesting facts in the lives of the great religious leaders is their extraordinary

religious experiences, which impressed them, in many instances, with the conviction that they were, in a peculiar sense instruments of the Divine Mind for the furtherance of a special work in leading men to righteousness and to a fuller apprehension of the eternal spiritual verities. It will not be necessary to go beyond the pale of historic Christianity for illustrations of this character.

Here two things will impress us at every turn. The great teachers were

usually assailed and denounced as insane, as possessed by devils, and as questionable characters, whether considered mentally or morally. On the other hand, we find that these leaders were filled with moral enthusiasm and spiritual exaltation, over-mastered, as it were, by their message, and consecrated to their work, and that their lives were attended or marked by many strange and unusual experiences.

Even the great Founder of Christianity was on two occasions charged by the Jews with having a devil* (a term applied in those days to persons who would, in our time, be called insane). He was also charged, according to His own testimony, with being a "wine-bibber" and a friend and associate of the lowest classes of society—the publicans and sinners. So general and pronounced was the prejudice in conventional circles against the great Nazarene,—so positive was the opinion that he was not sane, well-balanced or a respectable character, that persons wishing to retain social station and who also desired to see Jesus, found it wise and expedient to seek Him under the cover of the darkness. The case of Nicodemus is an illustration of this fact.

When the Apostle Paul appeared before the Roman ruler, Festus, and King Agrippa, and proclaimed his own strange experiences and the story of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, the tale was so incredible to the materialistic, sensual and pleasure-seeking Roman ruler that we are told "he cried out in a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself! Much learning hath made thee mad!"† Moreover, Paul's experiences were of so unusual a character that, according to Mr. Chandler's theory, the great Apostle to the Gentiles must surely have been the victim of delusions that threatened *Senile Dementia*; for where in history do we find more remarkable experiences than his from the time when, on the road to Damascus he was overpowered by the

light, falling "into the truth, to rise a just man," till he reached Rome, there to preach the gospel under the shadow of the Cæsars' throne? All through his wonderful career we find him constantly the recipient of extraordinary experiences. He believed he was visited by spiritual messengers,§ who informed him as to coming events. We are told he was bitten by a poisonous snake but suffered no hurt, and in numbers of other instances he was recipient of experiences quite unknown to ordinary people.

The remarkable experiences narrated in the history of the church fathers and saints are too voluminous to dwell upon. But coming down to the Renaissance, we find the great Italian monk and religious reformer, Savonarola, beholding visions, hearing voices, and uttering prophecies which are fulfilled with startling precision.

Martin Luther, the master mind of the Protestant Reformation, affirmed that the devil appeared before him and he held controversy with him. He even went so far as to throw his ink stand at his Satanic majesty, who instantly vanished, but the ink stain on the wall has been shown to the curious visitor for generations. Luther also claimed on one occasion, at least, to have restored the dying to health. The sick, in this instance, was Luther's great friend and co-religious reformer, Philip Melancthon. Leckendoye thus describes this notable instance of healing:

"Luther arrived and found Philip about to give up the ghost. His eyes were set, his understanding was almost gone, his speech had failed, and also his hearing; his face had fallen, he knew no one, and had ceased to take either solids or liquids. At this spectacle Luther is filled with the utmost consternation. Turning way towards the window he called most devoutly upon God. After this, taking the hand of Philip and well knowing what was the anxiety of

§Acts, 27. :23

†Acts, 26:5-5.

†Acts, 26:24.

his heart and conscience, he said, 'Be of good courage, Philip; thou shalt not die.' While he utters these things Philip begins, as it were, to revive and to breathe, and gradually recovering his strength, is at last restored to health."

Next we come to John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, one of the most commanding and masterful spirits in the religious history of Christendom, a man who reached the ripe age of eighty-eight, and whose genius for organization no less than his force of character, moral enthusiasm and profound faith, made Methodism before his death a great religious power in England. Yet, according to Mr. Chandler's theory, this great man, whose followers to-day number many millions in England and America, was also the victim of insane delusions; for the historian Green in speaking of Wesley says:

"He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpositions. It was a miracle if the rain stopped and allowed him to set forward on a journey. It was a judgment of heaven if a hailstorm burst over a town which had been deaf to his preaching. One day, he tells us, when he was tired and his horse fell lame, 'I thought cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any?—immediately my headache ceased and my horse's lameness in the same instant.' With a still more childish fanaticism he guided his conduct, whether in ordinary events or in the great crises of his life, by drawing lots or watching the particular texts at which his Bible opened."*

Southey, in his *Life of Wesley*, says: "He believed in the ministry of both good and evil spirits, 'Certainly,' said he, 'it is as easy for a spirit to speak to our hearts as a man to speak to our ears.'"+

Wesley furthermore held that many of the accidents of life and bodily hurt were the result of evil spirits. "When they

are not permitted,'" Southey quotes Wesley as saying, "'to take away life, they may inflict various diseases, and many of these which we may judge to be natural are undoubtedly diabolical.'"+§ He believed this was frequently the case with lunatics.

Here we find a man, if we are to accept Mr. Chandler's claim, beset by delusions that would naturally point towards *Senile Dementia*, that would render him incompetent to administer business affairs. Unfortunately for Mr. Chandler, the facts in this remarkable instance are, as in the case of Mrs. Eddy, all against the attorney's contention. John Wesley not only administered his own affairs in such a manner as to indicate sound mentality, but he also directed the organization and movement of his church in such a way as to prove him endowed with superior mental capacity as an organizer and executive. Moreover, he lived to an exceptional age. Of his capacity and his life work I quote again from Green:

"In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitfield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and a skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century. He was born in 1703 and lived on till 1791, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight."*

Next we come to Swedenborg. If

§See Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. II., p. 229. Note 14.

*Vol. IV., *History of England*, by John Richard Green, p. 145.

**History of England*, by John Richard Green, Vol. IV., p. 145. Am. Ed.

†Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. II., p. 86.

any man could be claimed to be incompetent to administer his business affairs or pass on worldly things, because of remarkable religious experiences and amazing belief in regard to the origin and character of his message or revelation, it was Emmanuel Swedenborg. The eminent scientific standing and social position of this savant make the case somewhat unique. He was born in 1688 and lived to 1772. His father was Professor of Theology at Upsala and Bishop of Skara. At college Emmanuel excelled in Greek, Hebrew, Latin and in mathematics, but he disappointed his father because he had no taste whatever for theology. He finished his university course at Upsala in 1710, after which he traveled in France, Germany, Holland and England, making a special study of natural philosophy. In 1716, he returned to Upsala, and devoted his time to natural science and technical research. He soon gained an eminent position as a careful investigator in the domain of science. As the years passed his fame greatly increased and his voluminous works on science secured him a high place among the most eminent scientists of Europe. King Charles the XII. of Sweden made him assayer in the Swedish College of Mines, and on the death of the King, Queen Ulrica ennobled the family.

In 1744, when in the very prime of his life and in the meridian period of his researches, his wonderful psychic experiences began to take place. He characterizes them as the opening of his spiritual sight, and declared that his long work in the domain of natural science was intended by God to prepare him for the great revelation he was to receive. Swedenborg, himself, declared that Christ appeared to him, saying: "I am the Lord, God, the Christ and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold the spiritual sense of the

Holy Scripture. I will Myself declare to thee what thou shalt write."

In 1747, he determined to devote his whole life to the revelations which he believed were coming to him. His high position in the scientific and in the social world, and the fact that he seemed to win the confidence and respect of all who knew him, prevented him from becoming the victim of calumnies, slander and misrepresentations, as has been the case with most religious leaders. True, if he had lived in the Spain of the Inquisition or in the Geneva of John Calvin, he most probably would have been burned to death, and had he lived in New Hampshire, in the United States, in 1907, he probably would have been denounced as insane and incompetent to manage his own property. But the Swedish government, instead of taking away the right to manage his own property from this man who made such amazing claims, pensioned him for the rest of his life, and thus enabled him to devote his whole time to his spiritual researches, unhampered by poverty. He reached the ripe age of eighty-four, and during the last half of his eventful life produced a veritable library of religious works.

Space prevents our noticing the strange and extraordinary experiences of George Fox, the great leader of the Quakers, and of other religious leaders, but in all the cases cited, and many that might be introduced, the extraordinary personal experiences of the great religious leaders, and their profound conviction as to the special character of their message, were so out of the ordinary that, judged by Mr. Chandler's criterion, each must be adjudged as harboring delusions which pointed toward *Senile Dementia*. The only unfortunate circumstance for the insanity theory is that these persons usually exercised excellent judgment and practical common sense, and in no case did *Senile Dementia* supervene.

V. THE ALLEGED DELUSION IN REGARD TO ANIMAL MAGNETISM, SUGGESTION, OR HYPNOTISM.

We now come to notice the third group in this list of alleged delusions,—the one which relates to the action of one mind over another in such a way as to compass special results that would not have been produced had the subject been left to himself, unfettered by another mind or will, and especially the exercise of a subtle influence when the mental faculties of the subject are either off guard or in the power of the operator. This power or influence has been variously termed animal magnetism, mesmerism and suggestion. If exerted with an evil purpose, it has been characterized malicious animal magnetism. When the subject brought under control has first been thrown into a sleep and then made the subject of suggestion, it is termed hypnotism.

Before attempting to ascertain whether the Christian Science teachings in regard to animal magnetism or suggestion have valid foundation in experience, and whether the modern research of trained physicians and scientists—men accepted as authoritative in the world of psychic science and psychology—tend to support the theory of the Christian Scientists, we wish to remind the reader that in no domain of scientific investigation is it so dangerous to dogmatize as in the field of psychology. All intelligent persons, who are sufficiently familiar with recent discoveries, experiments and assured results in the domain of psychic science or psychology, realize how important it is to be guarded and cautious in advancing conclusions relating to the action of mind on mind, or of assuming to rule out of court unusual experiences, simply because they are not susceptible of explanation by the old rules of psychology. The fact that during the past century there has been a complete revolution in the scientific world in regard to

mesmerism, suggestion or hypnotism and allied phenomena, is not open to question, and this alone renders dogmatic assumptions an evidence of ignorance or an unscientific attitude of mind. To appreciate the significance of this fact and its implications, it is only necessary to call to mind the history of mesmerism or hypnotism since 1784, when the French government appointed a commission known as "The Bailey Committee" to investigate mesmerism, which was then popularly known as animal magnetism. Among the distinguished men who served on this committee was Benjamin Franklin. In the report of the committee the claims of mesmeric or magnetic power put forth by Mesmer were denounced as false and without foundation, in fact, and to use the words of Mr. Bailey: "Magnetism is one fact more in the history of human error, and a great proof of the power of the imagination."

In 1841, the eminent English surgeon, James Braid, determined to expose mesmerism, which he, in common with his scientific brethren, believed to be an unmitigated fraud. Dr. Braid soon came to realize that mesmerism was far from being an unadulterated fraud. Accordingly, he entered upon the laborious task of demonstrating and critically noting facts connected with his experiments. In 1842, he published his notable work, entitled *Neurypnology*. Immediately he encountered a storm of hostile criticism. Nevertheless his clear utterances and the methods employed gained for him the thoughtful consideration of several eminent continental thinkers, who were less fettered by conservatism than his English brethren, and a score of years later, hypnotism (the name coined by Dr. Braid to take the place of mesmerism) was attracting much attention among

leading physicians and other scientific investigators in France and other continental nations. To-day no intelligent scientist or physician questions the truth of Dr. Braid's facts and conclusions, which were so universally scoffed at when they were first given to the public. And more than this, a vast volume of evidence has resulted from the experiments of leading physicians and savants—master scientific investigators in the realm of psychology—which prove that persons may be rendered absolutely insensible by hypnotic suggestion, so that capital surgical operations may be performed without patients being conscious that anything is taking place. On this point, I quote the testimony of Professor William James of Harvard, the most eminent psychologist in America. "Legs and breasts may be amputated, children born, teeth extracted, in short, the most painful experiences undergone, with no other anesthetic than the hypnotizer's assurance that no pain shall be felt. Similarly, morbid pains may be annihilated, neuralgias, toothaches, rheumatisms cured. The sensation of hunger has thus been abolished, so that a patient took no nourishment for fourteen days."*

Again, the potency of suggestion has been shown in numerous instances where applications, entirely inert in themselves, when accompanied by suggestions that they are irritant poisons,—a fly blister, for example,—exhibit all the symptoms of the poison which the suggestor claimed had been applied. Space renders it only possible to cite one of many well authenticated cases that might be given to illustrate this profoundly significant fact.

The experiment which we select is of special value because it was witnessed by a number of eminent scientists under strictly test condition. The subject in the case was a girl—Elise F.—who had proved very susceptible to hypnotic suggestion in the hands of the distinguished

scientist, Professor Beaunis. The experiments were made before such noted scientists as Liebeault, Bernheim, Liegeois and Beaunis. The account of this remarkable case is taken from Dr. Frederick Björnström's standard work on hypnotism, and is as follows:

"Elise was hypnotized towards 11 A. M. On her back, at a point which the girl could not possibly reach with her hand, a strip of eight gummed stamps was fastened, after a strip of the same kind had for eighteen hours been applied to the arm of another person, without causing the slightest effect. Over the stamps an ordinary bandage was fixed, so as to simulate a plaster of Spanish flies, and she was three times given to understand that Spanish flies had been applied to her. She was closely watched during the day and was locked up alone in her chamber over night, after she had been put in hypnotic sleep with the assertion that she was not going to awake until seven o'clock on the following morning,—which took place punctually. An hour later, F. removed the bandage in the presence of Bernheim, Liegeois, Liebeault, Beaunis, etc. It was first ascertained that the stamps had not been disturbed. They were removed and the underlying surface of the skin now showed the following changes: on a space of four or five centimeters the epidermis was thicker, yellowish white, and inflamed, but as yet not raised into blisters; the surrounding skin showed intense redness and swelling to the extent of half a centimeter. The spot was covered with a dry compress, in order to be further investigated later on; three hours after, the spot had the same appearance. At 4 P. M. the spot was photographed, and it now showed four or five blisters, which also plainly appeared in the photograph. These blisters gradually increased and secreted a thick, milky serum. On the 28th day of May—fourteen days later—the spot was still in full suppuration."

**Principles of Psychology*, by William James, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. Vol. II., p. 606.

Many remarkable cures of functional diseases have been reported by leading American and European physicians by means of hypnotic suggestion after material remedies had proved ineffective. Indeed, a volume might easily be filled with such citations, but the length of this paper renders it impossible to introduce even typical cases at this time.

Physicians who are successful as hypnotizers recognize the fact that frequently diseases can be cured or the thought and conduct of the individual changed by positive suggestion, even though not accompanied by hypnotic trance. Dr. Hamilton Osgood, one of Boston's most eminent physicians, related to us a number of striking cases of this character, and some very notable cases have come under our personal observation.

Now, if the mind can exert such an influence as to make one insensible to the knife; make a postage stamp act as a fly blister; cure in cases where material remedies have failed,—is it safe to assume that those who assert that such power is being exerted in greater degree than men imagine are the victims of delusions, especially in view of the fact that three generations ago, any one who would have declared possible the things that later Liebeault, Beaunis, Charcot, and scores of others have proved beyond all cavil, would have been denounced by the scientific world as either charlatans or as victims of insane delusions? Furthermore, if the power of mind is so potential in the service of surgery or in the cure of disease, or in making inert substances act as powerful poisons, is it unreasonable to believe that suggestions exerted by evilly disposed persons might work evil? Indeed, may it not be potential for crime; may not immorality and wrong be fostered by suggestion? We know on this point scientists and specialists competent to express opinion are divided, many holding that if a suggestion is repulsive to one's moral sensibilities, it is powerless; but if such

is the case, how can we account for the supremely tragic phenomenon that is so frequently observed at the present time, in which a young woman falls under the psychological spell of a *roué*? She may have been entirely uninfluenced by men she has met and associated with for years; temptations that might have proved too great for many other girls in similar positions have been resisted with apparently no special effort on her part. She is in no sense a pervert, and all her impulses, judging from previous and subsequent actions, show that the wrongdoing was against the dictates of her reason, conscience and natural inclinations; yet under the spell of the *roué* how often she becomes as clay in the potter's hands, or as a leaf on a swift current.

We once knew a young man who was far from gifted with good looks. His head retreated from his chin; his complexion was poor; his hair was thin and sandy in color; his eyes were a very light gray and not expressive; and yet, he played havoc with women. On one occasion, he boasted that he would like to see the woman who could resist him if he was able to associate with her for a reasonable length of time and without anyone prejudicing the party against him. Though his confidence in his ability to do evil was undoubtedly exaggerated, his power over women was positive and baleful in the extreme, and it was not due either to personal appearance or power to convince by reason, but rather by that strange, subtle power exerted by the modern Svengalis who walk our streets but do not have to throw their subjects into a trance in order to bring them under their baleful influence. Moreover, many distinguished hypnotists and scientists have held to the possibility of crime being produced by suggestion, and the experiments of such preëminent scientists as Doctors Liebeault, Liegeois and others tend strongly to substantiate this position. Certainly, the evidence and conclusions are, or should be, sufficient to show how

absurd is the claim that a person holding to the belief that evil influence can result from a malicious intent on the part of the suggestor, is the victim of a fixed delusion. As bearing on this phase of the discussion, we desire to quote the following from Frederick W. H. Myers' monumental work on *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. Mr. Myers did not himself hold to the belief that crime could be produced by hypnotism, if the propensity for crime was not already present in the mind of the subject, but he gives the following relative to this question from the experiences of two of the greatest authorities of Europe.

"The question of 'hypnotic crimes' was thoroughly discussed by Dr. Liebeault in his book, *Du Sommeil et des Etats Analogues* (1886). Later, Dr. Liegeois, whose speciality is medical jurisprudence, made many experiments with Dr. Liebeault's patients to test the practicability of criminal suggestion. He suggested to them fictitious crimes, such as murder, theft, perjury, etc., and made them give him receipts for money which he had never really lent them. One subject was induced to fire a revolver, which she was told was loaded, at a magistrate; another at her own mother; the latter subject was also made to accuse herself before a magistrate of having committed a murder. A young man dissolved in water a powder which he was told was arsenic, and gave it to his aunt to drink; afterwards he completely forgot the act. These experiments were published in 1884 in a memoir entitled *La Suggestion Hypnotique dans ses Rapports avec le Droit Civil et le Droit Criminel*, which was expanded in 1899 into a book, *De la Suggestion et du Somnambulisme dans leurs Rapports avec la Jurisprudence et la Medecine Légale*.

Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, in *Die gerichtlich medicinische Bedeutung der Suggestion* (published in *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*, Leipzig, 1900), distinguishes three

classes of crimes which might be aided by suggestion: (1) crimes against a hypnotized person, of which a few instances have been known to occur; (2) crimes committed by means of hypnotized persons; and (3) crimes incited by suggestion in the waking state. About the possibility of the second class, there is much difference of opinion; some authors, as Fuchs and Benedikt, denying it completely, while others, as Liebeault and Leigeois, think it sufficiently important to be taken account of in the administration of justice; Bernheim and Forel, again, take an intermediate view. Liebeault, as quoted by Schrenck-Notzing, instances a boy who had often been made to commit small thefts by way of experiment, and who afterwards developed kleptomania.

"Under the head of crimes caused by suggestion in the waking state, Schrenck-Notzing quotes the Sauter case (1899) in which a woman was accused of attempts to commit several murders by unlawful means (black magic). The evidence showed that she had been incited to these attempts by a fortune-teller playing on her superstitious and hysterical temperament. Falsification of evidence by suggestion comes under the same head, *e. g.*, in the trial of Berchtold for murder at Münich in 1896, newspaper reports of the trial excited the public mind, and produced a crop of false witnesses, who made on oath a number of contradictory statements, all apparently in good faith."*

In view of the fact that the mental attitude and concept of the orthodox, medical and psychological scientific world has been revolutionized in regard to the potential power of mind over mind during the past fifty years, and that some very eminent authorities among the representatives of orthodox, medical and scientific thought hold to the possibility of criminal suggestion, clearly we are not warranted in making dogmatic assumptions even when such assumptions are

**Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. Vol. I., pp. 518-514.

general in character and have no bearing on the question of the sacred rights of an individual: How much more unwarranted is any attempt to secure legal sanction for the siezing of another's property on the ground that the opinions of that individual run counter to public opinion in a realm of thought where conflicting theories are rife, even among the greatest orthodox scientific minds. The fact is, and every student of psychology and psychic science sufficiently conversant with the discoveries of recent decades to be competent to render an intelligent opinion, knows, that as yet we have only explored the border—the very outer fringe, of the dark continent of psychology. One hundred years ago, the advancing of a claim such as Mr. Chandler urged would not have been surprising, but in the light of the advance of the past century in the realm of psychology, it seems almost incredible, for to-day we find the master minds no longer questioning the fact of suggestion. Many of the world's greatest thinkers unhesitatingly declare that there can be and is thought transference quite apart from the hypnotic trance and accompanied by methods which we know practically nothing about. On this subject, let us quote from Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., LL.D., D.Sc., M.Sc., formerly Professor of Physics in the University College of Liverpool, and at present at the head of the University of Birmingham. This distinguished scientist, author and lecturer justly stands in the very forefront of the tireless scientific investigators of Great Britain, and in his presidential address delivered when President of the Section of Mathematics and Physics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he said: "It is possible that an idea can be transferred from one person to another by a process such as we have not yet grown accustomed to, and know practically nothing about. In this case

I have evidence. I assert that I have seen it done, and I am perfectly convinced of the fact. Many others are satisfied of the truth of it, too. Why must we speak of it with bated breath, as of a thing of which we are ashamed? What right have we to be ashamed of the truth?"

Are men like Liebeault, Bernheim, Liegeois, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, and scores of others who hold to the idea of thought transference, or who have proved the power of mind over mind, and mind over body, by practical experiments in hypnotism, to be adjudged victims of fixed delusions that tend to *Senile Dementia*? Surely, such conclusions would not be unreasonable in view of their declarations and experiences, if the theory advanced by Mr. Chandler in his effort to prevent Mrs. Eddy from directing the disposal of her property should be accepted.

If this case had been merely a contest between an aged woman and her greedy relatives, it would not have called for special notice, but since it has been made an attack on religious convictions, it partakes of the nature of religious persecution, and is also an assault on the fundamental rights of the citizens, that is as subversive of human rights as it is far-reaching and sinister in its implications. For this reason, we have felt that the cause of justice, and the sacred rights of the individual demanded that it be examined at length, for in a period of reaction where class interests and old-time autocratic ideals are everywhere struggling for mastery, against the broad and fundamental principles of genuine democracy, it is supremely important that the basic rights of freedom of opinion be guarded against the numerous subtle influences that are at war against the fundamental principles upon which freedom, progress and civilization wait.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

SOME UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

BY ELLIS O. JONES.

TO THOSE who are accustomed to the methods of political parties in this and other countries as we have known them in the last few decades, the Socialist party possesses a number of features that are altogether unique.

In the first place, the Socialist party is not so much a party militant as an organization for the study of political economy and the teaching of a true political economy to the masses. It is a party of interpretation. It is first and foremost, expository. The Socialist party is not endeavoring to establish classes but to abolish them. Recognizing that class lines do exist under our present system, it sets about to analyze the conditions that draw these lines and to discover what the ultimate result of such conditions will be. Recognizing that society is constantly undergoing change, it endeavors to trace these changes, according to established natural law. There was a practical as well as a sentimental side to Lincoln's program for the abolishment of chattel slavery. Beside the ethical phase of the slave question, it will be remembered that Lincoln said, "No people can survive half slave and half free." Thus it was also a question of the survival of the nation. The Socialist party perceives most of us are now slaves of economic conditions and, as such, cannot survive.

There was still another side, the purely economic. Chattel slavery had outlived its economic usefulness. In short, it was no longer profitable to own workmen. It was more profitable to pay wages. The Socialist recognizes this fact and claims that just as chattel slavery outlived its economic usefulness the wage system of slavery has now outlived its usefulness and is ready to be

replaced by another system; the coöperative commonwealth, that is, collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Accordingly the Socialist party takes an entirely different view of the trust from that of any other party. It claims that in the evolution of industry, the trust is the natural and inevitable thing. It recognizes with the most ardent trust apologist that by great organizations of capital, immense saving is possible, but it differs from them in that it believes these great collective tools of industry should be owned collectively and administered for the benefit of all alike. It sees that these great organizations under private-ownership necessarily benefit only a few. It sees therefore also that, with the rich growing richer and the poor poorer, there soon must come a revolution in the political organization of society, forced by the inexorable law of material things.

The intelligent Socialist does not blame the capitalists for what is going on in the industrial world to-day. It does not take them to task. On the contrary, it believes that they are incapable of doing much differently; that they are largely victims of the system. A short time ago a prominent article in the organ of the Manufacturers' Association, devoted to the destruction of labor unions, pointed to New Zealand's development as an evidence of something worse from his standpoint than labor unions, that would follow the disruption of the present industrial unions; *viz.*, Socialism. He was right in his conclusions, but wrong in thinking that the matter can be controlled by the capitalist class. The Socialists do not believe that they are bringing about the coöperative

state. They believe that the coöperative commonwealth would come without their efforts, just as surely, if perhaps more slowly and with more friction, and the capitalist class is unable to stop it.

Socialism is a faith, a belief, an interpretation. It is the conclusion of intelligent men who have carefully examined history and who have synthesized their conclusions into a scheme of political economy. It is not only practical, but inevitable. They have formed a school of political economy that is just now clamoring for recognition from the academic political economists.

Socialism comes coincident with the breaking down of many of the long established superstitions of the past. Superstition is the absence of knowledge, the lord of stagnation. It has opposed progress from time immemorial. Socialism sees the establishment of a rational basis of politics. Both the church and state as we know it must disappear, not because the Socialist wishes it, but because the natural law demands it.

Socialists have heard many men of many minds and cults preach the doctrine of universal brotherhood as a desirable thing, but they have heard none tell of a way to bring about the universal brotherhood. Men have dreamed of the universal brotherhood, but it remains for the socialist society to make these dreams come true. Socialists have been called dreamers. Rather are they those who are awake, who have their lamps trimmed and filled. If Socialists are dreamers, what shall we say of the numberless people since the advent of the Christian era who have talked of the universal brotherhood, "peace on earth, good will toward men" without telling how it could be brought about? We have been told that the universal brotherhood is possible, but, when the Socialist says it is possible and shows how, he is accused of dreaming.

It would be more correct to say that

Socialism is a church than to say it is against the church. Socialism has a doctrine, a creed, if you like, of its own than which no creed is more moral. It is no more against the church than the denomination of one church is against the denomination of another church. In other words Socialism interferes with no man's belief unless, of course, that belief disagrees with the theory of economic determinism. Holding to the theory of economic determinism, of course, one could not believe that a hierarchy was the source of power. It could not believe in the divine right of kings. It opposes not the church but is prepared to defend its faith against any man, whether of the clergy or the laity.

The Socialist has long heard others speak of "government of the people, by the people and for the people," and thought them in earnest. It too believes in government of, by and for the people, and stands ready to demonstrate that it has the enabling act of this democratic dream. It offers to every one who believes in this Jeffersonian epigram the proof that it will be realized and in what way.

The Socialist has long heard orators speak time and again of "measures, not men," and believing, concerned himself thenceforth exclusively with measures. The Socialist is intensely optimistic but is in no sense Utopian. Utopia is artificial. Socialism is involuntary evolution. He believes that the forces of nature are evolving society along the right lines for the good of mankind. He is pulling with the current rather than against it. He is perfectly complacent. He is not worried about the advent of Socialism. He is only worried whether the people will be ready for it when the time comes.

While the capitalists and the politicians are worried about the growth of Socialism, the Socialist is almost compelled to laugh in his sleeve at the futility of any proposed effort to forestall it. The Socialist is not in a hurry. He considers

the results of occasional elections of but little importance. On the contrary, he does not want the arbitrary establishment of Socialism. He does not want Socialists elected to office on a sentimental vote. He avers that Socialism should only come when a majority of people see and understand the laws that make Socialism inevitable. He knows also that, with the difficulty of getting men to think, whether because of ignorance or lack of time, the people will not see and understand these laws until the class lines have been drawn so sharply and the reserve industrial army has become so large that no other interpretation can be possible, without possible disastrous results. The Socialist is seeking to avoid social disaster.

The silver question will never be demonstrated because it does not stand alone, and because it is not comprehensive. Free silver may, as a temporary expedient, be better for the whole class of people than the single gold standard. But as a popular issue it was entirely sentimental. It was not even understood by most of its advocates in its true relation to the whole scheme of economics and consequently it would be absurd to think that it was understood by the masses. Accordingly, the vote it received was purely sentimental. Socialism is rational, comprehensive. It proposes to injure no man for the benefit of another. It does not propose to consider particular men or particular classes of men at all. It proposes to assist in the establishment of the only rational organization of society that our present development will permit.

It is not working so much to get men into Congress or the Senate or other official place. It is working primarily to get men to understand that the collective ownership of the social tools of industry is the only practicable plan upon which society can be organized. Knowledge is power. Other political parties offer platforms which are but confused jumbles of catch-phrases and

glittering generalities. "Four more years of the full dinner-pail" sounds good for people who always expect to carry dinner-pails. But even then, how was it proposed to accomplish this highly laudable aim? Simply by leaving it to the judgment of the Republican politicians. Right or wrong, it cannot be denied that the offering of the Socialists is concrete and unequivocal.

The Socialist believes in and advocates the initiative and referendum and as a proof of its sincerity organized his party on that basis. As a result, the party belongs to its membership and not to bosses and office-holders. A Socialist elected to office agrees to resign at the wish of the party, such wish being expressed through a referendum vote. If you are opposed to bosses join the Socialists.

Any man can belong to the party who severs his connection with other parties and pays his dues regularly, twenty-five cents per month. This is a unique feature, the result of which is that the party is supported from within rather than from without. Large subscriptions from corporations and others desiring special government privileges are unknown to the Socialist party. Thus it is kept pure and sweet. Never was a party of importance in this country organized on that basis.

The Socialist party does not discriminate between the sexes. It believes that woman is as much entitled as man to have a voice in the affairs of state. In this again, it is unique. In local matters the other parties have occasionally advocated woman's suffrage, but the Socialist party is the only one in which this principle is ever-present.

The Socialist party is unique in that one can tell the substance of its political platforms as well before as after they are adopted. This is not true of any other party. In other parties, it depends upon which particular faction or group of politicians secures control of the conventions.

There are thus different kinds of Dem-

ocrats and different kinds of Republicans. There is only one kind of Socialism. Many candidates of the other parties have two sets of principles, one for before election and the other for after election. The only way to find out what a Democrat or Republican really thinks is to elect him to office. If a man is a Socialist, you know that he believes in the collective ownership of the social tools of production, no ifs or ands or buts or howevers about it.

The Socialist party is the only international party that either now exists or ever has existed. Its representatives are found in every civilized country of the globe. It respects mankind above ar-

bitrary political boundaries. This is necessarily so because the natural law of economic evolution is entirely independent of arbitrary political divisions.

In conclusion, the Socialist party may be said to be unique in that no other party can compare with it in rate of increase. The other parties have remained nearly stationary for years, while the Socialist party in this country has increased on the average at the rate of about fifty per cent. per annum. If this continues and there is no reason why it should not, the merest child can make a close guess as to the date of its triumph.

ELLIS O. JONES.

Columbus, O.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

SAINT GAUDENS' "LINCOLN" AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE POWER OF GENIUS OVER THE HUMAN IMAGINATION.

GENIUS is the capacity for getting at the soul of things; the power, insight and imagination that enable one to enter the holiest of holies and to see, feel and know what others have seen, felt and known,—to penetrate the mystery of nature and to so feel her witchery as to translate her message to the soul of man; the power to touch the closed door, and lo! it flies open and the guarded and age-long secret stands revealed; the power to feel the hopes and aspirations of humanity as it gropes after the light.

The geniuses have been and must ever be the master teachers of the ages. It matters not whether it be the poet, the great composer, the artist, the sculptor, or the prophet; wherever genius is found, there also is a message for the awakened soul—a lesson for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

How great is the chasm between the copyist or imitator and the genius and interpreter of hidden things is apparent to the thoughtful person whose soul is in any degree awakened to the deeper meaning of things. Take, for example, the painter. Here is an artist who has given great attention to technique,

color, form,—the grammar of art. Very important and necessary things, but by no means the all. He revels in gorgeous effects and goes forth to the mountains in the autumn, when the frost has whispered to the leaves and the wandering breeze that seemed to vibrate with joy and prophecy in the springtime, and which later became the regal anthem of summer—the song of nature crowned and glorified—is now changed to a requiem pitched in a minor key; or shall we rather say, now become a crooning lullaby by which the Great Mother rocks her children asleep? Our artist is dazzled with the outward splendor of the scene. His imagination is dominated by the gorgeous coloring that defies imitation at the hand of man; and forthwith he paints a picture which, like the scene, is rich in color and in which the surface aspects are faithfully reproduced. This picture is a marvel in rich effects and is very true to the rules and precepts of art. To the superficial observer—he who sees only the shell of things—it is a masterpiece, and he will confidently declare it to be distinctly a great painting. And yet to the seeing eye

the canvas bears the same relation to a really great painting that interprets nature in this glorious mood, that the beautiful corpse bears to the living ere the soul has fled. It lacks the soul.

Now, coming to the same spot we find the painter who is also a man of genius. Long he broods over the wonder and the witchery of the scene, beholding nature in one of her captivating moods. Night is approaching; the curfew is sounding for forest and mead; the trees and the fields must for a time bid farewell to their children who have decked them with jewels and mantled them with royal garments, while yielding matchless incense and dowering them with wealth of fruit and seed for the coming year. It is a solemn hour, true; but nature, the artist observes, robes and mantles herself with splendor as she takes her exit. At his feet the grass is withering and the hand of death is on the meadow-land; but these little children of the earth that so lately clothed the sod with a velvet-like garment of emerald are now regally attended by the goldenrod, the purple aster and numerous other autumn flowers, while the forests flame into a splendor that beggars all description. The master artist comes under the thrall of nature, or rather, before him the Great Mother lifts her veil and he feels her magic and sees far more than the eye of sense takes cognizance of. He hears far more than the whisper of the breeze and the strident notes of certain loud-voiced birds. To him a symphony of melody, of color and of form attends nature in this hour of transformation. He sees and knows the mystery of life in an august mood, and he paints a picture into which is woven the spirit that is brooding over forest, field and mountain-side.

What is true of the painter and the poet is equally true of the sculptor or the artist who paints a noble portrait. The sculptor for instance, if he be a man of genius, has the penetration, the imagination, which enables him to enter the holiest of holies of his subject. For the time being he is the man he would portray. He is dominated by his ideals, ambitions, desires. He feels his thrill of joy, his ecstasy and hope, his fears, and the yearnings of his heart. He stands before the formless clay, lost in contemplation. He feels, he thinks, he lives, as does or did the man whose image will soon emerge from the

clay. Sometimes, where the subject has aspired to great things, the sculptor, like the master poet, catches the genius whom he seeks to embody, when he is upon the very spiritual Alps of his being. Then he makes him a fitting embodiment of some great ideal that has dominated his life. In such cases, where genius meets genius, the world receives a masterpiece in which the soul looks forth from the clay, and later from the bronze.

The little man, the imitator, may essay the same task, but he represents only the outward features, the form, and the clothing; the soul of the subject escapes him. He fails to feel; he lacks the spiritual perception that constitutes the seeing eye. The work of the imitator or of the man devoid of imagination has no vital message. Not so with the creations of a real master—the man of genius. The statue speaks to all whose interior perceptions have been quickened in a compelling way. They feel the lesson that it impresses and are subtly but strongly influenced. Something of the exaltation of the master enters their soul. Take, for example, that splendid work—Saint Gaudens' "Lincoln," which adorns Lincoln Park, Chicago. How many thousands of people have felt the power and witchery of this masterpiece; how many young men while contemplating it have been thrilled with high and noble resolves that will ever after influence their lives; while to the poet and the man of acute imagination its influence is so overmastering that henceforth he is urged to speak the noble or true word, that it in turn may reach others and helpfully influence them.

Thus, for example, David Graham Phillips, standing before this monument, comes so under its spell that it becomes the text for a strong and purposeful message. So fine, indeed, is Mr. Phillips' characterization of this work, and so true his interpretation of the master ideal of the sculptor and his original, that we reproduce his words as being a worthy tribute to our greatest sculptor who has so recently left us, and also because they carry with them inspiring thoughts that should be graven on the heart of every young man and woman in America to-day.

"In Chicago, in Lincoln Park, there is a wonderful statue. A big, slouching form, loose yet powerful; ungraceful, yet splendid because it seems to be able to bear upon its Atlantean shoulders the burdens of a mighty

people. The big hands, the big feet, the great, stooped shoulders tell the same story of commonness and strength.

"Then you look at the face. You find it difficult to keep your hat upon your head.

"What a countenance! How homely, yet how beautiful; how stern, yet how gentle; how inflexible, yet how infinitely merciful; how powerful, yet how tender; how common, yet how sublime!

"Search the world through and you will find no greater statue than this—the statue of Abraham Lincoln, by St. Gaudens. It is Lincoln; but it is also a great deal more. It is the glorification of the Common Man—the apotheosis of Democracy.

"As you look at that face and that figure you feel the history of the human race, the long, bloody, the agonized struggle of the masses of mankind for freedom and light. You see the whole history of your own country, founded by common men for the common people, founded upon freedom and equality and justice.

"Here is no vain haughtiness, no arrogance, no supercilious looking down, no cringing looking upward, nothing that suggests class or rank or aristocracy. Here is Democracy, the Common Man exalted in the dignity of his own rights, in the splendor of the recognition of the equal rights of all others; the Common Man, free and enlightened, strong and just.

"The statue is in the attitude of preparation to speak. What is that brain formulating for those lips to utter?

"The expression of brow and eyes and lips leaves no doubt. It is some thought of freedom and justice, some one of those many mighty democratic thoughts which will echo forever in the minds and hearts of men.

"Let us recall three of those thoughts:

"The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism.'

"That this nation under God shall have a new birth in freedom and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.'

"I say that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. I say that this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor.'

"These were the ideas that found this country a few ragged settlements trembling between a hostile sea and a hostile wilderness and built it up to its present estate of democratic grandeur. Not tyranny, not murder disguised as war, not robbery disguised as 'benevolent guidance,' not any of the false and foolish ideas of imperialism and aristocracy. But ideas of peace, of equal rights for all, of self-government."

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE AMERICAN CITY THE STORM CENTER IN THE BATTLE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

The Titanic Struggle and What it Involves.

THE AMERICAN people are awakening to the immense significance of certain grave facts that are pressing for consideration and which vitally affect free government. They are at last coming to see that government may conform to the democratic theory, being in form a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," and yet be in practice a corrupt despotism, as unresponsive to the known wishes and needs of the community as a bureaucracy or a monarchal despotism. They are coming to understand that the official world or the government will sooner or later always become responsive and obedient to its real creators or masters; that officials may in theory represent the people, and yet be the actual representatives of the enemies of the people.

The founders of our government realized not only the danger of a foreign foe, but also the danger of a despotism through a permanent governing class,—a class enthroned in office and using its position to oppress the people, but they failed to conceive of a class arising outside of political officialdom which should become a dominant power in controlling government from without,—an irresponsible yet all-powerful influence exercising a sway destructive to civic morality and the rights and interests of the people; a power like that which the di Medici family of ancient Florence wielded, though holding no office and outwardly sustaining no relation to the State more intimate than that of the humblest voting citizen. Not dreaming of the rise of the industrial autocracy or the feudalism of privileged interests, the fathers failed properly to safeguard democracy—to safeguard it so as to make it always and under all conditions responsive to the popular will, that is, to the sovereign power in a democratic government. For the fact cannot be too often stated that one of the chief points that differentiates a democratic republic or a popular government from any form of class-

rule, is found in the relation of the people to the law-making, executive and judicial classes. The officials in a democratic republic are merely the servants of the people, their representatives, while in a monarchy, an aristocracy or a despotic bureaucratic government, the governing classes are the masters and not the servants.

In theory our officials are merely the popular representatives, supposed at all times to be ready to reflect the known wishes of their masters or those who have sent them as their representatives in the halls of legislation; but since the rise of the corrupt political boss and the money-controlled machine acting in the interests of predatory wealth, whose selfish desires and greed are inimical and antagonistic to the popular interests, the so-called servants of the people have become either the servants of the boss and the machine, or of privileged interests whose money makes the machine effective for the advancement of politicians who betray the people in the interests of the real ruling power,—the industrial autocracy acting through the money-controlled machine and under the direction of the political boss.

This, then, is the supreme conflict that is being waged, a battle that involves the life of democratic government.

How The City From an Outpost of Democracy Became the Stronghold of Corrupt, Irresponsible and Despotic Rule.

It was in the city that the feudalism of privilege, and especially the criminal classes at the zenith and the nadir of society, through combining, overthrew democratic or truly representative government, making the great centers of population veritable political plague-spots, generating moral contagion that rapidly spread through state and nation.

Boss Tweed perfected a machine for plunder that was as responsive to the wishes of the criminal rich as it was deaf to the demands of civic morality or the interests of

the people. The great exposures that led to the undoing of Tweed and the overthrow of the ring furnished one of the earliest if not indeed the first illustration of the union of the pillars of society,—the safe and sane, highly respectable, powerful and rich members of society,—with the criminal politicians, for mutual enrichment at the expense of the city or its inhabitants. For it must be remembered that not only did the master spirits in the high finance circle of Wall street, like Jay Gould, and Jim Fisk, work hand in hand with Tweed for the exploitation of the people and their own enrichment, but men like John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, and other veritable pillars in the commercial structure of New York society, consented to act as a committee to bring confusion on the muck-rakers or those undesirable citizens like Thomas Nast, the Harpers, George Jones and Louis J. Jennings of the *Times*; and these men, a committee composed to New York's wealthiest, most influential and respected citizens, actually gave Tweed and his fellow thieves a certificate of good conduct, declaring in so many words that:

"We have come to the conclusion, and certify, that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the controller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

The secret of this whitewashing report was found to be, as indicated by Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine in his admirable *Life of Nast*, in the remission of taxes for the millionaires.

What was thus in evidence at this early day,—the union of the men who in society, in education, in the church and in the business world took a prominent and influential part, with the corrupt element, for personal gain,—has been invariably a distinguishing characteristic of the riot of corruption in the American cities of our time. Indeed, it is the master reason why corruption has prevailed and spread, why the efforts of sincere reformers, of the really moral element of society, and of the great mass of exploited people, have been futile to permanently overthrow the boss and the money-controlled machine. The business interests that pose as the ultra-respectable and conservative element of society, with their tremendous influence in press and church as well as in the commercial affairs of life, have rendered possible the continuance of political corruption in American cities.

The Spread of Municipal Corruption Under The Dual Alliance of Politicians and Privileged Interests.

The success of the Tweed ring and the fact that its complete undoing was so largely accidental or due to carelessness on the part of the thieves, led other daring and morally depraved individuals to enter politics in the great cities for personal revenue. They saw a field of almost limitless possibilities for wealth, if they could organize a powerful political machine and then place it at the service of great privilege-seeking corporations that wished to plunder the people and deprive the city's treasury of ever-increasing streams of wealth which would flow into it from the operation of the public utilities or natural monopolies of the community. The criminal rich who pose as the high priests of respectability were eager to enter this alliance offered by the corrupt boss and his conscienceless aids. They were glad to furnish liberal contributions to meet all expenses of the campaign and richly reimburse the politicians, if they were to be allowed to place on the ticket men whom they would name, or if assurances could be given them that the people's property,—the fabulously rich franchises for public utilities, would be handed over to them.

Success in one city was followed by similar alliances and success in other cities. Sometimes it was the representative of the feudalism of privileged wealth seeking enormously valuable franchises, who took initial steps; sometimes it was the political boss, with his trusted lieutenants; but in every instance this unholy alliance was to be found, and naturally enough, whenever formed the city became the breeding place of political corruption, civic debauchery, bad government, and exploitation of the people. And what was equally tragic, moral idealism in the individual naturally became infected by the absence of high ideals in government and the great quasi-public business enterprises that furnished the sinews of war to the politicians and which controlled the dominant political machine.

Furthermore, from the city the poison of corruption, of reaction and of class-rule spread to state and national government. The revelations of recent years made by many of the best thinkers and workers in the field of social, economic and political life, and especially the inestimably valuable work of Mr. Lincoln Steffens, have served to

awaken our people from their profound moral apathy; while official exposures of the unholy and corrupt alliance, brought to light by fearless officials—men like Joseph W. Folk, who broke up the corrupt reign of the public-service companies and the Butler Democratic ring in St. Louis, and F. J. Heney, who so effectively ran down Mayor Schmitz and the Ruef Republican ring in San Francisco,—further aroused our people, and a nation-wide agitation began looking toward emancipating the cities from the grafters, great and small, from the oppression of the criminal rich and the corruption of the political machine.

Several plans were proposed, but in many instances well-meaning patriots displayed a striking lack of knowledge of the fundamental weakness that led to the destruction alike of a truly democratic government and clean and efficient rule in our cities. In many places high-minded and earnest people wandered in the dark seeking the light, but apparently without any path to guide their steps. They did not think deeply; they did not look at the problem in a fundamental way; they had allowed the vicious corporation-owned press to create in their minds distrust of popular rule which blinded them to the one supreme and vital fact that every instance of failure of democracy in American cities was due to the fact that really democratic government had been overthrown by the privilege-seeking classes ruling the city through the boss and the money-controlled machine and with the help of a large part of the daily press. Not till the government ceased to be truly representative or democratic did it become corrupt, venal, inefficient and false to the people's interests. Here was another illustration of De Tocqueville's famous and absolutely true observation, that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

The officials will always sooner or later respond to their masters and do their bidding or work for the advantage and advancement of those they recognize as their principals. If their principals are the people in fact, and not merely in theory, the interests and welfare of the people will be their first concern. If their principals are the machine politicians or the powerful privilege-seeking corporations, or both of these, the people will always sooner or later be betrayed and their interests sacrificed to the real masters. This is the

supreme lesson of the failure of democratic government wherever the political machine and corporations have dominated our cities.

Unguarded Commission Government.

Galveston, Texas, was one of the first cities to break away from the corrupt and inefficient rule of professional politicians. Her commission government has been fully and sympathetically described in a recent issue of *THE ARENA* by Mr. George Wharton James, so it is only necessary for us to point out its serious weakness. So long as Galveston possesses a commission composed only of honorable, upright, competent and conscientious officials, the city will have good government; but the same may be said of the autocratic government of various rulers of the past—men like Marcus Aurelius and King Alfred, for example. But all history shows conclusively that in proportion as officials feel themselves under the immediate control of a certain class, whether an autocracy, an hereditary aristocracy or the people, they will become responsive to those who are able to make or unmake them. And furthermore, the only way for the interests of all the people to be conserved is for the people at all times to have the power of sanctioning or rejecting the action of their representatives. When there are practical provisions for this, a government or the representatives will always be truly representative of the people. Without this, as we have learned to our bitter cost, nothing is easier than the interposition of other interests between the people and their so-called representatives. And what has been true owing to the failure to safeguard representative government in the past, will be true in the future, unless this flaw is wisely remedied.

Now this is the fact which unfortunately the citizens of Galveston have overlooked. The city is splendidly ruled to-day, just as Glasgow is splendidly ruled under the old English representative system, and just as American cities were as a rule well governed before the rise of the privilege-seeking corporations and the money-controlled machine. But there is no reason to believe that the city of Galveston, Houston, or any other cities which have adopted the Galveston plan, will not in the course of a few years have autocratic commissions which will respond not to the people's will, but to the privilege seeking bodies in quest of monopoly rights.

In a word, the old order of corruption and graft, of betrayal of the rights and interests of the people, may easily appear just as it has appeared in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities where representative government was not so safeguarded as to make it truly representative in character,—that is, where the vital principle of democracy was not wisely bulwarked. In other words, the unguarded commission government is an honest attempt to secure better rule which unhappily ignores the fundamental demand of democratic government—an attempt more reactionary and autocratic in character than democratic in spirit. It has many excellent features and is an honest attempt to better conditions, and it will in most instances work well at first, but it is fatally weak where it should be doubly strong.

Provisions For Making City Government Truly Representative.

The city of Los Angeles, California, was the pioneer municipality of considerable population to apply fundamental and practical democratic measures to destroy the corrupt and despotic rule of the dual grafters,—the machine politicians and the privilege-seeking interests. It provides for the initiative, referendum and right of recall, and has thus given to her citizens the power to secure just what they want and to compel public servants to represent their constituency by carrying out the wishes of the citizens. Otherwise they can be compelled to retire from office. As the democratic provisions of this city's government will be described at length by one of our contributors in an early issue of *THE ARENA*, we shall not dwell longer on Los Angeles and her ideal of democratic government at the present time.

The Des Moines Plan: A Model of Guarded Commission Municipal Government.

There are many features of commission government that are highly desirable. In fact, with proper democratic safeguards, it promises, we think, the best possible results.

The State of Iowa, primarily through the energetic efforts of public-spirited citizens of Des Moines, is the first commonwealth to embody in statutory form a definite plan of city government by commission which at all times shall be responsive to the people through democratic checks and popular protective

measures. So vitally important to the cause of civic purity and free government is the comprehensive statute passed by the Iowa legislature last January, that it calls for special notice. This law, known as the Des Moines plan, provides for the establishment of guarded commission government in cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants, when the citizens desire such government. According to the enabling act, when 25 per cent. of the voters of the city in question petition for the adoption of the new form of government, the question shall be submitted to the electorate.

The law contains twenty-three sections, of which the following are of special interest to persons concerned in a model democratic commission government:

(1) Under its provisions a mayor and four aldermen or councillors shall be elected and shall constitute the commission for the government of the city.

(2) The candidates must be nominated at a non-partisan primary election.

(3) The commission elected shall administer the affairs of the city under five departments, as follows, each commissioner being at the head of one department:

(a)—Department of Public Affairs.

(b)—Department of Accounts and Finances

(c)—Department of Public Safety.

(d)—Department of Streets and Public Improvements.

(e)—Department of Parks and Public Property.

(4) All franchises to public-service corporations must be submitted to a vote of the people for approval.

(5) Provision is made for the initiative if the commission refuses to pass an ordinance desired by the people. On the petition of 25 per cent. of the voters, the electorate can compel a popular vote on the ordinance.

(6) The protective referendum is also provided for. If an order is passed that is not satisfactory to the people, they can compel a referendum and veto it.

At the close of a valuable little pamphlet issued by the city of Des Moines for the instruction of her voters and containing the law in full, we find the following summary of the provisions of the Des Moines plan of city government:

"The Des Moines plan of city government is the best and most advanced system yet

devised. It is the most representative, since it places the entire power of government in the hands of the people. Lincoln said, 'Ours is a government of the people,' and in the Des Moines plan that idea is carried out to its fullest extent as is illustrated by the referendum, the initiative and the power of recall. In the past the politician ruled, under the new plan the people retain the balance of power.

"No franchise or other valuable right can be given away by the city council until the people vote in favor of it. The people can compel or prevent the passage of any law or ordinance. Under the Des Moines plan the city official is under the control of the people.

"Under this new plan all aldermen are elected from at large. Each citizen votes for all candidates, instead of voting for only two out of the nine aldermen as under the present system. These councilmen having to depend upon votes from all portions of the city, will consider the needs of the whole city, rather than the needs of a particular section which they desire to benefit for the purpose of securing political support as a means of keeping themselves in office.

"The Des Moines plan fixes responsibility by placing one member of the city council at the head of each of the five departments, thereby doing away with the confusion and irresponsibility which exists under the present system.

"The aldermen receive such a salary that men of ability and honesty will devote their whole time to the affairs of the city. They can not while serving be interested directly or indirectly, in any contract with the city or with any public-service corporation, such as water, telephone or street-car companies. This last provision insures due consideration for the rights of the people and prevents corporations from obtaining by any indirect method an influence over the action of the city council.

"Civil service is made a prominent feature of this law, honesty and ability will be the qualifications demanded of employes. The question of their political strength will not be considered.

"This new plan provides that all candidates for office shall be selected at a non-partisan primary, and also a simple method by which a citizen may become a candidate.

"The Des Moines plan prescribes a severe punishment for attempting to form a political

combination, or for using, directly or indirectly, political influence in the interest of any person or measure. This makes machine politics impossible.

"All officials must, after election, publish a sworn itemized statement of their campaign expenses.

"All persons are prohibited from accepting any money or other compensations for services rendered the candidate.

"This is a very brief statement of a number of the important features of this law and the reader for a more thorough understanding of the advantages of this system of government should carefully read the law itself."

The Story of Des Moines' Battle With The Dual Alliance, and Her Victory.

No more inspiring chapter in the history of American municipalities can be found than that presented by Des Moines, Iowa. The outlook until recently seemed so utterly hopeless and the circumstances that obtained were so favorable to the indefinite reign of corruption and the perpetual enslavement of the people to the seemingly all-powerful public-service corporations, that he was indeed a man of faith who could maintain a stout heart in the battle led by James G. Berryhill, H. Ingham and a few other chosen spirits who were animated by the old-time civic ideals and exalted patriotism.

The history of Des Moines' municipal government during the past ten or twenty years has been the story of shame, a record of corruption and civic inefficiency marked by continual scandals of the most humiliating character to all self-respecting citizens. In vain did reformers seek to purify the Augean stable. Here as in Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and all cities where democratic government had broken down before the all-powerful combination in which the corrupt politicians operated the money-controlled machine in the interests of corporate wealth and grafting office-holders, the alliance between the politicians and the privilege-seeking public-service companies was perfect. Together they stood, together they worked for mutual enrichment and advancement at the expense of the people's pockets, the city's treasury, and civic integrity and efficiency. Here, precisely as elsewhere, behind the corrupt political ring, the dominant party and its perfectly-organized machine, stood the immensely rich public-service companies,

the powerful and seemingly invincible bulwark of the corrupt and inefficient officials.

But while the story of Des Moines is not materially different from that of other cities where exposures have been made, the situation was rendered more difficult to reformers and decent citizens here than in most municipalities, by reason of the fact that home capital controlled most of the great grasping public-service corporations. In a large proportion of the cities, especially in the Middle West and West, Eastern capital, usually Wall street high finance, representing the wealth of either the Standard Oil group or J. P. Morgan's interests, controls the exhaustless mines of ever-increasing riches that we call the natural monopolies or public utilities. Not so with Des Moines. Here the greatest fortunes of the city were amassed by the shrewd, masterful and practical citizens who understood the di Medicean art of making a supposedly popular government primarily responsive to the interests of the privilege-seeking ones. True, there was an exception in the Capital City Gas Company, it being controlled by the notorious and malodorous Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia; but for the most part the public utilities were controlled by home capital. The master spirits in the companies were the master financial powers in the cities as well as the bulwark of protection and the magazine of defense for the political machine. Their families were social leaders. Their influence in business, society, church, educational and political circles was inestimably great.

Every attack on the corrupt and inefficient political ring that operated the city government came to nothing, for multitudinous subtle influences were at once set to work on the side of the corruptionists. But for the union of "phariseeism and privilege" with the vicious politicians, the corrupt and inefficient government would quickly have given place to efficient and upright rule. The gloved hand of the ultra-respectable pillars of society and business who were growing fabulously rich through the privileges which they were receiving from the political ring, was sufficiently strong to throttle all opposition. Then, too, the dominant party in the legislature was almost as solicitous for the interests of the dual alliance as is Senator Lodge for the machine and its powerful friends in Massachusetts. Corruption under such conditions will be necessarily progressive.

A Typical Scandal That Helped to Awaken The People to The Peril of This Dual Alliance.

Scandal after scandal came to the surface in the enslaved city. Here is a typical example and one that also illustrates the far-reaching influence of the unholy alliance.

In June, 1906, an alderman, J. A. Hamey by name, who had been elected as an independent, exposed the methods of the Des Moines street railway. On two occasions he allowed himself to accept money from a representative of the company for "being fair," to use the euphonious phrase of the corporation corruptionists and grafters. But Alderman Hamey had taken the precaution to have witnesses present,—men of the highest character, who saw the transaction. These facts were laid before the grand and petit juries, but such was the constitution of the juries that no indictments were made. The moral effect of the circumstantial exposure however, was tremendous, and the significant lack of action on the part of the juries probably helped to fan the fire of public wrath more than would have been the case if they had acted.

This incident was one of several which gave great moral impulse to a movement that had previously been inaugurated by certain public-spirited and high-minded citizens, most prominent of whom were J. H. Berryhill, a millionaire, and Mr. H. Ingham, the intrepid editor of the *Register and Leader*.

A Battle of Giants.

Through the splendid fight by former Mayor John MacVicar for public-ownership of public utilities, the civic conscience had been greatly aroused and the people educated. A fierce and oftentimes apparently hopeless battle was inaugurated on the heels of Mr. MacVicar's work, by Messrs. Berryhill, Ingham and their co-workers, to rescue Des Moines from the spoilers. At every turn the apostles of civic honor, efficiency and democratic government, however, met the most formidable opposition. In the legislature as in the city, the interests were strongly entrenched. Governor Cummins was for clean government, it is true, but the Governor's disposition to acquiesce with the machine rather than jeopardize his political future sharply contrasts with the course of Senator LaFollette under similar circumstances and marks him as an opportunist rather than as an uncompromising champion of the people's

interests; and such a champion was sorely needed at that time to battle for an efficient yet democratic plan of city government in Iowa. Governor Cummins characteristically straddled at the crisis by favoring a plan of government similar to what is known as the Indianapolis plan and which greatly augmented the power of the mayor while providing for the election of aldermen at large. It lacked the vital safeguards that would make the people's representatives the servants instead of the masters and so was fatally defective.

Happily the men who were fighting for civic progress along practical and democratic lines were genuine leaders and men of courage and determination. A committee composed of J. H. Berryhill, I. M. Earle, John M. Read, S. B. Allen and W. H. Bailey, was chosen to draw up a model plan. They went into the work with single-hearted determination to conserve the wishes and interests of the people and to draw a plan of government that should be at once practical and efficient, and yet which should guard every door that might be assailed by the privilege-seeking enemies of the people in an effort to destroy popular rule for the interests of the few. Consequently they drew up a proposed bill for city charters, providing for non-partisan primaries and elections; rigid civil service; the initiative, referendum and recall; publicity of campaign expenditures; the abolition of the ward system; and compulsory submission to the voters of all proposals for franchises to public-service companies. The enabling act for the bill proposed only passed the legislature after a fierce battle, but when it once became a law the reformers of Des Moines set to work to redeem their city from bondage, corruption and shame; to make her the pride of the state and an example for the cities of the nation instead of a by-word in the mouths of honor-loving and upright citizens throughout the land.

Happily for the cause of good government, public sentiment was so aroused at this time that Mr. Ingham's daily, that had been a powerful pioneer in the work, was reinforced by the *Daily Capital* and the *News*.

The Tactics of The Enemy and The Victory of The People.

But the alliance of darkness was not to be unrepresented. A new paper, the *Tribune*, began a savage fight against the reformers.

The interests rallied to its support; its columns were filled with the specious advertisements in the interests of the monopolistic exploiters and political grafters such as we in Massachusetts are so familiar with. The *Tribune*, it is stated, was distributed in every home in the city during the fight. The saloon interests, fearing the referendum at the hands of the temperance people, united against the new charter. The gamblers and the politicians were also practically a unit in urging the electorate to vote No. The most absurd and mendacious alarm appeals were made to the Russian Jews and the Italian voters, who are numerous in the city. The children of the Old World, however, declined to be frightened by the proposition to place all power in the hands of the voters. They failed to see in that proposition anything like the hated monarchy or bureaucracy which the opposition assured them the new charter resembled.

The dual alliance was as desperate as it was unscrupulous. It was determined that the real government of the city should not pass into the hands of the people, and just before the election a startling discovery was made. It was found that the Philadelphia tactics had been resorted to. The registration lists had been padded with thousands of names that had no right on them. *The graveyards had been searched for names which repeaters could give in precincts where the ring was all-powerful.* The discovery was promptly followed by an appeal to the courts, and the latter ordered the bogus names stricken from the lists. This was the fatal blow to the allied forces of corruption, reaction and irresponsible rule, and at the election the aroused conscience and patriotism of the people proved irresistible. The new charter was adopted by a sweeping majority, and January 1st of next year will witness the inauguration of the new régime, with the official board that the people are to choose.

The Last Stand of The Reactionaries.

Having failed in corrupting and deceiving the electorate and having been foiled in their attempt to carry the election by having recourse to the grave-yards the reactionaries have attempted to defy the will of the people of the state and the city by recourse to the courts, in the hope that the latter may nullify the law passed by the people's representatives and ratified by the city of Des Moines. This

is precisely what the grafters, the would-be grafters and the privilege-seeking corporations tried to do in Oregon, after the people embedded Direct Legislation in their state constitution. But the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the law.

In California, when the cities sought to enjoy the right similar to that granted to the cities by the Iowa legislature, the reactionaries again had recourse to the courts, but the Supreme Court of California upheld the statute providing for popular government in the cities; and there seems little doubt but what the Iowa court will do as have the other courts when any such question has come up before them.

In editorially commenting on the attempt of the reactionaries, the *Chicago Record-Herald* holds that there is little danger that the enemies of the Des Moines plan will succeed in this last desperate attempt. "A local referendum," it observes, "in which a city merely votes whether or not to place itself under an existing general law, is almost sure to be sustained by the courts, so there is little reason for fearing that the new experiment will not be made."

No event of the present year is more pregnant with promise or more inspiring to genuine reformers who believe in democratic republican government than the victory won by the citizens for the model Des Moines charter.

A MODERN TALE OF TWO CITIES; OR, THE OBJECT-LESSON FURNISHED BY THE STORY OF THE WATER SUPPLY OF LOS ANGELES AND DENVER.

THE SPECIAL-PLEADERS employed by the public-service companies to oppose public-ownership of public utilities long declared that public-ownership in Great Britain and elsewhere was a failure, but since the falsity of this claim has been so completely established, only the most reckless and mendacious of their number longer advance it. Now a new plea is offered. We are told that while public-ownership has proved successful in Great Britain, conditions with us are such that here it would prove a dire failure. The difference, we presume, is the obvious one that since private corporations have been seeking public utilities, they have debauched our municipal politics and made it possible for the most corrupt politicians to hold sway, despite the efforts of decent citizens,

But here again the claim of the agents for the corporations is fatally weak, for the reason that just as soon as the power of the corrupt public-service corporations which are the rock of protection—the bulwark and magazine of defense—for the corrupt boss and the money-controlled machine, is eliminated from municipal politics, the friends of pure government are able to quickly rescue the government from the spoilers and inaugurate conditions as favorable to honest and efficient rule and pure politics as those

present in Glasgow and other cities of the Old World.

The threadbare cry that the cost under public-ownership would not be substantially reduced, is not borne out by the facts wherever municipalities have sufficiently destroyed the corrupt influence of the public-service corporations to take away this all-powerful bulwark of the boss and the money-controlled machine.

A short time ago we published the object-lesson that Duluth, Minnesota, offered in showing the enormous saving to the public in the light and water systems that has resulted from public-ownership. Now we desire to call the attention of thinking men and women to one of the most striking comparisons offered by two cities under very similar conditions, with these exceptions: one is a city where the civic conscience has been awakened and where the people enjoy a truly democratic republican form of government through the operation of the initiative, referendum and right of recall. The other is a machine-ridden city, absolutely under the domination of the public utility trust and other associated villainies that have debauched and are debauching the government of one of the fairest and richest commonwealths of the nation.

In Los Angeles, where the people enjoy the initiative and referendum, the water supply is under public-ownership. In Denver, the capital city of Colorado, the water supply is in the hands of one of the great predatory bands that are preying on the state.

Recently the *Rocky Mountain Daily News* secured the services of the well-known Republican Senator, John A. Rush, of Denver, to make a careful comparative study of the water situation in the two cities. His report is so clear, complete and illuminating in character that we reproduce it, because, coming from a well-known Republican legislator, it is of special value to friends of public-ownership and, also, being so detailed in its character it furnishes an admirable typical illustration that cannot fail to appeal to all persons who place the public weal above considerations of private wealth.

"In fixing water rates for Denver the experience of a city of like size in an equally arid climate should be of great value.

"The city of Los Angeles, in southern California, is a city directly in point.

"Every one who has ever visited southern California knows that it is fully as arid there as it is around Denver.

"In Los Angeles the average annual rainfall for the past ten years has been about that of Denver for the same period.

"The value of water rights and the expense of obtaining water is greater in Los Angeles than in Denver. Los Angeles is now constructing a conduit system at great expense to bring water 160 miles from the mountains. In Denver the water is close at hand and is gotten with comparatively slight expense.

"Water rates, then, certainly should not be any higher in Denver than in Los Angeles.

"You undoubtedly will be surprised to learn that, as a matter of fact, water rates in Denver under private corporation management of 'our philanthropists and leading citizens,' are from 20 to 400 per cent. higher than they are in Los Angeles under municipal-ownership.

"Take the one item of irrigation of lawns for six months, and remember that in Los Angeles lots are 150 feet deep. It takes as much water there as here, but here are the rates:

"IRRIGATION OF 50-FOOT LOT.

Los Angeles.....	\$2.70
Denver.....	11.00

"Is it any wonder Los Angeles is growing and booming and outstripping Denver? Its citizens are not being robbed by a water company and its development is not being retarded by water rates that fill the pockets of a few at the expense of the many.

"Take the two items of bath and water closet, which are a necessity in every house, and note how Denver householders pay more than twice as much as do the citizens of Los Angeles.

"BATH AND WATER CLOSET.

Los Angeles.....	\$3.00
Denver.....	8.00

"Certainly it will not be contended that more water is used for such service in Denver than in Los Angeles.

"Take the laboring man's cottage of four rooms with bath, water closet and six months' irrigation for one lot and note how Speer and Moffat and the Cheesman heirs show their love for the laboring man by charging him more than 50 per cent. higher for water here than is charged in Los Angeles.

"4-ROOM COTTAGE WITH ONE LOT."

Los Angeles.....	\$11.70
Denver.....	17.76

"Then take a seven-room house with a lot and a half and note how this same extortion is practiced, and then remember that the Supreme Court recently has said our city council (or Evans' and Moffats' city council) has the power to fix reasonable rates now.

"7-ROOM HOUSE WITH ONE AND ONE-HALF LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$16.45
Denver.....	23.61

"These 'leading citizens,' who thus use the methods of the light-fingered gentry on the poor man, also forces those who own a better class of homes to contribute in the following fashion:

"10-ROOM HOUSE WITH TWO LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$21.30
Denver.....	27.70

"The well-to-do people do not escape from this annual contribution to corporate funds so that rich men that die may buy public parks for private monuments. This is what they contribute:

"13-ROOM HOUSE WITH THREE LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$24.45
Denver.....	34.96

"And the Denver millionaires, who are not to be pitied, since they ought to be smart enough to protect their own pocketbooks, have to walk up to the Denver Union Water company's counter and submit to overcharges as follows:

"16-ROOM HOUSE WITH FOUR LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$27.60
Denver.....	41.96

"And if any of these houses have an extra bath or an extra water closet it costs \$4 extra a year for each of them, while in Los Angeles the cost is only \$1.80.

"Not only does Los Angeles furnish water at these low rates to its citizens, but it also furnishes free all water for the city hydrants and to the city parks, for which Denver pays the Denver Union Water company more than

\$100,000 a year. And this comes out of the pockets of the Denver taxpayers.

"Is it any wonder Los Angeles is forging ahead of Denver as a residence city? There the interests of the citizens are protected. Here the city administration is in league with the corporation freebooters, who mock at contracts, defy courts and rob the people. There the city owns and operates the water-works. Here our 'leading citizens' use the water-works to sandbag the people out of their money.

"And remember, that this comparison is with a city that is in an arid country, where water is more expensive to furnish than in Denver. And then tell me gently what you think of Speer and his corporation council, who fail and refuse to fix reasonable rates, which the Supreme court has said they should fix.

SECRETARY TAFT IN OHIO AND OKLAHOMA.

Mr. Taft in The Role of Talker Makes an Admirable Dr. Jekyll.

THE PLUTOCRATIC vaudeville has recently furnished some interesting and suggestive, though perhaps not very edifying performances. Among the star performers on this stage, with a nation as the theater, no one made a more spectacular appearance than Secretary Taft. How the insiders among the chieftains of the feudalism of privileged wealth must have laughed behind the curtains when they read Mr. Taft's Ohio speech, delivered on August 19th at Columbus, and how they must have shrewdly winked at the knowing ones when in public they drew down their mouths and seriously shook their heads when discussing his utterances. How often has this farce been enacted; how often have the people been deceived and tricked by stalking-horses of plutocracy.

Who does not remember Bailey and his spread-eagle oratory in denunciation of corporate wealth and railroad aggressions, little dreaming that the people were soon to behold him stripped of his hypocritical robes and revealed as the hired man of the Standard Oil and railway interests? Yet Bailey in his palmist days, while posing as the people's champion and rapidly fattening himself from the swill-tubs of the law-breaking and predatory corporations by giving them faithful

service, never won such plaudits from the plutocracy as has Secretary Taft, the beloved of the "interests" and of all those who are warring against union labor.

There are times when verbal assault on predatory wealth is precisely what the interests desire. We have recently quoted the enthusiastic commendation of the *Financial Chronicle* of New York, which, as the *Springfield Republican*, the most carefully edited daily paper in America, declares to be above any other publication "the organ of the great corporations." We have also recently alluded to the eulogy of Secretary Taft by ex-Congressman Samuel Powers, the attorney for the New England Telephone corporation and one of the most powerful allies of the feudalism of corporate wealth in Massachusetts.

Later John D. Rockefeller, when denouncing Roosevelt, endorsed Taft for president. It is significant that an attempt was promptly made to make it appear that the interview of Mr. Rockefeller, in which he eulogized Mr. Taft, was spurious; but the New York daily that printed the interesting comments compelled the Western Union Telegraph Company to repudiate its dispatch indicating that the *World's* interview was spurious.

Evidently some of the shrewd members of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the

politicians that are seeking again to deceive the people in the interests of the industrial autocracy, became alarmed lest the unguarded utterances of Mr. Rockefeller might tend to destroy the effect of Taft's verbal assault on the corporations, just as the revelations in regard to Bailey have defeated the cherished plan of certain reactionary interests to capitalize Bailey's supposed radicalism in order to boom him as a Democratic candidate for the presidency.

Again, it is a well-known fact that the notorious Boss Cox and the brother of Secretary Taft, who was so long the intimate companion of and co-worker with Cox, are now strenuously engaged in the interests of the Secretary's presidential nomination.

Unless we very much mistake the American people, we do not believe that even Mr. Roosevelt will be able to pull the wool over the eyes of the American electorate in regard to the man who is one of the best beloved friends of plutocracy and the idol of every enemy of union labor in America.

Mr. Taft in The Role of Worker, a Fine Presentation of Mr. Hyde.

Secretary Taft, the valiant in wordy war that is intended to deceive the unthinking and advance the interests of the man whom the most authoritative financial journal of the "interests" in Wall street praises in most unstinted terms, when he comes to work is true to the dearest interests of the reactionary plutocracy.

When he was judge in Ohio, it was Mr. Taft who made the discovery that the Interstate Commerce Law could be used as a club to defeat organized labor in a battle which the toilers were waging against the railway lines, and in his rulings upholding the injunction, Mr. Taft won the gratitude of every aggressive enemy of union labor who was busily at work seeking to break down the barriers protecting the workers from helpless subserviency to the great trusts, monopolies and corporation interests.

But might it not be possible that the Taft of old days had changed? The man of valiant words in Ohio might have seen that the deliberate attempt of the trusts, monopolies and predatory wealth operating through corrupt bosses and the money-controlled machines, was destroying republican government, just as the Republic of Florence was destroyed by the di Medici family and its

corrupt use of wealth, while the outward form of free government remained intact. He might have seen the vital necessity of adopting practical provisions for insuring to the people their own government instead of permitting it to be turned over to the industrial autocracy that was making it far less responsive to the public will than the limited monarchy of England; and he might have awakened to the fact that through the abuse of the injunction power on the part of many judges who ere their elevation to the bench had been long trained to serve privileged wealth, an intolerable form of tyranny, as dangerous as it was inimical to the genius of free government, was being slowly but surely fastened upon the people through successive precedents and aggressive autocratic action taken by the judiciary.

Now if the Secretary had experienced this change of heart on these two great points which are vital issues in the momentous battle of the feudalism of privileged wealth against the people and the genius of a democratic republican government, the plutocracy must know the fact. If he dared to advocate provisions for guaranteeing in a practical manner the rule of the people and for opposing abuse of the injunction power, that large section of the plutocracy who were shrewd enough to advocate his nomination must know the truth, so that they could fix upon a more "available man."

It was therefore to Oklahoma that numbers of the privileged class, eagerly turned, as did thousands of American citizens who wished to believe that Taft was less the tool of the plutocracy than the support he was receiving from various plutocratic influences indicated. For the issues in Oklahoma were clear cut. Two of the cardinal provisions of the splendid constitution that had been framed by statesmen elected by an overwhelming vote of the people, voiced the spirit of democracy on these two great questions. The constitution makers had followed the splendid example of the people of Oregon, in embedding Direct-Legislation as a charter right, in order to make practically effective a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; and this constitution had also declared that the old Anglo-Saxon safeguard of jury trial should not be abrogated by an autocratic and unrepugnant ruling made by a judge who very easily might owe his elevation to the bench to the fact that the great corpora-

tions he had served faithfully for years in their systematic attempts to evade and defy the laws, had demanded for him this place in return for their campaign contributions and other aid rendered the boss and the money-controlled machine.

The spectacle presented by Mr. Taft journeying to Oklahoma was in itself amazing and indicative of the changed order, in which a few men assumed the right to say what a sovereign people should or should not have in their organic constitution. But aside from the impudent and offensive attempt to meddle with something that he had no right to interfere with, the important point for the voters was to see on which side Mr. Taft's influence would be thrown: whether for the people or for the plutocracy; for the friends of popular government or for the industrial autocracy and its corrupt and grafting servants. And happily for the people, Mr. Taft left no doubt as to his position. He has justified the good opinion of the great Wall-street organ of the "interests" by taking his stand squarely with the reactionary and unrepudiated plutocracy. He sneered at the provisions to safeguard free government through Direct-Legislation, and he attacked the power to preserve to the people the vital and inestimable provision of trial by jury. In commenting on this meddling on the part of Secretary Taft, the *New York American* in an editorial leader for August 26th well said:

"In his latest speech Secretary Taft advises citizens of Oklahoma what they shall do in their local affairs. His advice is to the effect that they shall reject their proposed State Constitution. If they do not, he puts out the veiled threat that the President may do it for them.

"One of the points to which the Secretary objects is a Democratic gerrymander of the new State. It must be admitted that gerrymanders are bad, but they are not confined to Oklahoma. They are also known in New York and in Mr. Taft's own State of Ohio. Yet the Federal Government does not feel called upon to interfere in these States. Why should it interfere in Oklahoma?

"The main objection the Secretary has to the Constitution the defeat of which he seeks, however, is that it provides a jury trial in injunction cases. The people of Oklahoma, having seen the abuse of the injunction else-

where, determined that no court could arbitrarily punish a man in their State until he is convicted by a jury of his peers.

"The Anglo-Saxon race fought for centuries to obtain just this right and supposed it had won the victory. That point seemed clearly established when this nation was founded. Yet the courts have so far usurped authority that they do punish men without right of trial by jury. This form of judicial tyranny the Oklahoma Constitution seeks to abrogate. It says that any man can demand a jury trial before he can be convicted for violating a court injunction. It thus seeks to rewrite in the charter of liberty a fundamental and recognized principle.

"Thereupon Secretary Taft travels all the way from Washington to meddle in Oklahoma concerns and to denounce the attempt to interpose a jury between the people's rights and the tyrannical court injunction.

"To uphold the interference of the Federal judiciary he, a Federal official, himself interferes with the affairs of a prospective American State."

In further commenting on the abuse of the power of injunction, the new and powerful weapon of the plutocracy against the people, the *American* alludes to the significant fact that this very instrument is now being employed to nullify the railroad laws enacted by the people's representatives in a number of the states for the better protection of the people from the greed, avarice and extortion of the great public-service corporations.

"Does Taft travel half way across the continent," it says, "and invade the local affairs of Oklahoma in order to fasten this form of tyranny on another state?

"Taft himself has been a Federal judge and has employed the injunction. In one of his most famous decisions he used it against labor. He therefore knows its powers and its abuses.

"The answer of the people to him and to the injunction itself should be a campaign for the popular election of all judges. We have had enough railroad attorneys on the bench and we have had enough judicial interference with the fundamental rights of man."

In his double rôle of Dr. Jekyll, the talker, and Mr. Hyde, the worker, Mr. Taft is more picturesque than satisfactory.

FORAKER TELLS AN UGLY STORY OUT OF SCHOOL WHICH SHOWS HOW LODGE SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE LAW-BREAKERS IN FRAMING THE RATE BILL.

WE HAVE on several occasions called the attention of our readers to how the machine politicians, the boss and the servants of the corporations in our legislative halls defeat the intended ends of legislation by jugglery with the phrasing of laws; sometimes by the insertion of words that will make the statute unconstitutional; sometimes by the insertion of words that afford a loophole for the escape of the rich law-breakers.

In an interview which Senator Foraker gave out, following Mr. Taft's Columbus speech, the Ohio Senator gave a striking illustration of this nature when he told an ugly truth out of school and pointed out how Senator Lodge had juggled with the wording of the rate bill so that it will work in the interests of the rich law-breakers. Mr. Foraker said:

"The rate bill, instead of strengthening the Elkins bill, weakens it. Through an amendment inserted by Senator Lodge, a friend of

the administration, the harm was done, and his amendment required proof that an offense was 'knowingly' done. If," he continued, "the Standard Oil rebate offenses had been committed after this amendment, the word 'knowingly' would have cost the United States \$29,000,000 in fines in Judge Landis' court."

Senator Foraker is no saint; as a guardian of the people's interests when the avarice of corporate greed is whetted, he is exactly the kind of shepherd the wolves would be likely to select, but whatever else may be said of Mr. Foraker, he is not a hypocrite. One knows approximately where he stands, and he is not unfrequently disagreeably frank. In the present instance this frankness is valuable as giving a concrete illustration of how the political bosses and tools of corporate interests systematically defeat the ends of justice in the interests of the enemies of the people.

PEACE THE HANDMAID OF PROGRESS AND GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRACY.

A FEW years ago *Life* published a striking cartoon representing Columbia at the parting of the ways. On the one side was war and foreign conquest; the ideal of the militant or imperialistic republic dominating a field devastated by slaughter, fire and the widespread desolation that follows in the wake of war. The other path led to the sunlit heights of prosperity and happiness through justice, peace and brotherhood.

These two concepts are part of the contrasting or warring ideals that face the Republic to-day and which must soon mark the settled policy of this nation. The theory of a strong government based on physical force instead of drawing its strength from moral greatness, is a part of a brood of reactionary ideals that belong to the theory of class-rule and are alien to the foundation principles of

the fathers and the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. They have gained hold on the popular imagination as the commercial feudalism, whose dominating thought has been material wealth rather than moral greatness, has gained ascendancy in the nation. But these concepts are inimical to a democratic republic. Indeed, we believe that no republic can long live which supports a large standing army. Class interests, personal ambition and a powerful engine to further the interests of the two, would end the republic as so often has been the case with experiments in free government in the past.

No greater fallacy was ever advanced than that this nation, isolated as she is from the reactionary and jealous Old World powers, needs a great fighting force at home to pre-

serve her greatness. Indeed, the presence of such a force would be a double menace: it would make the nation the easy prey of conscienceless and intriguing influences that sought war for selfish ends, and it would be an even greater menace to popular government from the constant threat, as indicated above, emanating through the union of privileged wealth and personal ambition, when the people strove to shackle cunning and jail criminals in a business-like and effective manner. Happily for America the day of moral lethargy seems to be passing and a strong sentiment is springing up in various parts of the land which is aggressively opposed to the military ideal.

One of the recent examples of this nature was seen in Kansas, when the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor E. T. Fairchild, took a pronounced stand for the cause of peace and civilization. The National Rifle Association recently tried to have rifle shooting taught in the public schools. Mr. Fairchild had just returned from attending the meeting of the National Educational Association at Los Angeles, when his attention was called to the request for the teaching of shooting. To a representative of the *Topeka Daily Journal* Superintendent Fairchild said:

"There will be no rifle shooting taught in the public schools of Kansas so

long as I have anything to say about it.

"I received one communication on this subject several months ago and did not look with favor upon it at the time. It was talked of quite generally at the Los Angeles meeting. The president of the association made an address on the subject and urged that teachers of United States history should try to place less emphasis on the war side of the records, and more on the important commercial and social movements. He showed that the schools of the world, by their teachings, might do much toward the promotion of universal peace by teaching less about the wars of nations. Children in the schools should be taught that there is something better than war, and some heroes greater than military heroes.

"I do not believe in the plan of offering a course of rifle shooting to the boys in the public schools. The idea is that it will encourage the art of war, and furnish a foundation for a future great army. I am opposed to that sort of thing."

It will be noted that the President of the National Educational Association took a high stand for true civilization and against longer fostering the reactionary and un-Christian ideal of the imperialistic, military and anti-republican element in the nation.

Peace is the sister of freedom, the guardian of democracy, the handmaid of progress.

UNIQUE TAXATION IN FORCE IN EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

MR. J. J. PASTORIZA, a valued friend of *THE ARENA*, who is making a special study of municipal government and of taxation, recently handed us two communications he had received, one from Mr. D. M. McMillan, city assessor of Edmonton, and the other from Mr. A. G. Harrison, Secretary of the Board of Trade of the same city. The letters are in reply to questions relative to the way Edmonton levied its taxes. The assessor wrote:

"In answer to your favor received this A. M., allow me to state that this city does not tax buildings or any improvements. Taxes are levied on land, businesses, income and special franchises. We license real estate, offices feed and sale stables, drays,

barber shops, pool rooms, bowling alleys, etc. The city receives half of the liquor licenses imposed upon hotels by the Province. Land is assessed at its actual cash value. We assess no stocks, but instead, we take the floor space of the buildings and get the number of square feet and multiply the same by the classification for the certain business carried on.

"We charge banks \$7.50 per square foot. Jewelry, \$5.00. Ordinary stores \$4.00 and warehouses \$1.00. These amounts are placed on the assessment roll and the same rate levied as on land.

"Persons in receipt of income outside of their business, such as salaries, interest, etc., are taxed over and above \$1,000.00 per annum. This income arrived at is placed

on roll and levied upon the same as upon land.

"The rates levied for 1906 were: $7\frac{1}{2}$ mills for general rate, $\frac{3}{4}$ mills for debenture rate and $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills for school. Total $10\frac{1}{2}$ mills on the dollar."

The Secretary of the Board of Trade gave some additional information of interest. He also indicates the way the farmers of the Province adjust their taxation. We quote from his communication the following:

"Houses and personal property are not taxed; neither are the improvements on a lot. The assessed valuation of the city of Edmonton of \$17,000,000 refers only to the realty and not to the buildings at all. . . . The city of Edmonton is the only city in the world so far as I know having this system of taxation. It is a combination of the Henry George theory and one of our own. Our city is granted a charter by the Provincial Government and under that charter we have our home rule as we draw it up ourselves and have amended it from time to time.

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"There is no such thing as a tax on farmers' stock or implements, the only tax he pays is his school tax and local improvements tax, the amount and rate of which is fixed by himself at his local improvement board meeting and school board meeting. The tax runs from \$5 to \$10 per quarter section of 160 acres at the present time.

"In this country the farmers get together and form a local improvement district of their own and a local school district of their own, and consequently are their own masters as far as taxation is concerned. They plan the cost of road improvements or school houses and the amount of the teachers' salaries and tax themselves in proportion. There is no tax on implements or stock. The school tax runs about \$4.50 and the improvement tax about \$5.50 on each quarter section as explained, which is not very heavy.

"The city man pays for city taxes only; there is no state tax. The Province gets its revenue from the Federal Government at Ottawa and from the railways and corporations doing business in the Province. The farmer has the best of it in this country, not the worst of it."

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

The Washington Campaign.

WE ARE in receipt of a letter from a Washington Republican State Senator to Mr. George H. Shibley which throws light on the campaign for direct-legislation in that state at the recent legislative session, and also upon the outlook for the next fight. After speaking of the introduction of the measure in the Senate, he says:

"Recognizing from the outset the impossibility of getting the necessary two-thirds vote to carry in the Senate, we secured the introduction of a bill in the House of Representatives by Hon. Glen Rauck, an influential Republican member from Vancouver, Clark county (which lies directly across the Columbia river from Portland, Oregon, and where the Portland *Oregonian* is the daily

gospel and has, with the Oregon experience, converted the people into a recognition of their own sovereignty).

"Without any preliminary work or organization along systematic lines, but with the quick and hearty coöperation of the State Federation of Labor, the State Grange, and the leaders of various other reform movements, the legislature was fairly deluged with petitions for the passage of the bill. I had never in my most optimistic moments dreamed of so spontaneous and practically unanimous response—the limit of signatures seemed to be only the number of people reached by our volunteers—there were no class distinctions in the signers. The same mail that brought me the scrawling signatures from a backwoods logging camp, brought me a list from a leading office building in Seattle, including some

of the leading professional and business men of our city. The *moral forces* of our state were and are solidly in line. It became speedily apparent that just two forces were opposed, *viz.*, the special privilege corporation interests and the organized liquor traffic (*N. B.*—Some institutions see their 'finish').

"The legislature had been elected on a *Direct Primary* issue, after a six-year campaign for that reform. It was a frequent statement that a majority of the members, particularly in the Senate, were at heart opposed but dared not defeat the popular will. Hence we secured the enactment of that law, and I did not permit any intrusion or interference of our Direct-Legislation program in the prior political position of the Direct Primary, yet it was surprising—in result, not in cause—that the practical oneness of the two propositions began to dawn upon the minds of all. When the time came for a vote on Mr. Rauck's bill in the House, after an altogether one-sided debate, it carried by more than the necessary two-thirds vote and came to the Senate. Being brought to a vote it received the defeat which was expected (25 to 15, if I recall vote correctly) but we secured a *roll-call record* which indicates the sentiment of every member of both House and Senate and paves the way for future successful action. Possibly the expression of Senator S. T. Smith—a Republican of the conservative 'business interests' school—in the debate which preceded the vote in the Senate will best indicate our situation. His remarks were something like this:

"I do n't know whether I altogether believe in this new-fangled proposition or not—I have n't studied it enough to fully understand it—but I know that this proposition is coming in this state and we 'll have to take it whether we like it or not. It 's the Direct Primary this year and it will be the Initiative and Referendum two years from now. You might just as well vote for it voluntarily now as to be compelled to do it two years from now. I know that the best people in my county (Snohomish) want this law, and I intend to vote for it at this time.'

"Since the legislature adjourned, a temporary organization of a State Direct-Legislation League has been effected with W. H. Kaufman (address, Bellingham, Washington) as secretary. The movement will be thoroughly pressed from now on and we confidently expect success at the legislative session

in 1909. My term extends over that session as do nine others who voted for the bill; 22 seats are to be filled by election, November, 1908, the total number of senators is 42."

The Work in Missouri.

THE MISSOURI legislature, as the readers of THE ARENA know, passed a concurrent resolution submitting to the people a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum. This amendment will be voted upon at the general election of November, 1908, and the Missouri Direct-Legislation League of which Dr. W. P. Hill is the president is putting forth a splendid campaign of heroic and devoted work to secure a full vote at that time. Miss Anna Beard, Dr. Hill's efficient helper, sends us a copy of a cartoon they are sending out to the press of the state. She says: "We have experimented by sending out plates of cartoons and plates of editorial matter and have found that pictures are 'open books' to the country people. One editor secured 16 new subscriptions in one week as the result of the cartoon he printed. The league has engaged John Z. White for one whole year to speak throughout the state. He will begin in November and make an average of four addresses a week. Since he is the best man that can be secured, you will see that we are quite in earnest about making a success of our fight in Missouri. Mr. S. R. Tyler is making a summer and fall trip throughout northwest Missouri and making curbstone talks and handing out circulars. A memorial meeting will be held in October by the Single Tax League in memory of Mrs. Nake and her daughter, two active members, who were drowned in the recent 'Columbia' disaster off the northern coast of California. Bigelow may come over from Cincinnati and speak on that occasion."

Topeka, Kansas.

THERE is little doubt, says the *Municipal Journal*, that Topeka will adopt the commission plan of government. The petitioners calling an election already have nearly the required number of signatures. The Des Moines, rather than the Galveston plan, will be adopted. The Des Moines plan provides for the recall of a councilman whose conduct causes dissatisfaction, and also provides for the initiative and referendum. A petition bearing signatures numbering 25 per cent. of

the total vote cast at the previous election is necessary to hold a recall election. Legislation may initiate on petition of 25 per cent. of the voters.

Items.

THE BILL in the Massachusetts legislature for the direct election of United States Senators was killed by a *strictly party vote*. The 11 Democrats voted for it and the 22 Republicans voted against it. Can it be that the Republican members of the upper house of the Great and General Court doubt that the people whom they are supposed to "represent" so perfectly would vote for Mr. Lodge, the great arch-enemy of popular government, to "represent" them in the Federal Senate?

THREE amendments to the Cambridge, Massachusetts, city charter will be submitted to referendum vote at the coming election.

THE PROHIBITIONISTS of North Dakota are on the war-path again over the provision in the constitutional amendment applying to constitutional amendments. They are afraid of resubmission. Governor Burke has endorsed their position and says the initiative and referendum should apply only to statutory laws. There is little likelihood however that the amendment will be defeated by the people and so the only thing the Prohibitionists can do is to try to prevent its actual submission, through the courts.

THE Omaha Federation of Improvement Clubs recently adopted a plan whereby it is believed the operations of the initiative and referendum law may be expedited, the scheme being to have a roster of from 4,000 to 6,000 persons throughout the city, who will upon request sign referendum petitions which bear the indorsement of the federation. By having these names divided into districts it is believed that the necessary number of signatures may be secured on a petition within twenty-four hours. Much of the repairing which has been done this season on the pavements by the city engineer was condemned by the federation, the charge being made that many of the repair patches do not stick to the pavements. The federation proposes to get into the fight in a way to compel efficiency and honesty in public affairs.

ALDEN FREEMAN, Jardine Wallace, Edmund D. Torpey, and Willis F. Small East Orange's Independent candidates for councilman, and member of the Board of Edu-

cation, Justice of Peace, and Constable, respectively, have conducted the oddest political campaign the state has witnessed in many years. All four are pledged to the personal working out of the initiative and referendum principle if they are elected to office. Before the close of the campaign it is their purpose to visit every house in their district and interview the men and women explaining their views and aims. The four are armed with visiting cards in the shape of small leaflets, bearing the pictures of the candidates and a brief statement of what they stand for. Their platform as stated on the circular, is as follows:

"Honest elections, direct nominations, recount of primary ballots, publication of campaign expenses, separate city elections, square deal between the corporations and the people, publicity for public business, civil service examinations for city employes, railroad track depression, retention of present railroad stations, strict enforcement of laws and contracts, a non-partisan administration of the city government."

THE PEOPLE of Wheeling, West Virginia, took a referendum vote on a school board issue July 16th which resulted in an affirmative majority of 2,924 to 892.

THE WISCONSIN legislature passed a bill providing that in the cities of the state an ordinance could be submitted to the voters on a 10 per cent. petition, and Governor Davidson vetoed it.

MELROSE, Massachusetts, held a special referendum election on two measures July 23d, both of which were defeated. The first was a bill calling for the appropriation of \$25,000 for the erection of city stables on Tremont street, which had been passed by the Aldermen and approved by Mayor Moore. This was defeated by 519 to 291. The other was for the appropriation of \$15,000 for a continuous edgestone, and out of the 778 votes cast, 333 voted for it and 445 against. A referendum vote on such matters is allowable by the city charter when 100 citizens petition.

AT THE primary election of August 7th the citizens of Atlanta took advisory referendum votes upon two proposed amendments to the city charter. The amendment providing for majority rule in primaries was favored by 2,775 to 803. The amendment

providing for the popular election of a large number of city officers who are now appointed carried by 2,697 to 1,128. These votes were ordered by the city executive committee of the Democratic party merely to get an expression from the people.

IN A SPEECH made at Oklahoma City, August 24th, Secretary Taft "took a rap at the initiative and referendum" which lays him open either to a charge of insincerity or to the grave suspicion that he does not believe in popular government. To be sure, it was only a "rap." After complaining about the alleged gerrymander of the state by the Democrats, he said: "This itself shows what a mockery an attempt by initiative and referendum to ascertain the true will of the people was, and how empty their declaration 'let the people rule.'" He advised the people of Oklahoma to vote against the adoption of the constitution.

ANOTHER "to-be-bossless" party has been organized in Brooklyn by some energetic and patriotic citizens who have struggled vainly to ally themselves with various political organizations in the hope of finding pure politics, but have severed connections with various so-called reform parties because of their dependence on a boss. The new party platform contains clauses for the referendum and initiative, equal suffrage, three-cent carfares during rush hours, public-ownership and operation of all public utilities.

THE PORTLAND *Oregonian* challenges the Democratic opponents of Mr. Bryan to show why the National initiative and referendum is so absurd as represented by them. This is a fair demand. They know something about how it works in Oregon. Too many of Mr. Bryan's editorial critics, there is reason to believe, do not even know what the initiative and referendum is.

THE HULLABALOO raised throughout the country in criticism of the referendum on South Dakota's so-called reform divorce law has been based on an unquestioned assumption that the quick passage of the law is of all things devoutly to be wished for. Perhaps so. Perhaps not. It is at least pleasant to find a saner view expressed by the *Chicago Record-Herald*. It says:

"The referendum may prove a blessing in disguise. We have had divorce congresses

galore, but a popular expression on the question will be a novelty. The country will know what the qualified voters of South Dakota think of the get-divorced-quick business, and the knowledge is bound to be useful."

THE CONNECTICUT Senate, which is Republican by 27 to 8, voted to refer the six and a half-million dollar bond issue to a referendum vote of the citizens at the next general election, but the House saved the party from such a "wild and revolutionary action."

THE DEMOCRATIC party of Alabama made a rule that the persons who should succeed Senators Morgan and Pettus should be chosen at primary elections by popular vote in the party, directing the governor to appoint the successful candidate. This method of procedure for the selection of senators has been followed in other Southern states, as well as Alabama, and in the next Congress there will be several senators who have been chosen directly by the people.

THE PORTLAND *Oregonian* fitly calls attention to two instances of attempted use of the referendum where the proper and effective course would have been the employment of the initiative. These were the attempts made by certain granges to refer the State University appropriation, and the effort of the Multnomah County Court to kill the bill by which the legislature had very properly established the rights of sheriffs and so frustrated a game of spite which that particular court was playing. Both these referendum petitions were declared irregular and thrown out, but, as the *Oregonian* very properly says, in these cases the initiative rather than the referendum should have been employed.

JUDGE LINDSEY points out that the Guggenheims bought the Colorado legislature before the reign of unwritten law began in that state, "but," says the *Detroit News*, "he omits telling that they bought the legislature to prevent the calling of a constitutional convention for the adoption of the initiative and referendum."

THE CONSTITUTION of Rhode Island says:

"The General Assembly shall have no power, hereafter, without the express consent of the people, to incur state debts to an amount exceeding fifty thousand dollars, except in time of war, or in case of insurrection or invasion.

A PETITION was signed by 14,700 electors of the city of San Francisco, calling for an amendment of the city charter raising the salaries of the entire police force. Under the San Francisco charter the proposed amendment must be submitted to a referendum.

THE MUNICIPAL League of Detroit has been questioning the candidates for delegates to the Constitutional Convention to be held in Detroit and throughout the state, as to their

attitude on the initiative and referendum, right of municipalities to own and operate public utilities, and home rule for cities. Out of 45 answers received in August 88 replied that they are in favor of the initiative and referendum—while 33 out of 41 favor municipal-ownership and home rule.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the National Proportional Representation League.

Notes.

THE SECRETARY has prepared a list of the members of the American Proportional Representation League classified alphabetically by states, etc., and has sent a copy to each member of the League.

THE Saint Cloud *Union Herald* editorially supports Proportional Representation, citing the Oregon inequality as an illustration.

READERS of this publication who become aware of any news concerning Proportional Representation or the movement for obtaining it, or its use in voluntary associations, will confer a great favor by communicating with the editor of this department.

THE Proportional Representation Society of England has published a full account of its test election in a well-printed pamphlet of 24 pages, several copies of which were kindly sent me by Mr. John H. Humphreys, the secretary.

IN THE *Canadian Municipal Journal*, published in Montreal, a series of articles on improving voting methods is appearing in leisurely fashion, one every three or four months—which is perhaps the best way of keeping the subject longer before the readers. Proportional Representation has been dealt with, and preferential voting for mayors, etc., is promised as the subject of the next article.

THE CITY of Everett, Washington, with a population of about 21,000, is expected to be advanced to a city of the first class, with a new charter. Several gentlemen are taking

the opportunity of advancing the idea of Proportional Representation for the city elections, together with the initiative and referendum.

New Rule Books.

A NEW edition of Proportional Representation rule books is now ready. The title is *Voting Methods for Associations, Societies, Trades Unions, Clubs, etc.* Previous to being put in pamphlet form, the matter has appeared in the shape of three articles published in three successive issues of *The Voice*, Winnipeg, Manitoba. The editor of that journal is Mr. Arthur W. Puttee, ex-member of the parliament of Canada and a staunch friend of Direct-Legislation and Proportional Representation.

The rule books deal with the election of single officers by the preferential method, and with the election of committees, etc., on the proportional principle. Three different plans are given for the latter, namely, the simple Single Vote, the Double Vote, and the Hare-Spence System.

Single copies may be obtained from the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, 10 Harbord street, Toronto, Canada, on sending him two or three postage stamps. He will quote prices for quantities on application.

Missouri.

MR. SHERIDAN WEBSTER has been elected a delegate to a joint committee of civic organizations in St. Louis, Missouri, for the

purpose of securing changes in the charter of that city—possibly an entirely new charter. Mr. Webster is a member of the Proportional Representation League. He wants to get Direct-Legislation and Proportional Representation into the amended charter. Being on the sub-committee to suggest plan of organization and work, he is in a good position to keep these fundamental reforms to the front in the work of the joint civic committee.

Oregon.

THE SENTIMENT in Oregon is growing rapidly. A resolution was introduced and strongly supported in the State Grange, demanding Single-Member Legislative Districts. It was defeated and a large majority of the delegates and members present were strongly in favor of some plan of Proportional Representation.

The last election, in which fifty-nine Republicans and only one Democrat were elected to the House of Representatives, has done much to call the attention of our people to the glaring injustice of our present system.

Kansas.

JUDGE RUPPENTHAL writes:

"Kansas has been having a great fight and thorough discussion of the primary elections idea, and there is quite a strong element who favor the primary law, but insist upon a preferential ballot, so that a majority can (and must) nominate. One paper, the *Topeka Daily State Journal*, stands very firmly for this feature.

"I have done all I could, not only to aid in securing a primary law, but also to get a preferential feature into the law. I was at the last session of the legislature several days, and talked over the matter very fully with all the leaders of both parties. (There are not party lines in the primary fight here, as most Democrats favor it, and most Republicans.) The law was finally defeated by the anti-reform element, but it will be the foremost issue in 1908 in state matters.

"All of this helps Proportional Representation indirectly, and I am hoping for Proportional Representation (or preferential voting) in a primary law, as from that we can easily argue for preferential voting in general elections, and Proportional Representation next. The predominance of the primary fight has caused Proportional Representation, and the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall,

and all similar matters to pass to the background."

Great Britain.

LORD COURTNEY has introduced into the House of Lords a measure called "The Municipal Representation Bill." It is purely permissive in character. Any municipal council may adopt it, or abandon it if dissatisfied with its working. If it is adopted no change will be made in the distribution of seats; as at present, the whole borough, or the wards where the borough is divided, would remain the constituency. But in the first place the elections will be triennial, so that the whole council in every borough will be elected simultaneously; and in the second place the elector is not, as at present, to have as many votes as there are members to be chosen, but one transferable vote, which he may allot to the candidates in the order of his preference.

The bill has been accorded a second reading and has been referred to a select committee for examination and report.

Australia.

THE Anglican Provincial Synod of Victoria, Australia, uses the full Hare-Spence system, as also does the metropolitan diocese of Melbourne.

THE Melbourne *Age*, perhaps the most powerful daily newspaper in Australia, gave strong editorial support to a bill in the Commonwealth Parliament which provided for preferential voting in single-member districts.

PROFESSOR NANSON, of the Melbourne University, continues to do excellent work by writing and speaking in favor of Proportional Representation.

The English Society.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Proportional Representation Society was held at the house of the president, Lord Avebury, 6 St. James Square, London. The report for 1906 stated that the membership of the society had steadily increased during the year, and that there had been a growing demand for information regarding its proposals.

In the course of the president's remarks, he said that Proportional Representation had been in operation in Denmark for half a century and in Switzerland for a considerable number of years. In Belgium it had been a great success, and he was authorized by the Belgian minister to say that the system worked very satisfactorily. One drawback

to our present system was that many excellent men on both sides lost their seats.

Sir William Anson said that a great injury was done to the political life of the country generally by the present practice of basing representation in the House of Commons almost entirely upon single-member constituencies. The elector in some constituencies found himself in a permanent minority and never got represented at all. In other constituencies where there was a fighting chance the elector found that he was reduced to voting either for the nominee of one party or of the other, with neither of which he might

really agree,—for there were many graduations in politics,—or of not voting at all. This system really gave the elector no choice. The member, too, became too much like a counter in the party game and too little like the free choice of the electors, to whom otherwise he might recommend himself in many ways. It also put the members too much at the mercy of the government and enabled the government to hold office after it had obviously lost the confidence of the country.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Concord, Massachusetts.

IT IS claimed that Concord has the cheapest, most efficient and best municipal electric plant to be found in this country. A few years ago a promoter appeared before a special light committee in this historic town and stated that an adequate plant might be equipped for \$16,000. Colonel Richard F. Barrett was then as now, chairman of the light board. He took exceptions to the cost stated and said that to install a plant suitable to the needs of Concord would necessitate an expenditure of \$100,000. Colonel Barrett pointed out that if there was a profit in lighting, it was only common sense that Concord should make it instead of outside promoters and capitalists. That there was a profit he was convinced, for otherwise there would not be such anxiety to obtain a charter to light the town. Concord then gave authority to Colonel Barrett and his associates on the board, to install a lighting plant. February 2, 1900, the electric lighting system was put in operation and the service both public and private was first class from the start. Concord people were given light at rates as low as those of any other town or city in the state except Danvers. The rate was 12 cents per kilowatt hour, and the charge for street lighting and electricity for power and cooking was proportionately low. Last April the Board gave the townsfolk a surprise

that was hailed with acclaim, by voluntarily reducing the cost of lighting. Now the lighting is cheaper than in any town or city in Massachusetts. Current has since then been charged for at the following rates: For light, 10 cents per kilowatt hour; for power, 6 cents per kilowatt hour; for cooking purposes, 4 cents per kilowatt hour. There is a minimum charge of 75 cents per month for light, \$1.50 for power and \$2 per month for cooking purposes from April 1st to September 30th, and \$1 per month from October 1st to March 31st. The Concord charge for electric lighting per kilowatt hour being 10 cents is several cents lower than anywhere else in the state. The cost in Boston is between 15 and 20 cents. How is it done? Well, there are no private profits for privileged capitalists, there are no politics in the plant, and there is close and wise economy. Roughly speaking, the Concord lighting plant has cost in cash payments on construction during the nine years since its birth, \$114,500. The number of consumers supplied in January of the current year was 474. There were but 50 customers when the plant started.

Municipal Lighting in Canada.

TWENTY-SEVEN per cent. of the electric light plants in Canada are municipal, 98 being owned by cities as against 259 private plants, according to the Central Station List

for March, 1907. This is a slightly higher percentage than for the United States, the latter being at that time 24.9 per cent. or 1,096 as against 3,305 private electric-light concerns. More than half the total number are located in the province of Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia coming next in the list. Most of the cities with municipal plants have a population of less than 10,000 except St. Thomas, Guelph, Glace Bay, Kingston, Fort William and Valleyfield (Quebec) and Victoria. A gain of 18 municipal electric plants was made in the year since March, 1906.

Municipal gas plants are owned by the following cities and towns: Moncton, Belleville, Berlin, Brockville, Guelph, Kingston, London, Owen Sound, St. Thomas, Waterloo and Sorel. Two towns, Newcastle and Pictou, after acquiring the gas plants substituted electricity in their stead. Virden, in the province of Manitoba, owns an acetylene gas plant, supplying a population of about 2,500; Morris, Manitoba, also has its acetylene plant.

Canada Organizes.

THE Canadian Public-Ownership League was organized recently at Toronto, Canada. There were about fifty delegates from the five local leagues of a similar character in the city. A constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: President, A. W. Wright; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. Walter Curry and Jesse Wright of Toronto Junction; Recording Secretary, C. W. Cavers; Corresponding Secretary, J. H. Duthrie; Treasurer, Dr. E. H. Adams. Executive Committee, Messrs. J. M. Wilkinson, R. G. Agnew, W. V. Todd, H. W. Joslin, J. L. Richardson, W. A. Sherwood and E. M. Dumas. The objects of the league are stated to be: "To enlist the hearty coöperation of all persons, irrespective of creed or politics, who approve the principle of public-ownership as laid down in our platform; to carry on an active propaganda for the purpose of arousing public opinion on this subject; to bring the principle of public-ownership within the sphere of practical politics, and to obtain for the people the initiative and referendum in respect to the public-ownership of utilities."

Legal Decision on Purchase of Water-Works.

THE Eau Claire Water Company in a suit against the city of Eau Claire sought to re-

strain the city from enforcing an alleged right to purchase the plaintiff's water-works. The suit was brought before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. The water-works were built under a grant of 1885 and have furnished water to the city ever since. In 1900, in accordance with the provision of the ordinance, the city began proceedings for an appraisal of the property with a view to exercising its right to purchase. After the appraisal was made the city refused to exercise its right to purchase the property and the company continued its ownership and control until 1902, when differences arose between the city and the owners of the water-works respecting the sufficiency of the plant and the services rendered. In the meantime the bondholders had had a receiver appointed. In view of these circumstances certain improvements of the plant were decided upon and carried out at an expense of \$60,000. In 1905 the city notified the company that it desired an appraisal for the purpose of purchasing the works. Arbitrators were appointed—the company protesting—and the appraisal completed. In regard to the contention of the plaintiff that the city had no power to contract for the purchase of the water-works and that, therefore, the parts of the ordinance respecting it were null and void, the court said that the power of a city to establish, maintain and operate a system of water-works has been clearly recognized as within the exercise of powers granted to it to accomplish the usual functions pertaining to police regulations. The plaintiffs claimed that as steps were taken for the appointment of appraisers before the expiration of the five-year period, the proceedings were therefore void; but the court held that the city was not bound to decide whether it would purchase until the appraisal was made, so that a notice to the water company to appoint appraisers, served on August 4, 1905, was not premature when the five-year period was about to expire December 15th. Regarding the company's claim that the city was financially unable to consummate the purchase, the court decided that the question could not be determined at that time and that its merits could not arise under the facts.

Misinformation.

THE PRESS bureaus maintained by the public utility corporations of this country for the purpose of disseminating false informa-

tion on public-ownership are still shamelessly busy, notwithstanding the recent exposures of their nefarious work.

The *Pittsburg Leader* was "favored" with several contributions from one of these agencies recently, showing the blessings of private-ownership of natural monopolies and the loss and disaster that invariably follow public-ownership and operation of any of the public utilities. In particular these "news" items attacked the public light and water plant of Martin's Ferry, West Virginia, representing it as badly managed and inefficient. But the *Leader* got the facts about Martin's Ferry and promptly disputed the story as printed in the other papers. The story went just the same, however, and has been widely copied throughout the country.

Another striking example of the methods and shrewdness of these professional falsifiers is the report of the "failure" of "municipal-ownership" in Baltimore, where an old, inefficient and isolated dynamo which has been used for lighting the city hall was thrown out and power bought of the private lighting corporation which has the franchise for the city's electric lighting and is therefore in a position to produce power economically. Such "newspapers" as the *New York Times* reported that incident in this way: "Baltimore has abandoned its municipal lighting plant because a private company offered to supply the same illumination at one-quarter the city's cost."

Philadelphia Gas.

THE ORDINANCE continuing the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works to the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, upon practically the same terms as the old lease, has been approved by the city council. The loud protests of the citizens and civic bodies were of no avail, and the corrupt council practically gave the U. G. I. a present of \$25,000,000 and absolute control of the gas works during the next twenty years. Here is an example of that "public-ownership without public operation" of which we are seeing so much theoretical advocacy in a certain class of milk-and-water journals.

Rio de Janeiro, The Paris of South America.

THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED citizens of Rio de Janeiro, having decided to make it a beautiful city, went about the necessary improvements

in a business-like way. The Federal Congress gave to Mayor Passos and other gentlemen who were to have charge of the rebuilding of the city unusual powers. They could condemn property and establish an equitable system of valuation. A municipal opera house, a National Library and a National School of Fine Arts have been built on the beautiful central avenue. Whole districts of squalid tenements were torn down and \$600,000 expended in building model homes for workingmen. The Light and Power Company of Rio de Janeiro has been given many closely guarded franchise privileges and is under strict control, as a semi-public corporation, paving the way for public-ownership. It operates nearly all the public utilities of the city, the one hundred and twenty-five miles of street-railway, the public lighting, the furnishing of gas, and also has the telephone concession. All concessions of this kind are taxed annually, based on their gross receipts, and at the expiration of fifty years the entire properties revert to the government without extra compensation.

Wisconsin's New Law.

AT THE recent session of the Wisconsin legislature a law was passed providing for the issuance of certificates of indebtedness by cities in the case of the purchase of public utilities, such certification to be against the public utility property. The act places utilities operated by municipalities on the same basis, as regards revenues and system of accounting as utilities operated by private companies. Allowance must be made for depreciation and taxes in establishing rates.

Postal Reform.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL MEYER has promised to make some recommendation to the incoming congress for important reforms in the different branches of the service. The establishment of a parcels-post and a postal savings-bank, both of which have been demanded by THE ARENA for many years, are two reforms to which he has committed himself. Mr. Meyer says the proposed parcels-post system has not been worked out in detail, but out of consideration for the express companies, it is safe to say, the weight of the parcel will be limited to eight or ten pounds. The need for a savings-bank department seem to be proved, he says, by the practice many foreign and American work-

men have of purchasing postal orders payable to themselves, which they can cash at pleasure. Even for the interest they do not care to take the risk of putting money in savings banks. Out of consideration, likewise, for the private savings-bank industry, the amount of individual deposits will be limited to a small figure. Of course the banking and express interests so faithfully represented at the Capital will do yeoman service in crippling the efficiency and value of any such reforms if they cannot again succeed in preventing them altogether. Another innovation proposed is the stamp-vending machine to be placed in hotels and public places. They are now in use in Germany. The first machines will be installed in Washington and New York. The Postmaster-General also will recommend the reduction of foreign postage to two cents, and promises an investigation of the deficit which, if it means anything, means the excessive payments to railroads.

Municipal Ferry.

THE "Bay Ridge," first of the new municipal ferryboats intended for service on the line from South Ferry to Thirty-ninth street, South Brooklyn, was recently put into commission. On her trial trip from the municipal Staten Island ferry slip there were on board Mayor McClellan, Dock Commissioner Bensenel and other city officials. The "Bay Ridge," was built at Wilmington, Delaware, and is one of the best boats in the ferry service, capable of giving sixteen miles an hour. The local improvement board of the Bronx has recently presented to the Board of Estimate a resolution, passed unanimously, to have the city acquire and operate the plant of the New York and College Point Ferry Company. Local authorities of the Bronx and Queens will carry on an active campaign this fall to have this ferry municipally managed. A resolution is now pending before the Commissioner of Docks and Ferries asking him to make a report recommending the establishment of a municipal ferry service between Whitestone and Clason Point or Throgg's Neck. Commissioner Bensenel opposes the creation of such a service, it is understood, believing traffic would not warrant the maintenance of such a line.

Municipal Slaughter-Houses.

MUNICIPAL slaughter-houses will solve the problem of pure meat, says George W.

McGuire, chief food and drug inspector of the State Department of Health, New Jersey. The local boards can bring this about by arousing public opinion. The meat inspector now appointed by them is handicapped in his work, not seeing the cattle before they are killed and cut up. The carcass is dressed and all signs of disease obliterated. Only a bacteriological test will then reveal the presence of disease. There is no way, he says, to solve the problem but to establish municipal slaughter-houses and pass a law forbidding meat without the government stamp or the municipal slaughter-house stamp from being sold.

Uncle Sam's Railways.

WHEN Congress convenes in December, the government will be owning and operating two underground railroads. They are not so extensive nor model, however, that they will solve the railway problem in general. Like other railways, however, they will be used as a matter of convenience by senators and representatives. They will be run from the capitol in Washington to the adjoining new office buildings. The distance on these subway roads, which are to be from 16 to 25 feet below the surface, will be but a few hundred feet, yet they will be equipped with comfortable passenger coaches, operated by electricity. They will extend from the elevator shafts in the Senate and House, respectively, to the corresponding elevator shafts in the Senate and House office buildings, enabling senators and representatives to get to their seats from their offices without going out of doors.

The National Domain.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in his speech before the National Editorial Association recommended that the remainder of the coal, oil and ranch lands in the public domain be retained by the government for the common good of the people. This is a natural result of the oppressive conditions forced on the people by the coal, oil and beef trusts. The people of the United States, as a whole, have not awaked to the fact that they are being daily robbed of their own birth-right. The public lands have been stolen and exploited most shamefully, and with a corresponding shamelessness the officials at Washington have been abetting the game. There is only one body of men strong enough to become a

competitor with the coal, oil and beef trusts of to-day and that is the government. Individuals having tried and failed, now let the government try what it can do. Government-ownership and operation of the coal, oil and ranch lands which still remain in its possession would soon bring the trusts to their knees.

Brooklyn's Municipal Asphalt Plant.

THE CITY of Brooklyn has recently completed a municipal paving plant which will be operated under the general direction of the Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Highways, but will be under the immediate direction of an experienced superintendent who will supervise the mixing of materials and have general oversight of the plant, and a foreman who will have charge of all labor, tools and apparatus. An unanticipated difficulty is that of obtaining laborers, since these must pass the municipal civil-service examination, and most of the laborers who have had experience in asphalt paving in Brooklyn and New York are foreigners who have not yet taken out their citizenship papers. The object of this plant is primarily to maintain the million and a half square yards of asphalt paving already out of guarantee; but incidentally it is believed that it will insure more prompt repairs by the contractor of pavements in guarantee.

Joplin, Missouri.

THE RESULTS of a comparative study of the quality and price of electric light in twenty-seven cities are embodied in a recent report. The comparison is distinctly favorable to the Joplin plant which is municipally owned and operated. The report shows a steady increase in earnings and a neat surplus after figuring off interest and depreciation.

Town Wharf Cannot be Leased.

THE Supreme Court of New Jersey has recently decided that the powers delegated to a municipal corporation by the legislature, authorizing it to regulate wharves and to charge and collect wharfage for their use, are public or legislative powers, and incapable of delegation or of surrender by the municipi-

pality. A municipality cannot, therefore, surrender the powers by leasing the exclusive use and control of its wharves for any period of time, without express statutory authority to do so.

Newark, New Jersey.

MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP of an electric lighting plant for general street lighting will be left to the decision of the voters at the next general election. If a city plant is favored there will be time to prepare plans and construct a plant, so that it will be ready for operation at the expiration of the new contract with the Public Service Corporation. The council, when it decided to leave the question of a general plant to a popular vote, decided to appropriate \$30,000 to install a lighting plant in the new city hall.

Clay Center, Kansas.

A NOVEL and interesting proposition has been made to the citizens of this town where the lighting plant is owned by the people. The city council has adopted a resolution offering to furnish free, from the city plant, one incandescent front porch light to every consumer who will agree to install and use three or more incandescent lights in his house. The resolution also instructed the City Engineer to cease the work of erecting poles and wires for arc lights in the streets. The idea of the city council is that the streets will be sufficiently lighted by the porch lights.

Columbus, Ohio.

A REPORT of the new municipal electric lighting plant for the six months ending June 10th, compares the cost of production in Columbus with the cost in other cities and shows greatly to the advantage of Columbus. The total operating expense is given as \$27,651 or \$14 per lamp. Allowing for depreciation and interest the annual cost per lamp on the basis of the first six months' accounts is \$48, which the report says is the lowest price for which any city in the United States gets its light.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

The Southern California Fruit Exchange.

THE HISTORY of the coöperative organization of the citrus fruit growers of California cannot fail to be especially interesting to those who believe in a square deal as well as the democracy of industrialism, for they have made one of the most successful fights against railroad extortion and trust oppression that has been made in the United States.

Twenty-five years ago the annual total shipments of citrus fruits from the California field were scarcely 20 carloads, and but ten years later the output had increased to 4,000 carloads. The problem of marketing this immense supply of lemons and oranges became more and more complex and the small fruit grower was rapidly becoming the easy prey of the speculator. The year 1892-3 was the most disastrous to the fruit growing industry in the history of the state. In many instances growers were compelled to pay freight and packing charges on fruit for which they received nothing. The failure of the speculating shippers to place the years' crop in the Eastern market at fair prices caused the growers to meet in convention in Los Angeles for the purpose of formulating a plan whereby each grower might secure a marketing of his fruit under uniform methods, and might secure the full average price obtainable for the entire season. According to the plans decided upon associations were organized in all principal citrus fruit districts, the packing being done by the associations at cost, and the marketing by an executive committee made up of one member from each district. This arrangement was continued two seasons, but was not entirely satisfactory, and consequently in 1895 the Southern California Fruit Exchange was organized by the various district exchanges. Since that time the marketing of the entire fruit output controlled by the exchange and their associations has been in the hands of this central exchange, except during a period of seventeen months, from April, 1903, to September, 1904, when

the exchange combined with the principal non-exchange shipping interests under the name of the California Fruit Agency. The results of this alliance were not satisfactory to the growers and on September 1, 1904, the exchange resumed the sale of the fruit it controlled. In 1905 the name of the association was changed from Southern California Fruit Exchange to the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, this step being considered advisable in order that the marketing by the association might become general throughout the state rather than remain local to Southern California.

The plan of operation of the exchange is simple and quite democratic. The local association consists of a number of growers situated near each other who unite themselves for the purpose of preparing their fruit for market on a coöperative basis. They establish their own brands and make such rules as they may agree upon for grading, packing and pooling their fruit. Usually these associations own thoroughly equipped packing houses. All members pick and deliver fruit to the packing house, where it is weighed in and properly receipted for. Every grower's fruit is separated into different grades, according to quality, and usually thereafter it goes into the common pool, and takes its percentage of the returns according to grade. At present there are more than 80 associations covering every citrus fruit district in California and packing nearly 200 reliable and guaranteed brands of oranges and lemons. The associations in a locality unite to form the local exchange, where questions of purely local interest and other minor matters are disposed of, more important matters being referred to the general exchange. This exchange is composed of thirteen stockholders who are also directors and are elected by the local exchanges.

The exchange has established a system of exclusive agencies for the marketing of their fruit in all the principal cities of the country, employing as agents active, capable young

men of experience in the fruit business. These agents are salaried, and have no other business of any kind to engage their attention, and none of the exchange representatives handle any other citrus fruits. Over these agencies are two general or traveling agents, with authority to supervise and check up the various offices. These general agents maintain in their offices at Chicago and Omaha, a complete bureau of information, through which all agents receive every day detailed information as to sales of exchange fruit in other markets the previous day. If any agent finds his market sluggish, and is unable to sell at the average prices prevailing elsewhere, he promptly informs the head office in Los Angeles, and sufficient fruit is diverted from his market to relieve it and restore prices to normal level. During the fourteen years of coöperative marketing the output of the state has increased from 4,100 cars in 1892-3 to 31,791 cars during the season of 1904-5, with a prospect of a still further increase in the volume of shipments in the very near future.

In 1895-6 out of a total of 2,545,200 boxes of fruit shipped, the exchange handled 32 per cent. In 1905-6 from a total of 9,900,000 boxes shipped 48 per cent. was handled by the exchange and it is estimated that the exchange shipped 55 per cent. of the crop of 1906-7, which reached the enormous amount of 11,286,000 boxes. The total amount of business transacted during the last three years is approximately \$30,000,000 net, and during that time there has been a loss of but \$310 which was from failure to collect or in transmission of funds.

The exchange was largely instrumental in securing the cent-a-pound duty on imported citrus fruits, in reducing the icing charges, and in lowering the lemon rates from \$1.25 to \$1.00 per hundred pounds, and orange rates from \$1.25 to \$1.15 per hundred pounds.

Surely there are few business enterprises on the private-ownership and every-man-for-himself plan which have a better record of efficiency than this.

Congress of The International Co-operative Alliance.

THE International Coöperative Congress which was held at Cremona, on September 23, 24, and 25, 1907, was the Seventh Congress of the International Coöperative Alliance, previous congresses having met in London,

1859; Paris, 1896; Delft, 1897; Paris, 1900; Manchester, 1902; and Budapest, 1904.

The Congress was open both to delegates and to visitors and a program of entertainment was arranged which included a social gathering on the 22d of September, a performance of opera, a mandolin concert, trotting races, aquatic sports on the River Po, a visit to the headquarters of the Union of Coöperative Agricultural Societies of Italy at Piacenza, a collective visit to Milan, and an optional visit to Venice. The sights visited at Milan included the magnificent establishments of the Unione Coöperativa with its vast cellerage, the buildings of the Societa Umanitaria; the buildings erected by the coöperative stonemasons and bricklayers, and other objects of interest to coöperators.

The principal subjects under discussion were:

"The National Organization of Agricultural Coöperation," by Dr. M. P. Blem, Member of the Danish Parliament, Chairman of the Danish Central Coöperative Committee, and by Commendatore G. Raineri, Member of Italian Parliament and Chairman of the Italian Agricultural Coöperative Union.

"The Importance of Wholesale Coöperation," by Dr. William Maxwell, Chairman of the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society.

"What Coöperation Can Do to Help Workingmen and Small Cultivators in Their Daily Life," M. Louis Bertrand, Member of the Belgian Chamber and Founder of the Maison du Peuple at Brussels and by M. G. Garibotti of Cremona, founder of many Italian coöperative societies and member of the Committee of the Italian Coöperative Union.

"Women's Part in Coöperation," by Mme. Treub-Cornaz, President of the Dutch Women's Coöperative Guild.

"A Comparison of Coöperative Legislation in Different Countries," by Professor Attilio Cabiati, on behalf of the Italian Coöperative Union.

The proceedings of the Congress, detailed notice of which will be given later in THE ARENA, have been printed in English, French, German and Italian.

Co-operating Italians.

IN AN article entitled *The Italian on the Land: A Study in Immigration*, by Emily Fogg Meade, which appears in the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor for May, 1907, an account of the Italian settle-

ment at Hammonton in the southern part of New Jersey, is most interestingly told, and the growth and development of which the Italian farmer is capable industrially are shown by the prosperous conditions which exist among the Italians of the town at the present time. In 1867 the Fruit Growers' Union, a coöperative association, was organized for the purpose of disposing of the fruit which its members controlled. The Union had a large Italian membership, and there have been two other coöperative societies, including two exclusively Italian associations, the most successful being the Shippers' Union composed of Italians and Americans, and the Elm Farmers' Club. This latter society manages its own loading, owns its own ice houses, and charts its own cars. In 1905 it had 44 members, 64 per cent of which were Italians, and the dividends paid for that year represented $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on gross sales, ranging from \$2.95 to \$64.58 on sales from \$107 to \$2,347. A local telephone system has recently been completed and thus far 29 telephones have been subscribed for by Italians.

A Co-operative Barber-Shop.

CHICAGO has a barber-shop run on a coöperative basis by six men, not one of whom in the first place had enough capital to start a shop and hire the others, but deciding to dispense with a boss, they pooled their resources and opened a barber-shop of their own. The receipts go into a common fund, a reserve is kept to meet rent, light, and other expenses, and at the end of the week receipts are divided. Thus far the coöperative scheme has been a success, not only in the increased receipts which the men get but also in the spirit of good will and mutual helpfulness which pervades the shop, and they find, so they say, that the general public will patronize them rather than a shop controlled by a boss.

Washington, D. C.

THE Department Clerks' Coöperative Guild, organized by the Government employés of Washington, has opened its first store, which is a provision store. The response of the clerks to the canvass for subscriptions is reported as entirely satisfactory and the projectors of the plan are enthusiastic over the outlook.

Co-operative Exchanges.

THE Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in its fifteenth annual convention passed a resolution endorsing the American Society of Equity and the delegates were instructed to coöperate with the Society in their efforts to organize coöperative exchanges which the farmers as members of the Society are beginning to maintain for the mutual benefit of the trade unionists and themselves.

Orange Co-operative Ice Company.

THE Coöperative Ice Manufacturing Company which was organized recently at Orange, New Jersey, is meeting with marked success, and it is said that they have already so many customers in the Oranges, Montclair, and Roseville, that another wagon, the fourth, has been added to their equipment. A letter was received recently by the president of the company, Mr. McLean, offering \$25,000 to \$35,000 subscription from one man. It was promptly rejected by him on the ground that such a large subscription for stock would upset the coöperative economy plan of the company. This amount of money would have enabled the company to begin at once the building of the factory on the site they bought sometime ago, but loyalty to the coöperative principle made its acceptance impossible.

A Co-operative Kosher Market.

THE Jewish residents of Milwaukee have voted to open a coöperative kosher meat-market, as soon as \$10,000 in stock in shares of \$1 each shall be sold. This action was induced by the rise in prices made by the associated butchers for "kosher" meat.

Co-operating Capitalists.

THE Citizens' Tunnel Committee of New York City is considering a plan for a coöperative stock company to be formed for the purpose of erecting 5,000 houses in different parts of the island. Many prominent builders, lumbermen, realty dealers, and contractors are interested.

Elmira, New York.

THE Elmira Coöperative Savings and Loan Association, started a juvenile savings branch in April, and in three months' time 140 children were enrolled, although there were only three deposit days. This number far exceeded the expectations of the officers,

who ordered 50 banks at the outset, thinking this number would be ample.

Co-operative Dining Room.

SEVERAL families in Omaha are trying the experiment of a coöperative dining-room, which is under the management of Mr. C. R. Courtney, a leading grocer. Because of the nature of his business, Mr. Courtney is able to make the various departments sup-

plement each other, and accordingly runs the kitchen on a most economical basis. He began his experiment by serving cold meats and salads, then extended the business to hot foods, and later inaugurated the coöperative dining-room, where a dozen or more families have their own tables, and furnish their own napery, silver and dishes.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

THE WRITINGS OF CARL MARX.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

THE SOLUTION of the puzzles of political economy from the point-of-view of the modern industrial proletariat, and the formulation and practical demonstration of a perfectly scientific theory of capitalist production and circulation, is the epoch-making work of Karl Marx.

He reëxamined the entire economic literature of the past. And he studied it from a point-of-view which had very naturally been unfamiliar to all his predecessors, namely, the evolutionary and inductively scientific one. What had long been the established method in astronomy, and what had gradually since the eighteenth century, become the accepted method of research in natural sciences, was carried by Marx into the study of history and economics. Instead of starting out from preconceived notions and building a system of speculations on them, he proceeded critically from fact to fact, and gathered a long unanswerable array of historical materials which he sifted and arranged in such a way that he arrived at the understanding of the reasons which had prevented his predecessors from finding a solution of economic problems. In fact, what they had considered as a solution and had been compelled to give up as hopeless, now appeared to him as the real problem and at the same time furnished him with the means to solve it.

This solution is laid down in a work of three volumes, entitled *Capital*. The entire material for these volumes was in the hands of Marx when he published the first volume of his work in 1867. But owing to ill health, and to his habit of keeping abreast of new developments by collecting ever new material and criticising himself as he went along, he died before he had been able to get volume II. ready for publication. His lifelong companion and co-worker, Frederick Engels, completed the work from manuscripts left by the deceased. Under these circumstances the first German edition of Volume II. did not appear until 1885, and the first German edition of Volume III. until 1894.

Only the first volume of this work has been accessible to English readers up to the present time. And it has often been mistaken for the complete work. Only quite recently has the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, undertaken a complete edition of all three volumes brought up to date and revised according to the latest German editions. As this is the only complete edition of Marx's work in the English language it should receive the careful attention of friend and foe alike, and it is recommended particularly to those critics of Marx, who have so far relied for their knowledge of his theories exclusively on the garbled and muddled versions of capitalist professors like Schaeffle, Sombart, Böhm-Bawerk, Le Bon, Mallock, and others of the same caliber.

*"Capital." By Karl Marx. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Edited by Frederick Engels. In three volumes. Vol. 1: "Capitalistic Production." Cloth, Pp. 870. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

And let it be said at this point that garbled versions and misleading critiques of this work can have no more effect upon the *facts* which it reveals than a critique of Darwinism can have upon the working of natural selection. One might as well expect that a critique of the Copernican system should stop the earth from revolving around the sun. Let the enemies of Marx, and of the proletariat, realize that the work of Marx responds to the historical demands of the proletariat and that these demands will be fulfilled as surely as were those of the capitalist class against feudal society. Let it be understood that the Marxian theories are not mere abstract speculations but correct reflections of actual processes. Whether the partisans of the capitalist class misrepresent and misinterpret the work of Marx or not, the theories laid down in this work have become the universally accepted foundation of the international working-class movement. And this is the most convincing and irrefutable proof of their soundness, for no historical class has ever accepted or ever will accept any system of theories that does not meet the essential requirements of its life and progress. The sooner this is realized by the opponents of Marx in the capitalist camp, the sooner will they arrive at the understanding that the essential thing for them and their class is not to distort but to *understand* Marxian theories and to adapt themselves as best they may to his conclusions.

The existence of such a thing as surplus-value had been admitted even by the economists of the capitalist class. It had also been stated by them more or less clearly that surplus-value was the value of the unpaid products of labor. But this was as far as classic economy had gotten. The classic economists, even at their best, analyzed merely the proportion in which the products of labor were divided between the laborers and the capitalists.

The early socialists, on the other hand, declared that the distribution of the products of labor was unjust, and hunted for utopian means by which this injustice could be overcome.

Neither the classic economists nor the early socialists were able to point out the historical way in which this "injustice" perpetuated itself and by which it would in due time create the conditions of its own downfall.

Marx laid his finger upon the vital problem.

What is value, what is surplus-value, and what is the particular process under capitalist production that produces and reproduces them? What results from this mode of production and its mechanism? What *roles* do the laborer and the capitalist play in it?

In his quest for information on these points Marx reexamined the Ricardian theory of value. He eliminated all obscuring and disturbing elements from the subject of his inquiry. The production of value and its realization were then for the first time studied in their normal condition, with all exceptions and irregularities removed.

The first decisive step in the inquiry of Marx was to ascertain that it was not labor which was bought by the capitalist but labor-power. The capitalist buys labor-power in the competitive market just as he buys every other commodity. If it is the normal custom for commodities in this market to be sold at their value, then the laborer who sells his labor-power must likewise sell it at its value. This value, according to Ricardo's theory, is measured by the labor incorporated in the commodities. The value of labor-power, then, is equal to the value of the necessities of life required to reproduce the same labor-power. The laborer receives in his wages the full value of his labor-power, according to the laws of capitalist exchange.

But labor-power has one quality which distinguishes it from all other commodities. When other commodities are consumed they disappear and with them disappears their value. Not so labor-power. The longer it is consumed by the capitalist by putting it to work the more value it produces. The capitalist pays the social value of labor-power when he buys it, but he does not pay for the time that he uses it in the process of production. The laborer applies his labor-power at labor and reproduces in a portion of his working time his wages, the value of his labor-power. Marx calls this his necessary labor time. The remaining portion of the laborer's working day is devoted to surplus-labor. In this way, surplus-value is produced. Although the capitalist pays the laborer only for his labor-power, but not for the time he puts it to work, nor for the products it produces, yet he is the owner of these products.

His product has then a greater value than he advanced for it, because it contains unpaid portions, surplus-values. He sells his

products at their value which is determined by the social labor time necessary for their production, but he has paid only for a part of this value and in selling gets therefore more money than he paid to have them produced.

This was the first general basis on which Marx went beyond Ricardo's theory of value. But now the question arose, what kind of labor is it by which the value of commodities is to be measured?

Marx's reply was a further improvement of the crude Ricardian idea of value. Exchange-value, says Marx, represents abstract human labor in general, regardless of the craft or skill which produced a certain commodity. All kinds of labor can be reduced to simple average labor. Complex or skilled labor can be reduced to the same denominator of simple average labor. What determines the value of a commodity is not the actual amount of this simple average labor put into it, but the amount socially necessary, the time socially required, to turn out a certain product under given conditions of technical and social advance. If more than the time socially necessary of this kind of labor is put into the production of a commodity, the extra time spent on it is a loss to the capitalist. If less is spent on it, the capitalist is that much ahead.

Having satisfied himself that this was the correct general measure of exchange-value, Marx then analyzed the organic composition of the capital invested in the exploitation of this kind of labor. Here Marx made another advance over previous economists by showing that capital is not a mere thing, not merely so much money, machinery, materials, commodities, but a social relation between industrial capitalists and wage laborers. He shows that other forms of capital than industrial capital had preceded the present form, but that all forms of capital rest on the social relation between an exploiting and an exploited class.

What is the typical mark of the relations between industrial capital and wage labor? It is that the industrial wage laborer belongs to a class that has no other means of existence but the sale of labor-power to the owners of the machinery of production. Since only labor produces social exchange-values, the significant and productive portion of the capitalist's capital is the wages capital. The other portions of capital do not produce any values.

Marx calls wages capital "variable capital," and capital invested in machinery, raw materials, etc., "constant capital."

This is the really significant division of capital, and the only one which can lay bare the mechanism of capitalist production.

The capitalist invests a certain amount of money in machinery, raw and subsidiary materials. He invests another portion in the purchase of labor-power. This whole investment represents a definite quantity of exchange-values, of social labor time.

The capitalist pays the full social value for these things (at least this must be the basis of the inquiry, although it is understood that there are many irregularities in practice). Now the capitalist puts the laborer to work. The laborer sets the machinery in motion and works up the raw materials into finished products. At the same time, a certain quantity of subsidiary materials, coal, oil, etc., is consumed. The value of these things is not altered by the labor-process. It is merely transferred to the new product. Only the variable capital invested in wages is the actually productive capital. It alone has the faculty of varying in value, because it is invested in the commodity labor-power, which is the only one that can produce more value than it has itself on the market. The laborer adds new values to the old by transferring raw materials into finished products. A portion of these new values reproduces his wages, the other portion is surplus-value, for which the capitalist pays nothing.

The value of the constant capital is not transferred to the product in a uniform way, nor are all old and new values circulated in the same way on the market. The constant capital represents so much past labor in a crystallized form. The machinery wears out gradually, and its value is transferred to the new product in small portions, and so circulated and recovered by the sale of the product. Marx calls this the circulation of the fixed capital constant. The raw and subsidiary materials are completely consumed in the production of new articles, and their whole value is circulated all at one time in these articles and recovered by sale in the sphere of circulation. This is the circulation of circulating constant capital. The circulation of both fixed and circulating constant capital recovers, or reproduces, no new values. It merely recovers old values.

The new values produced by means of the

variable capital are likewise wholly circulated like the circulating constant capital. In this way the capitalist recovers by the sale of his product the value of the worn-out machinery, of the used-up materials and subsidiary substances, and of the laborer's wages, and besides, he realizes on the surplus-values which the laborer has added to the product over and above his wages.

But the capitalist does not divide his capital into constant and variable parts. He figures his gains on the total capital invested by him, and calls the values secured by him above his outlay his profit.

On the other hand, if the laborer wants to know how much surplus-value he produces, he should calculate it on the variable capital (wages) paid by the capitalist for the production of a certain quantity of commodities.

It is evident, then, that the profit of the capitalist and the surplus-value of the laborer represent the same quantity of values, but since profit is calculated on the whole capital invested, and surplus-value only on the variable capital, it follows that the rate of profit appears always smaller than the rate of surplus-value.

This is so much more significant, as the rate of profit does not show the intensity of exploitation. The laborer's working day cannot be extended beyond a certain natural limit. His hours of labor may be prolonged from 8 to 9 and from 9 to 10, and so on, but there is a certain natural limit, beyond which he cannot continue to work without collapsing. Surplus-value produced by the prolongation of the working day is called absolute surplus-value by Marx.

But this is not the most effective mode of exploiting the laborer. The most productive way is to make him produce more surplus-value in the same, or in less time, than before. This can be done only by making him work harder, or by giving him machinery which moves more rapidly and compels him to work more intensely than the old machinery. This method is all the more effective as it enables the capitalist to produce his goods cheaper, and thus undersell his competitors and make more profits.

Surplus-value produced by an intensification of exploitation in the same labor time is called relative surplus-value by Marx.

If the laborer produces more commodities in the same, or in less, time than before, every commodity will contain so much labor less

time, will have so much less exchange-value, and will, therefore, be sold so much more cheaply. But the total quantity of commodities will be larger. This greater quantity of commodities so produced contains a larger total amount of value and surplus-value, and brings a greater quantity of total profits than formerly, although the rate of profits decreases in proportion as the productivity of labor reduces the value of the individual commodities.

The capitalist gets control of his surplus-values in the sphere of production. But he gets his money for them in the sphere of circulation. He must sell his commodities in a competitive market. If it is the rule on this market that only equivalents are exchanged, in other words, that all commodities are sold at their values, then no capitalist can undersell his competitors or sell at the same price as they and make a higher profit, unless he can produce his goods cheaper than they. And the only way in which he can reduce the value of his goods is to increase the productivity of his laborers, so that they will produce the same quantity of goods in less time, or a larger quantity of goods in the same time as before. Then each commodity will contain less labor time (necessary and surplus-labor), have a smaller value, and consequently sell at a lower price.

But the only effective method to increase the productivity of labor is to invest more and more of the profit in improved machinery, and relatively less and less in wages. The capitalist must, therefore, accumulate a reserve fund of money for the expansion of his scale of reproduction. Both the constant and the variable capital increase continually, but the constant grows faster than the variable.

The accumulation of capital for the purpose of expanding reproduction is called the *concentration of capital*. This has a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it drives the small capitalists out of business, because it requires more and more capital to enter the competitive market successfully. On the other hand, it reduces the opportunities for employment to the laborers. In proportion as the accumulation of capital increases and the laboring population grows in numbers, a larger and larger army of unemployed is created and threatens the whole social system.

Since profits are calculated and realized in proportion to the total capital invested in production, and since all capitalists compete

on the market, the tendency is to establish an average rate of profit for all capitals regardless of their organic division into constant and variable capital. This has the effect of handicapping those whose capital is of lower than average composition, and to favor those whose capital is of higher than average composition. In other words, the capitals with a larger percentage of constant capital than the average capitals will realize a surplus-profit, and those with a smaller percentage of constant capital than the average will not get the full average profit.

This ideal working out of the law of value as a regulator of prices is, however, disturbed by supply and demand, by local irregularities, and by the tendency of all capitalists to cheat the buyer. Nevertheless, the law of value regulates in the last analysis even these irregularities, and the result is a fluctuation of prices around an average which in the long run results in an average rate of profit for all capitals regardless of composition, so that each capitalist reaps profits as though his capital were so many per cent. of one single social capital.

This competition between capitalists leads to the *centralization* of money and means of production into fewer and fewer hands, and this again leads to a greater intensification of the unemployed problem.

The unemployed problem, on the other hand, intensifies the competition of laborers for jobs. This has a tendency to keep wages at the average level of subsistence.

The mechanism of capitalist production thus reduces the relative number of capitalists and increases the relative number of propertyless proletarians. In other words, capital produces by its own methods the conditions

which undermine its own foundation.

While the capitalists weaken and destroy one another, they create at the same time a relative overproduction of goods, because the number of wage-earners decreases relatively as the productivity of their labor increases, and because their wages always buy but a fraction of the products produced by them. This leads periodically to commercial crises. In proportion as capital pauperizes its best consumers, the working-class, it is compelled to seek new markets in foreign countries, to carry on wars of conquest, and to create in this way the conditions for ever greater overproduction and ever larger unemployed problems.

From these contradictions, which are inherent in its own nature, capital cannot get away. It exists only in them and by them, and must ultimately fall through them.

The economic antagonism between exploiting capitalists and exploited wage workers becomes more and more intense. It is transferred from the economic to the political field. Organized by the process of capitalist development itself, the economic and political organizations of the working-class unite, capture the political power, and abolish capital, the capitalist class, and all exploitation by making the land and machinery of production and distribution social property.

This social property is then used by all on a basis of economic equality, the coöperatively produced products are distributed at their social value in proportion to the labor performed by each, and buying and selling at a profit come to an end. Socialism takes the place of Capitalism.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Chicago, Ill.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Poems of Mystery. By W. Y. Sheppard. Decorated and illustrated by William M. Young. Paper. Pp. 37. St. Louis: The Shelly Printing Company.

THIS little volume of verse from the pen of a young writer, contains many little poetical waifs charming in their rhythmic

quality and instinct with serious thought. The work is very superior to most present-day volumes of similar character and we think holds the prophecy of good work on the part of the author in the future, if he holds firmly to high ideals and makes his muse serve the cause of justice and the interests of the people.

The following poems will interest readers of THE ARENA while they give a fine idea of Mr. Sheppard's verse and the thought that

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

runs like a golden thread through his little rhymes:

"THE FACTORY.

"The whistle blows; and ere its shriek has died
A thousand feet retcho on the stairs;
Girlhood, upon whose face the mother's cares
Retell their tale of nature's laws defied;
Manliness sapped of all the higher man,
A skeleton of what might once have been.
They mingle, maid and man, and move as when
A cow and bull are yoked, to work in span.
And man and man-made law would call it just—
But, God, what thinkest thou of human lust?"

"THE ENIGMA.

"The goaded grind of the toiler,
The work that is never done,
The ceaseless struggle for living,
By sweat from sun to sun;
That others may loll in plenty,
In ease they never won.
The haggard eye of a woman,
The twisted form of a man,
The child, with its shrunken features,
Who knew not when childhood began—
And all for the sake of her raiment,
The price of her silken fan;
Yet the papers make much of her giving,
And speak of her charities rare;
Forgetting the ones she is feeding,
The ones that are burdened with care,
Have given their lives for her dainties,
And the jewels that gleam in her hair."

"CHARITY.

"The burr of shafting beats upon the ear,
And back and forth a multitude of hands
Supply the energy that Trade commands,
Regardless of the sigh that saps the tear.
In finery arrayed, at price so dear,
Another folk, The Leaders of the Lands,
Forgetful of the common mortal bands,
Love, laugh; and give—that other ears may hear.

"We do not ask the crumbs cast to the hound,
In order that the hand that gives may feel
The adulation of the cringing slave:
The bended form, answer'ing the whistle's sound,
Has, by God's law, the right to love and weal,
As much as he who sold the crust he gave."

"NOON.

"And it is noon. A hungry, eager throng
Pours forth from tall-piled hives of brick and stone
Beneath their feet, already deeply worn,
The pavement shudders as they surge along.
They push and pull, the best place for the strong.
They mix and crowd, each fighting for his own.
On every face the selfish end is shown,
Regarding weakness as the only wrong.

"Lord, why this wage of unremitting war
Of man 'gainst man, for nothing worth the while?
The earth and sea teem with enough for all.
And, still, they rend and tear, both near and far.
And, still, above the strife your heavens smile,
Holding their secret till the final call."

"THE UNDER ONES.

"Have you watched in the shadow of evening
The forms go stealthily by,
When the lights from the lamps reflected
The hopeless light in the eye?

"I've stood on the corner and watched them,
These children of sorrow and sin,
With a head that was heavy with thinking,
And a heart that was weeping within.

"Onward and onward they struggle,
From toil to tempter and task;
Prepared as well for the ending
As even the devil could ask.

"And it's make the maid a mother,
And it's make the mother a hag;
And it's fight for the wealth of the nation,
And it's cheer for its floating flag.

"Have you stopped to compare the others
With those whom we dare not name,
When the bells ring out from the churches,
Knelling them only their shame?

"I've seen them pause for a moment,
Hesitating there on the street;
But afraid of the scornful glances
They knew their eyes would meet.

"Onward and onward they wander
From the temple of Magdalene,
Driven by creed and bigot
From the light they might have seen.

"And it's make for yourself a heaven,
And it's make it only for you,
With a gate so narrow and rusty
It can never open for two."

Here is a sweet little stanza on love that gives some idea of another mood of the poet:

"I met you and I looked into your eyes;
Strange feelings stirred within my breast:
I kissed you, and my heart, grown wondrous wise,
Knew what of life was sweetest, best."

Poems of the Home. By T. F. Hildreth, A.M.,
D.D. Cloth. Pp. 150. Norwalk, Ohio:
The Lansing Company.

DR. HILDRETH is an able prose writer and thinker. He has contributed to *THE ARENA* and to many other prominent periodicals, and we think he appears to best advantage in prose. His verse abounds in fine sentiments and is not devoid of imagery, but often its failure to conform to the laws of versification destroys the rhyme and rhythm and makes the reader wish the poet had clothed his thoughts in simple prose. It is therefore in the ideas presented and the many charming trains of thought suggested by the imagery presented that one finds the chief charm in this work.

Below we give two characteristic poems which well mirror the thought of the poet and are more rhythmic than some of the otherwise excellent verses that fill the volume:

"MIND IS PRESENT EVERYWHERE.

"Behind each swelling bud and flower
We see the presence of a power
That secretly, in each has wrought
In clear outline, some golden thought
Of truth and beauty, which declare
That Mind is present everywhere.

"As noiselessly as sunbeams play,
The looms of life weave night and day;
And from the clouds and dust of earth
New forms of life spring into birth;
And he who will can always find
The work of a Creative Mind.

"Reason may turn her searching eye
And sweep with telescope the sky;
Men may discuss of nature's laws,
Of matter and its primal cause;
Yet every line of thought will lead
Through law and matter, up to God."

"MY MOTHER.

"I see her now—her clear, black eye—
Her calm, smooth brow, her glossy hair.
I look, and on her face I see
A mother's smile of love is there.

"Once more I see her white-frilled cap—
The kerchief crossed upon her breast.
I sit beside her as I did
When sometimes she would stop to rest.

"Our home was scant, comforts were few,
And want was often present there;
But she was brave, and armed with love
She drove the specter from the door.

"I did not understand her then,
Nor did I know her mother heart;
But now the long ago comes back,
And tears of love, unbidden, start.

"She seemed to live in just one thought—
That thought, whatever else might come,
Was for the good and love of those
About her in the backwoods home.

"She did her work, and did it well;
Ripe with the years her sun went down.
Rich in the love of those she served
She 'll ever wear love's fadeless crown."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE SENATORIAL ELECTION IN COLORADO: This month the readers of THE ARENA, with one of the most conscientious and able journalists of the West as a guide, are taken behind the curtain on the political theater in one of our greatest American commonwealths and permitted to behold the plutocracy at work. Here is seen precisely how the industrial autocracy is filling the Senate Chamber with its own representatives, whose interests are as much the interests of the masses whom the Senators are supposed to represent, as the wolf's interests are the interests of the sheep he would fain be left with. We have had the story of Pennsylvania's shame, with her Quay, and the almost inconceivable corruption and degradation that followed in the wake of the rule of that boss, backed by the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations, trusts and monopolies. We have heard unfolded in the Senate Chamber the story of Montana's degradation and corruption; and we also remember the report of the Ohio Senate Committee, following the election of the most prominent politician in the Republican party to the United States Senate, a report that claimed that his election had been secured through corrupt practices. And we have seen that state pass into the hands of the corrupt machine which to-day again regards the notorious Boss Cox as one of its master spirits. We have seen the life-and-death struggle in Delaware, between the notorious Addicks and the decent element of the state, with the victory only achieved after a long battle in which the result was frequently in doubt. And now we behold the humiliation of a great state and how that shame was brought upon her through the industrial autocracy

and the personal ambition of leading members of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

It is only by bringing before the people every such shameful triumph of the corrupt machine and its chief source of support and director,—the industrial autocracy, that the people can be awakened to the fact that this great Republic is in deadly peril. ELLIS MEREDITH, who has prepared this story of SIMON GUGGENHEIM, is an author of national reputation through her excellent works. She has also for years been among the strongest journalists and editorial writers of Colorado, and a master spirit among the women of her state who have fought for purity of the home, for the advance of every great moral cause, and for the elevation and ennoblement of the people through justice and civic righteousness. Her paper therefore should challenge the careful attention of all earnest Americans.

Thaddeus S. C. Lowe: It is refreshing to turn from the humiliating story of personal ambition rewarded through the lavish use of money and the aid of a corrupt political machine, to the life of one of America's true noblemen,—a great scientific inventor, a man of genius and untiring energy, who has proved to be worthy of the great Republic, whose life has been crowned with results of far-reaching and almost inconceivable benefit to the people, and at the same time marked by fidelity to the high demands imposed by duty, honor, justice and right. In GEORGE WHARTON JAMES' story of Professor LOWE we have one of the most fascinating and inspiring papers of the year.

Will Government-Ownership Increase or Diminish Political Corruption? CLARENCE ARTHUR

ROYSE has given the friends of municipal-ownership precisely the kind of a paper that is most needed, at the present time,—a clear presentation of facts of history that vitally bear on the one argument that employes and advocates of privately-owned public utilities depend upon to frighten the uninformed and conservative element of society. This paper is of immense value to students of municipal problems, because it is the result of painstaking research and is strictly authoritative in character. The paper forms an admirable introduction to our extended editorial on *The American City the Storm Center in the Battle for Good Government*.

The Seven Alleged Delusions of the Founder of Christian Science Examined in the Light of History and Present-Day Research: The fundamental issue involved in the newspaper campaign and the legal contest recently waged for the purpose of preventing the founder of Christian Science from directing the expenditure of her fortune, is so grave and far-reaching in character, affecting at once so vitally the great principle of religious freedom and the fundamental right of every citizen, that we felt we should be recreant to the trust imposed on a conscientious editor of a great opinion-forming review if we ignored the issue raised, and it also seemed to us that in no way would the subject be better handled than by showing the essential weakness of the charges when viewed from the standpoint of history and scientific research. The present discussion greatly exceeds our limit for papers of this character, but we had either to make three papers or to condense the facts into a single contribution, and the latter seemed the wiser.

Professor Frank Parsons on the Civic Federation's Municipal-Ownership Report: Professor PARSONS' article found in this number of the magazine is the first contribution he has been able to give to the public since his severe illness of last spring, as after his recovery his time was given solely to the work of the Civic Federation. He has fought a valiant battle for public-ownership,—a battle in which some of the strongest and shrewdest advocates of private-ownership in America were pitted against him. Personally, our attitude in regard to the Civic Federation is far different from that of Professor PARSONS, and while the part of the work in which the Professor has personally engaged,—such for example, as the work of the committee sent to Europe to investigate public-ownership in the Old World, has been splendidly done, the work conducted in other directions has been, in our judgment, far less satisfactory. We only recently published in our "Mirror of the Present" an *exposé* showing how one of the electric-light plants of Pennsylvania had been classed as a failure, when the superintendent and those conversant with the status of things declared the report to be unfounded and to abound in misstatements of facts. Perhaps it is too much to expect an organization which in the nature of the case must draw the funds for its expenses, the payment of its officers and the publication of its reports largely from the pockets of men who are interested in private-ownership and the feudalism of privileged wealth, to give to the nation anything like as full, fair and unbiased reports as would obtain if an unprejudiced government,—a government like

that of Switzerland or New Zealand, for example, should conduct such investigations.

Margaret Ridgely Partridge: A Purposeful Poet of the Higher Life: In the August ARENA we presented a sketch of Miss RYAN, a young poet who is doing some fine work for progress. In this issue we consider the life and work of MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE, the gifted wife of the great sculptor, WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE. Mrs. PARTRIDGE, like her husband, is dominated by the spiritual verities, having come under the spell of the great moral awakening that is yet to redeem and make the United States the grandest and most powerful moral leader in the sisterhood of nations.

Saint Gaudens: America's Greatest Sculptor. An Appreciation: In the brief paper by F. EDWIN ELWELL we have the sincere appreciation of one famous sculptor for the master American artist who has so recently left us. Mr. ELWELL is himself a true artist, a man of genius and imagination, whose great ability was appreciated by SAINT GAUDENS, and he is therefore able to render an estimate of the master in a way that partakes of the nature of an expert opinion. In our "Quiet Hour" we call attention to one of the great masterpieces of SAINT GAUDENS,—his "Lincoln."

Chinatown and the Curse that Makes It a Plague-Spot in the Nation: This month we give our readers another important contribution from the pen of ELINOR H. STROY, a contributor whose moral sensibilities are ever keenly alive and whose heart beats in sympathy for the oppressed and wronged of every race and land. The story which this author gives will appeal to all ARENA readers and should help materially to crystallize public sentiment against this master wrong,—this imprisoning of helpless women in the most horrible of all forms of imprisonment and slavery—an imprisonment that takes from the helpless victims all the joy, the worth, the happiness and uplift that should be the heritage of every child of the Infinite, and which at the same time pulls down man and nation in the moral scale. No country can be cognizant of such plague-spots in her midst and remain indifferent to them, without forfeiting the splendid potentiality of a great to-morrow. For the emancipation of the wronged victims and for the cause of humanity and the nation's honor and health, all sincere men and women should join in an aggressive campaign to abolish this and all similar plague-spots.

Idealism: A Sketch: In Judge L. H. JONES' profoundly thoughtful paper on *Idealism*, the first part of which is published in this month's issue, will be found a luminous presentation of EMMANUEL KANT's great concepts, which are of special interest at the present time when transcendental philosophical concepts have been so sweepingly denounced by newspapers and writers who apparently are ignorant of the fact that such masters as PLATO, PLOTINUS, and KANT ever lived. In the November ARENA Judge JONES in the concluding part of his paper considers KANT's doctrine that the human mind is both the creator and the law-giver of the physical universe. These papers cannot fail to broaden the intellectual vision of the reader.



Photo by Purdy, Boston.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

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MUNICIPAL ART IN AMERICAN CITIES: NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

FOR YEARS the South has been our region of romance. Both before and after the Civil War we of the North and West have looked to the South as a country separate and distinct. While one with us—part of the great Union—it has still had a separateness and aloofness that made it "different." Yet I have always felt that that aloofness or difference was more apparent than real. I was assured that in essential spirit there was no great difference between the two sections of the country. Human life might manifest itself outwardly in slightly different ways, but the spirit of the leaders of the South was, in the main, the same as that of the leaders of the North. So in dealing with the problems of municipal art and government I fully determined some years ago to study, as far as possible, the growth and development in certain southern cities, that I might show how they have kept pace with the growing demand for democratic art in city life, and nowhere could this better be shown than in New Orleans and Galveston as seaports, and Houston and San Antonio as inland cities. To these four cities, then, these articles will

be confined, beginning with New Orleans.

As is well known, New Orleans is near the mouth of the Mississippi River. This great river, draining its vast areas, naturally brings down an incredible amount of mud and silt in solution in its waters. As these reach the gulf level they flow more and more slowly, thus allowing the deposit of the sediment that a rapid stream will carry along. The result is that at the mouth of the Mississippi is a vast mud plain, deposited during the centuries, and slowly but surely pushing itself out further and further into the Gulf. The city is built upon a portion of this river-built mud-plain about eighty miles from the Gulf. It is not absolutely flat, but almost so, the level being from about a foot below the normal low-water Gulf level to fifteen feet above. The average level is from three to five feet above Gulf level.

The river is substantially at Gulf level at normal flow of low water. It is subject to varying increase from Gulf level to fully twenty feet above it at high tide.

These conditions demanded in the earliest days of New Orleans' history



ST. CHARLES STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

the creation of levees to keep out the flood at the varying stages of high tide. The first settlers raised a bank on the river front before their houses and extended it in the shape of a rude parallelogram completely around that portion of their property they wished to protect. This principle has been followed ever since, until the modern city and state, taking hold of the problem in the modern method of thoroughness, has constructed levees for hundreds of miles,—levees that are becoming more stable, extensive and secure each year. Slowly the federal government has seen that it was its duty to engage largely in this work. The Mississippi River is the outlet of the flood waters of twenty-seven states, and it seems scarcely fair that the one state and city which happen to be near its mouth should be at the mercy of these flood waters or required *perforce* to protect themselves from their devas-

tating power. This levee work is undoubtedly federal government work in the truest sense and should be under its absolute control and done at its expense.

At the boundary line between New Orleans and Jefferson parishes (as the counties are termed) the levee is some sixteen or eighteen feet high above the surrounding country.

In the commercial heart of the city the levees exist just as distinctly as in the outlying districts of the river's course, yet they are not so evident, as, little by little, the streets parallel and leading to the river have been filled in to the level of the levee. Trade conditions demanded this, for it would have been impracticable to unload vessels over a levee down to a street level ten or a dozen feet below.

As is well known the streets of the business portion of New Orleans are exceedingly narrow and inconvenient. This is the legacy of the old French and Spanish

days, when, for purposes of safety against the floods and the attacks of foes, it was necessary to huddle the houses together as closely as possible.

But the visitor who rides out beyond the business and poorer portion of New Orleans will be surprised to find a number of wide and well-kept streets and avenues, lined on either side with beautiful residences embowered in a wealth of shade trees that even southern California cannot surpass. In the heart of the city, too, he finds Canal street, a wide, broad business street, and at intervals of about a mile there is a similar wide street. In the center of all these streets is what is called the "neutral strip,"—a parkway of grass and shade trees in which the street-car tracks are laid, thus leaving each side of the street for horse and automobile traffic.

Here and there these neutral strips widen out into small parks, squares or "places," and New Orleans has a fair quota of these civic lungs, there being 34 squares and places, with an area of 53.86 acres, and 26 avenue spaces with an area of 40.90 acres. In addition there are 209 acres of private parks, 75 acres of residence parks, and 11 acres of public resorts under private control. All these, exclusive of the two large parks, *viz.*, Audubon Park, 247 acres with 33 acres of batture (or land accumulated by river

deposit), and the City Park, with 216 acres.

As soon as the visitor begins to ride about New Orleans he observes a marked peculiarity of the streets. Those streets which have a general east and west direction follow the course of the river, which is largely that of a crude dipper. The result is that these streets curve about considerably, to the manifest confusion of the stranger. For instance, St. Charles Avenue begins at the upper part of the river, near Jefferson Parish, and runs south-easterly, then gently curves with the river to a slight northerly divergence from east, then sharply north-east to a few blocks beyond Lee Circle,



ST. LOUIS PLACE, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



FRENCH COURTYARD, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

where it is crowded out by the upward and inward curve of the river. This avenue extends for two and three-fourths miles and is lined on either side with fine residences. The houses and the neutral strip are shaded with maples, live oaks, water oaks, magnolias, palms of several varieties, umbrella trees, camphors and other trees. The inhabitants of St. Charles Avenue have organized a local improvement association for the keeping of their street in good condition, and about \$7,000 a year is contributed for that purpose.

On this avenue are located two "universities" for colored people, the Leland

and the New Orleans University, both somewhat limited as to funds. There are two other institutions for the education of the negroes in New Orleans.

At the extreme upper end of St. Charles Avenue is Tulane University, once known as the University of Louisiana. In 1884 Mr. Tulane, a Princeton man, who had accumulated great wealth in New Orleans, donated a million dollars towards it, and the grateful people insisted upon giving the institution his name. The buildings already erected are modern, substantial and architecturally pleasing. Elsewhere, though connected with Tulane, is the Sophie Newcomb College, the women's department of the university.

Other public buildings worthy of note in New Orleans are the City Hall, the Atheneum (belonging to the Young Men's Hebrew Association), the new Carnegie Library now in course of erection, the new St. Charles Hotel, the Howard Library, the Confederate Museum Building, and many others.

Several steel-frame sky-scrapers are in course of erection, resting on piles and beds of concrete. These will speedily change the appearance of the whole city.

There is at present but one apartment house in all New Orleans, the southern city having been slow to adopt the northern method, which, with all its

advantages, has the one great disadvantage of herding people closer together than is good for them or their children.

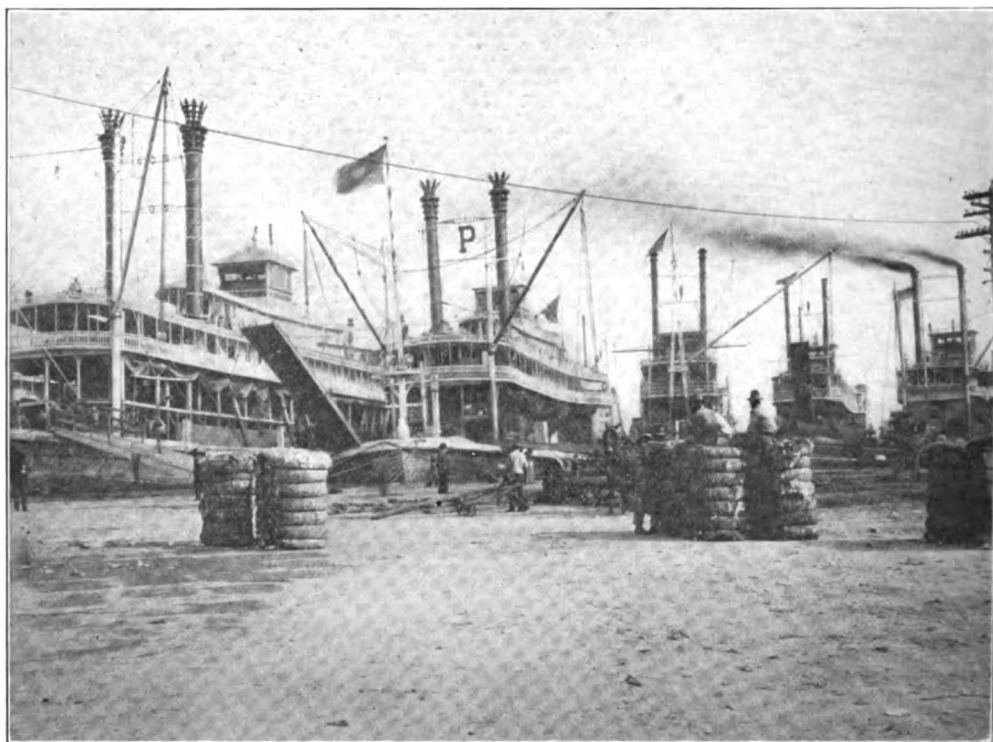
The stone paving of the business streets of New Orleans has a romantic connection with the sea. In the palmy days of the sailing vessel, when barks, barkentines, schooners and the like from all quarters found their way here for cargoes of Louisiana sugar, molasses, rice, corn, etc., they invariably brought ballast and much of this was in the shape of cobble-stones or paving slabs. These were dumped out at the wharves, and later, when the growing city began to pave its streets, these cobble-stones were seized upon as a Godsend.

The cemeteries of New Orleans are known throughout the world. Owing to the situation of the city below the river level and the poor drainage of early days, it was found that graves dug in the soil were half filled with water before the coffin could be decently in-

terred. It was natural therefore that the highest portion of the city should be used for burial purposes. This portion is known as the *Mitairie Ridge*. In some prehistoric day in the history of the Mississippi River it built up for itself a channel almost directly across the city, in a rude east and north-easterly direction, and a little north of midway between the river and Lake Ponchartrain. In due time it abandoned this channel as a water course, but left the channel and its two banks, which now exist at an elevation of about five feet above mean gulf level. This ridge is continuous across the city save for one break, through which the Bayou St. John, used as an inter-city canal, passes. A large portion of it has been preempted for the cemeteries, and to entirely overcome the fear lest water should interfere with their dead the early inhabitants no longer buried under ground, but entombed their dead in vaults elevated



FRENCH MARKET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



LOADING COTTON, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

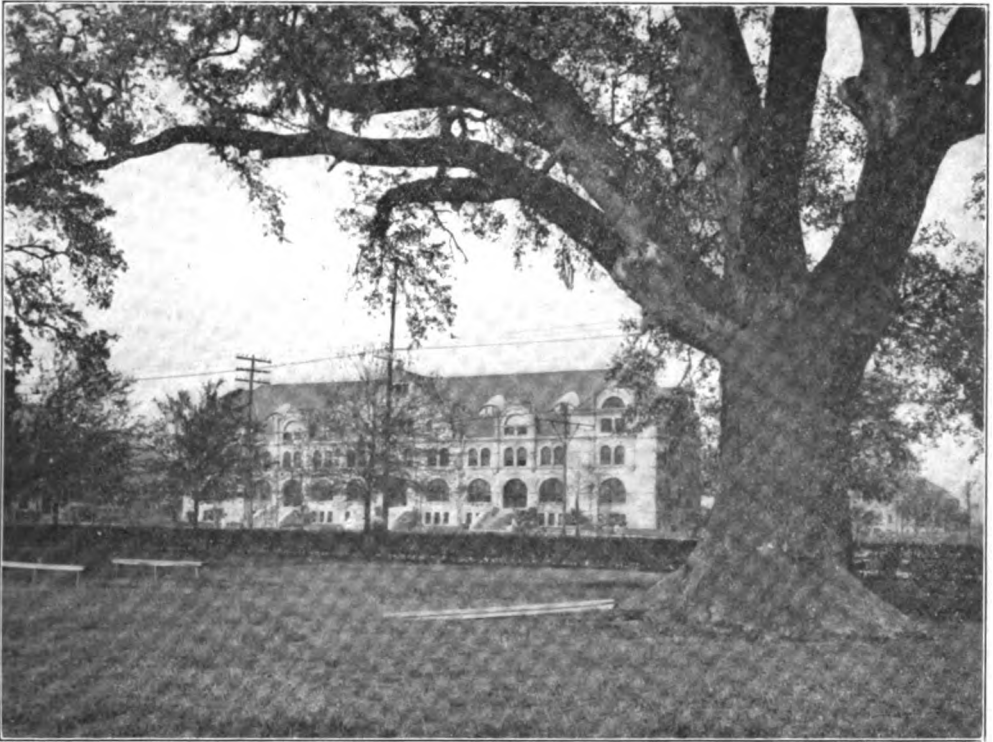
above the ground. There are several of these cemeteries, the later ones being of a most elaborate character. Indeed, they have become show-places to visitors.

The New Orleans method of governing its parks is individualistic and incoherent. There is a Commission appointed for each park, square and avenue, by the Mayor and approved by the City Council. All the appointments are honorary. Audubon and City Parks, however, are under the control of Commissions created by the state in 1896. Each is an incorporated body and is provided with \$15,000 annually for the maintenance of its park. The act makes it mandatory upon the City Council to appropriate "as a first item in its budget, out of the reserve fund, a sum of at least \$30,000," to be divided between the two Commissions.

Thus it will be seen that the New Orleans parks are governed by separate and distinct commissions, without any

general head, any bond of interest, either real or formal, or any means afforded for the regular occasional meeting of all the commissioners for the interchange of ideas. The result of this plan is both good and bad: good in that it has resulted in a decided increase of park sentiment throughout the whole city. This in a city of New Orleans' heterogeneity is a most important thing to secure.

Each park or parklet has its own commission of more or less interested persons, who, with their friends, are aroused to do what they can for their individual park. If money is needed for some desired improvement the commission can unite itself and its friends to bring this to pass, either by raising the needful funds by subscription—public or private—or by storming the City Council with its demands. While this is by no means an unmixed good, as we shall later see, it is a great good in that



TULANE UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

stage of a city's development through which New Orleans can scarcely yet be said to have passed.

On the other hand, the absence of any central governing board which shall have some degree of control or supervision over the whole city system is likely to result in an individualism that is neither pleasing, harmonious, coherent, nor economical.

What New Orleans should speedily do in this stage of its park development is to organize a general park board. Let each park retain its individual commission if it is deemed best, but let there be a central board, composed, if necessary, of members of the separate boards, elected in proportion to the size and importance of their respective parks. Then let this board formulate a great and comprehensive plan of park, boulevard and general civic improvement within their allotted scope of operations,

giving due attention to the respective claims of each district, which can be presented by its own representative, and then each dollar spent will be expended in the direction of the development and completion of this comprehensive plan which it may require a century of effort to achieve.

The evil of most civic endeavor of to-day is its utter and crass shortsightedness. Every city in the Union is a more or less marked example of this dense stupidity in not seeing ahead.

New Orleans, in its park system, has been no less shortsighted than other cities. The commission of the City Park had an opportunity a few years ago to purchase a most desirable tract of park land just beyond their present limits for some twelve thousand dollars. Instead of promptly closing the deal some "penny wise pound foolish" member held up the contract

to "discuss it" until the owner raised the price. Then an unfortunate trespass occurred of the owner's cows upon the park and in the squabble that ensued the price went up again and again the board hesitated and delayed until quicker and more far-seeing men jumped into the affair and gobbled up the whole tract as a speculation. The park board took the matter into the courts, but the law refused to give them redress against their own negligent procrastination, and the result is that the city to-day is minus a most necessary piece of park property, which has more than twenty times increased in value.

Had a far-seeing and promptly acting board of general park control been in existence it could have prevented the loss to the city of such a valuable property by vigorous and speedy grasping of the situation and completion of the purchase.

I visited and carefully studied the

two large parks of New Orleans, the City Park and Audubon Park. There is a vast difference at once apparent in the direction and management which reveals the strength and weakness of the individual or separate park commission system. In the one case a wisely thought out, large and comprehensive plan is being worked upon—though never so slowly—while in the other it is evident that the only plan is the immediate whim or notion of the present park board. Let me make perfectly clear what I mean. At Audubon Park the commission, on taking charge, called upon certain well-known landscape and park developers to study the ground and submit plan for its systematic and thorough development. This judicious and by no means large expenditure of money resulted in the obtaining of the comprehensive ideas of men of vast experience in dealing with problems of this nature and the final



OLD ST. LOUIS CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



ARMY OF TENNESSEE VAULT, MICTAINE CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

purchase of plans submitted by the well-known firm of Olmstead Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts. The actual cost of these plans and the consequent education of the members of the Audubon Park board in the large ideas of competent men has been less than eight thousand dollars.

What is the result? The board, with its limited income for improvement and maintenance, realizes that to immediately carry out the Olmstead plans is impossible, for they call for the expenditure of many thousands of dollars; but—and *here is the great benefit*—every cent that they expend is in doing work that furthers the larger plan. When the board is ready to take up development on a large scale nothing will have to be undone.

Audubon Park is the after result of the World's Cotton Exposition of 1884. One large building was allowed to remain

—the Horticultural Building—and after putting a new brick foundation under it, it serves admirably for housing a large number of semi-tropical plants, trees, shrubs and flowers of special interest.

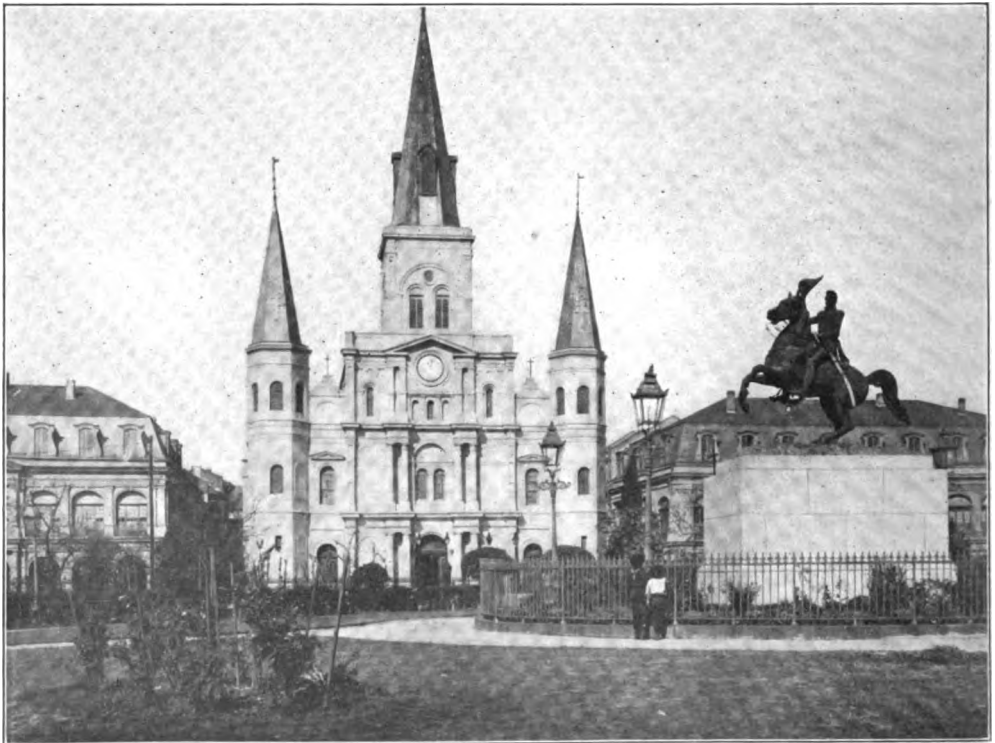
The chief charm in both the New Orleans parks is found in the massive live oaks which nature placed there before the advent of man upon the scene. There are no more majestic and beautiful trees on the continent than these awe-inspiring and soul-uplifting monarchs. With a keen appreciation of their kingly character, the commissions have cared for them so that they stand, individualistic and undisturbed in their primeval grandeur. Two of them are known respectively as the George and Martha Washington oaks, and scientists tell us they are not less than four hundred years old.

One of the principle motives for the existence of a park is that it shall afford

to city dwellers, rich and poor alike, a rural retreat,—a piece of the country, not only for health, but for pleasure, recreation and instruction. Hence, every element that reminds one of the city should be, as far as possible, rigidly excluded. While it may not be possible to shut out totally from view the buildings outside of the park, they should be hidden as completely as tree-planted elevations can accomplish it. This has been done at Audubon Park. The two sides are open upon streets lined with houses. In order to make the park a place of retreat and seclusion the ground has been elevated along the sides and the mounds thus created planted thoroughly with trees and shrubs. With a short-sighted conception as to the province of the parks and with a selfish eye merely to their own personal gratification, the dwellers in these streets have protested against this action and have petitioned to have the trees cut down. In other

words, they desire to utilize the park as a large front yard for themselves, regardless of the advantages or disadvantages that would accrue to the great mass of park goers. That this spirit is selfish and incivic need not be more than said. The good of the whole mass of the people is the first consideration of a park commission, and New Orleans is to be congratulated that at Audubon Park the commissioners resolutely keep their minds fixed upon this prime duty, regardless of either praise or blame.

With an eye to legitimately increasing its income as far as it possibly can, the commission has rented a corner of the park to a local golf club, for \$300 a year. This club keeps its portion of the park in good order and is under contract to vacate at any time. Concessions are also rented for refreshment stands and a carousal, or merry-go-round, etc., all of which add somewhat to the working income. Fifty acres are rented to the



JACKSON SQUARE AND ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Louisiana State Experimental Station for \$500 a year, where extensive experiments in sugar culture and manufacture are constantly being carried on, and where cotton is grown and experimented with. At present there are 118 varieties of orange trees in the grounds, being tested for hardihood, fruit-bearing, etc.

Some time ago an ordinance was passed by the City Council setting apart Hagan Avenue as a parkway between the City Park and Audubon Park, and authorizing the city engineer to prepare plans for submission to the Council, embodying the suggestions that led to the passage of the ordinance. It must be noted, however, that Hagan Avenue does not reach either park. It is a wide avenue extending from Breedlove on the south-west to Bienville on the north-east, but not quite one-half the distance between the two parks. The intent of the movers of the ordinance was good, but the city engineer, having more pressing and important duties on his hands, and being short of help, was unable to give his time and attention to it, and the city having a shortage of revenue and urgent need for all of it, this matter has been allowed to be pigeon-holed, where it now remains, though the committee to whom the ordinance was referred spent some \$800 to \$900 in having a



HOME ON ESPLANADE STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

survey made showing how the two ends of Hagan Avenue could be connected with the two parks.

It cannot be denied that, when a city's finances are low, parks and parkways necessarily have to suffer. Yet it is better to incur small debts for future generations to pay, than render it impossible for them to have parks, by allowing all available grounds to be sold and refusing to consider the needs of the future.

Need it be suggested to men who love their native city, that far better than any marble monument in the cemetery would be a donation to the park system? In

the one case personal and family pride alone are met and no one in the world benefited. In the other case the pride is made honorable and beautiful in the great benefit that accrues to the city at large, especially to the poor and needy, who use the parks so largely. If ten men would agree to do without expensive tombs at their death and donate the money to the parks of New Orleans, they would be public benefactors far more than they can now imagine, for their example would be contagious and in a decade improvements and extensions on a large scale could be carried on.

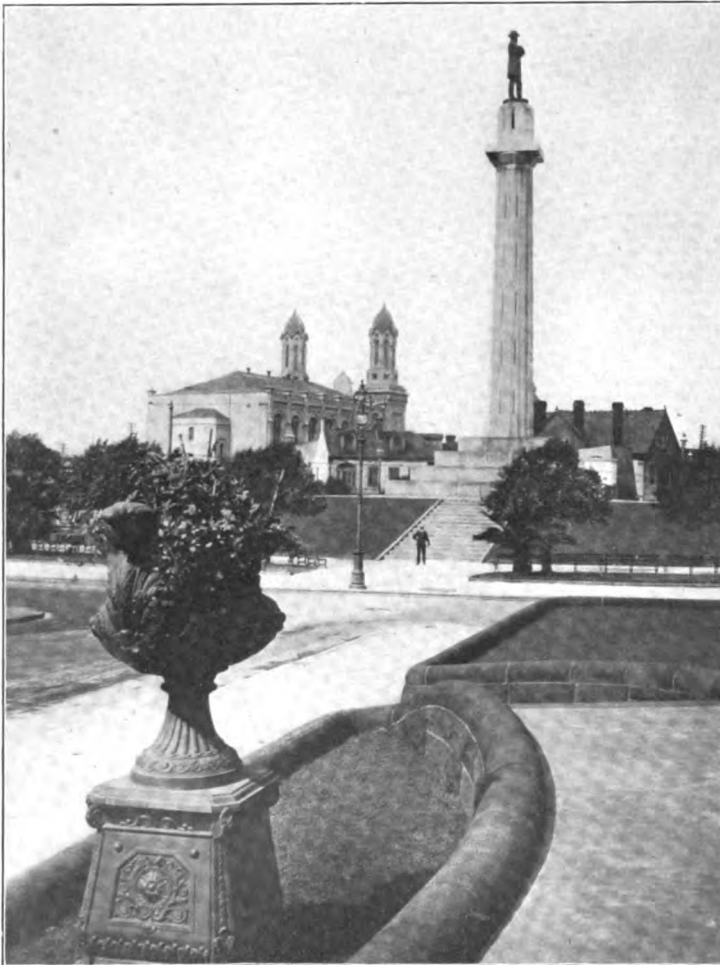
With an income of but \$15,000 a year

each from the city, which is increased to about \$18,000 by careful financiering, it can be seen that neither of the great parks of New Orleans has much money to squander. Every cent must be used carefully and in the different methods of management and expenditure the careful observer finds a marked illustration of the great advantage that working on a definite plan has over haphazard improvement.

In conclusion I have pleasure in saying that I deem New Orleans as progressive in the matter of parks as most northern cities. It is especially fortunate in having a few men, prominent among

whom is Mr. Lewis Johnson, who, regardless of praise or blame, continue in a large-hearted, truly patriotic way that cannot be too highly appreciated or commended, to work for the present and future development of the park system of the city.

To these gentlemen, I beg to offer the following suggestions. Demand, ask, petition largely for the future. Pledge the city's credit wherever possible for park property. Experience all over the world shows that property dedicated to park purposes increases the value of all near-by property, and thereby enlarges the city's tax receipts. Parks are also a legitimate bait for outsiders. They are health and pleasure producers, and that



LEE MONUMENT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



DANCING PAVILION, CITY PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



CITY PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

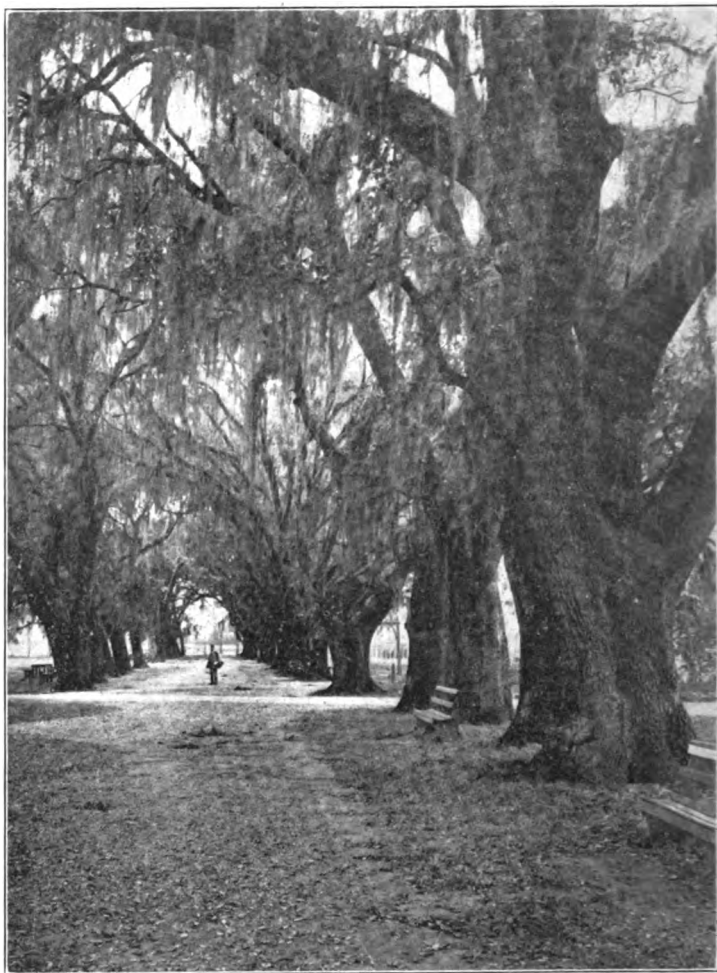
city is truly progressive which duly and fully considers the health and legitimate pleasure of its citizens.

And, as soon as possible, raise a small fund for the purpose of calling upon several well-known park architects of the country, to come and suggest a large and far-sighted plan for the future development of the park system, parkways and connecting boulevards for the whole city. After due deliberation accept one or the other of these plans, and then, as the years pass, intelligently and faithfully work to carry them out. The future will show the wisdom of this suggestion. In twenty years the city that follows such a course will

show such a marked advance over the city that follows the present haphazard, hit-or-miss method, and at such a large saving of expense, that

its wisdom can never again be questioned.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.
Pasadena, Calif.



LIVE OAKS, AUDUBON PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

"AARON'S ROD;" OR, GOVERNMENT BY FEDERAL JUDGES.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,
Chief Justice of North Carolina.

THE FOURTEENTH Amendment was passed solely for the protection of the then lately emancipated colored people. There is the gravest doubt whether it was ever legally adopted. But it is certain that it is not being used for the only purpose for which its adoption was avowedly urged. It is equally certain that it has been seized upon by plutocratic and capitalistic combinations as a means through which to nullify all legislative or congressional action that is not to their liking. Adopted for the protection of the negro, it has become the asylum of the millionaire.

This has been easy work. The Federal judges are not elective. The popular will has not only no choice in their selection, but as their tenure is for life, popular sentiment, however just or strong, or however indignant under just provocation, is no check upon their conduct. Of the 113 United States judges, there are very few, who were not corporation lawyers before appointment. There are still fewer who do not owe their appointment to trust or corporation influences, vigorously exerted in their behalf. There is not one whose appointment would have been confirmed by the plutocratic Senate, if confirmation had been opposed by the capitalistic combinations to whom a majority of the senators owe their seats.

Thus selected, thus confirmed, and thus holding, the Federal judiciary is the ideal instrument of government for the plutocracy. The powers assumed (without any provision of the Constitution to authorize it, and indeed, despite the fact that the motion to insert it was four times voted down by the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787) to declare any legislation unconstitutional, gave the judiciary the power, and the Fourteenth Amendment, by a

process of misconstruction has given the judges the occasion for the exercise of absolute and arbitrary power.

The Fourteenth Amendment made the colored people "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." It then adds: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The colored people for the protection of whose rights the amendment was passed have ceased to be regarded. The words "citizens of the United States" as now construed in practice mean any "railroad or other corporation." The words "due process of law" have been construed to embrace anything and everything, at the will of the judge.

Given a judiciary mostly recruited from the ranks of corporation lawyers and unable to put off the preconceived opinions and bias received in years of contests at the bar; removed from respect for popular judgment of their conduct, however arbitrary, by the most undemocratic provision of life tenure; armed with the self-assumed power of setting aside any legislation, whether State or Federal, as unconstitutional (of which they are sole judges); and of holding, at their irresponsible will and pleasure anything that displeases them to be "not due process of law," the result is that the Federal judges possess an irresponsible, unlimited and arbitrary power greater than any to which Plantagenet, Tudor or Stuart ever aspired.

Under skilful manipulation the Fourteenth Amendment has become like "Aaron's Rod" that swallowed all

the other rods. Under the construction of the Federal Judges, the Fourteenth Amendment effectually repeals both the Tenth Amendment and the Eleventh,—indeed, it reverses and reduces to naught all the other provisions of the Constitution which made that instrument one of granted powers and reserved all other powers to the States or the people thereof.

If the Federal judiciary can, at will, hold any act of any State Legislature, or of Congress, to be “not due process of law” and therefore unconstitutional, or can, as a Federal judge in North Carolina has done, enjoin the people of the State and its officials from putting in force a statute, which the judge has not even taken the time or the trouble to declare unconstitutional—in short, forbid them to even think about the matter until he shall have thought it over and settled it,—then we have found the *pou sto* of the old Greek, the ultimate source of all political power.

Judge Marshall and Judge Story both favored a strong central government, but they wrote: “The government of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution. . . . The powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given or by necessary implication.”*

In the great case of *McCullough v. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton 405, Chief Justice Marshall said: “This government is acknowledged by all to be one of enumerated powers. The principle that it can exercise only the powers granted to it would seem too apparent to have required to be enforced by all those arguments which its enlightened friends, while it was depending before the people, found it necessary to urge. That principle is now universally admitted.”

In *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton, 187, Chief Justice Marshall also said: “The genius and character of the whole government seems to be that its action is to be

applied to all the external concerns of the nation and to those internal concerns which affect the States generally; but not those which are completely within a particular State, which do not affect other States, and with which it is not necessary to interfere, for the purpose of exercising some of the general powers of the government.”

We may well ask, just here, in view of the above, whence comes the power of a subordinate Federal judge to suspend the operation of a State statute operating solely within the States by reducing railroad fares therein. If the statute violated any provision of the Federal Constitution, the remedy is to plead such right in the State Court, and if overruled there, the remedy is by writ of error to the United States Supreme Court. Under this new right claimed of Government by Federal Injunction, any subordinate United States judge can at will and arbitrarily suspend the operation of statutes enacted by the will of a free people through their representatives.

The sphere of the Federal Government and its limits have been settled and marked out by Judge Marshall as above quoted. George Washington in his Farewell Address thus said: “If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the mode which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.”

And in his first message to Congress, Abraham Lincoln said: “To maintain inviolate the rights of the States to order and control under the Constitution their own affairs by their own judgment exclusively, is essential for the preservation of that balance of power on which our institutions rest.”

*Story, J., in *Martin v. Hunter*, 1 Wheaton 326. Marshall, Chief Justice, in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton 187.

There may be some who think that the War essentially reversed the above quoted construction of the Constitution, but in *Texas vs. White*, 74 U. S. 700, decided in 1868, not only after the war but after the proclamation of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, the United States Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Chase, who had been a distinguished member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, held that this was an "indissoluble union of indestructible States" and that while the success of the Union arms had settled that the Union was indissoluble, it had in no wise impaired the rights of the States or changed the nature of the Federal Government, as one possessing only powers enumerated and conferred by the Constitution.

This is far from the arbitrary and unlimited powers now claimed by the subordinate Federal judges, which if allowed will reduce the States to be mere geographical expressions and annihilate State legislatures and courts. The question is how to curb the power of these self-appointed custodians of absolute power.

It must be remembered that all the Federal courts below the Supreme Court are created, and their powers are conferred, by Congress, which can restrict or withdraw their powers and even abolish such courts and establish others at will. Indeed, in 1802 Congress did abolish sixteen circuit courts. And since that time it has abolished two district courts. While the Supreme Court is created by the Constitution, with specified powers, the Constitution adds, "with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." Those regulations Congress prescribed in the Judiciary Act of 1789, which Congress has amended often since. It has also increased or diminished the number of Supreme Court judges at will.

The remedy is therefore (1) that Congress should take from the subordinate Federal judges the power to grant injunctions whose effect will be to suspend any act of a State Legislature

or Congress. If any act is unconstitutional, let that be pleaded in the State court, with the right to review by writ of error in the United States Supreme Court. That was the time-honored and exclusive way till these later days. (2) The number of Federal District Judges and Circuit Judges should be diminished. New districts are made to furnish high salaries to politicians who cannot command popular approval. (3) The best remedy is to put the axe to the root of the tree by a Constitutional amendment, or by a Constitutional convention, which shall make all Federal judges elective for a term of years,—six, eight or ten years. The district judges could be chosen by the qualified voters in the respective districts. The circuit judges could be chosen in like manner in each circuit. The Union could be divided into nine divisions, for each of which a Supreme Court judge should be chosen, and the nine judges thus elected could choose one of their number Chief Justice.

At present the supreme power is not in the hands of the people but in the power of the judges, who can set aside at will any expression of the people's will made through an act of Congress or a State legislature. These judges are not chosen by the people nor subject to review by them. This is arbitrary power and the corporations have taken possession of it simply by naming a majority of the judges. Congress can curb this by restricting their powers and abolishing some of the districts. But the only root and branch remedy is in the hands of the people, by amending the Constitution as to the method of electing judges and abolishing the thoroughly undemocratic and dangerous life tenure.

The remedy is with the people themselves. I hold with that grand old patriot, James Hunter, who after the battle of the Alamance was lost declared, "I believe that the people are as much master now as ever."

WALTER CLARK.

NEW ZEALAND: A NEW DEMOCRACY.

BY A. A. BROWN.

THE NEAREST approach to a perfect democracy attainable is a government for the great majority of the people, by the great majority of the people, either by direct-legislation, or by representatives of the great majority of the people.

A perfect democracy was the dream of the founders of this Republic. A plutocracy representing vested interests for vested interests, in opposition to the rights of the whole people, could not then have been anticipated,—the temper of the people being for “equality to all, special privileges to none.” Now that we have gone adrift, and are floundering in the rapids just above the great cataract over which, if we go, we plunge into revolution and bloodshed, for the millions cannot always withstand the oppression of the few, it is but natural for us to throw out the “life-line” and use our utmost endeavor to save ourselves from the impending conflict. We need not longer theorize on methods of government that offer safe anchorage. It is not my purpose to write a thesis on the fundamental principles of a government I would plan; but rather to discuss the principles of a government now in existence, that has practically demonstrated, and is now demonstrating by the enforcement of laws now on its statute books, that a government for the people, of the people and by the people is not only practical, but that it fosters happiness, contentment, prosperity, and equalizes the distribution of wealth, eliminates the national element of poverty, and forbids the concentration of the wealth of the nation in the hands of a few, that the many may suffer. In a country such as I have in mind, where the per capita wealth represents the unparalleled sum of \$1,510 as against \$36 in the United States, if the same legislative methods

were employed, there would be such an opportunity for concentration that a few men as conscienceless as Rockefeller or Morgan or Harriman or Ryan, would soon be the complete masters of the dominion. And yet in New Zealand, where this vast wealth exists, there is neither a millionaire nor a pauper. I do not mean to say that there is not great personal wealth, nor would I mislead my readers into believing that there are no poor. There are both, but by a very wise system of a graduated income tax, and the “land for settlements consolidation act,” inordinate concentration of wealth is impossible, and the necessity imposed on all men to labor. There is in truth not a pauper in the colony, nor is there a poorhouse. There are benevolent institutions for the maintenance of the very aged, the helpless and the infirm, but an asylum for the harboring of the able-bodied waster is unknown. He must work. In securing employment the government, if necessary, will lend its aid; but he may not become a charity charge upon the community.

The test of all proposed legislation is the antithesis of the American test,—not how will this act advance the interests of a particular industry and enable it to roll the car of Juggernaut over the masses; but how will this act effect *the people, the whole people*; for the function of government is not to foster vested interests, but to protect the helpless, the many, the weak, against the encroachments of the selfish, the heartless, the strong. I stop in anticipation to answer a question: Is it not a fact that capital will shun such a land, and either migrate or refuse to invest?

My answer is another question: Will not industry and capital find greater opportunity in a land where wealth is

equally distributed, where every man and woman has a fair share of this world's goods, than in a land where the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, and where the millions are patrons of soup kitchens and charges upon charitable institutions and organizations?

I am asked: Are there not a great many people in New Zealand not in accord with the laws of the colony? Certainly; the great coal operators of the west coast, who would form a combine and raise the price of coal to the highest possible limit, are opposed to the government-ownership of coal mines, which, though inoperative now, are the people's safety-valve, for upon the first move of the great private interests in the direction of a combine, the government will immediately open its mines and provide coal to the people at cost.

The great British fire insurance companies are opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for when they formed an association in New Zealand and arbitrarily advanced premiums 30 per cent. to 33 per cent. the government created by act of Parliament The State Fire Insurance department, wherein the state undertook the writing of fire insurance at rates lower than the rates of the British companies before the advance, thus saving more than £150,000 to the people of New Zealand in premiums per annum.

The land monopolist is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for he is forbidden by act of Parliament to hold great areas to his individual profit, when there is a demand for small holdings by the many. The government recognizes the rights of the masses over the vested right of the individual.

Shylock is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for the government will lend money to the settler under the "Government advance to the settlers' act," at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, thus making it possible for *the people* to borrow and pay; while under

Shylock's methods the people would borrow, and then sacrifice their all to the mercenary monster who would demand the last pound of flesh.

The private promoter in public utilities is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for the government holds that all these vest in *the people* and that by no possible fiat of legislative legerdemain can they be vested in an individual; they belong primarily to *the people*, and whatever conveniences or benefits they may yield by development or use must be for the benefit of the whole people. Thus the government owns the railways, —the theory being that railways are "improved highways" and belong to the people, as do the highways and turnpikes. Dining cars are provided, and meals are served at two shillings or fifty cents, the estimated cost of food and service, a public convenience under the direction and control of the government, operated at the cost of maintenance only. The government (and by the government I of course mean the people) owns the telegraph lines, telephones, street-railways (with one exception), water-works, gas and electric light plants, and operates them upon an earning basis that will provide for the interest on the actual cost of construction, and a sinking fund necessary to redeem maturing bonds. There are no "watered stocks" nor high salaried ornamental figure-heads to provide for; thus all domestic telegrams of twelve words and under are dispatched for sixpence. Street-car fares, according to distance travelled, are one penny, two-pence and three-pence. Electric light, gas and water rates are too low to be considered a burden upon the humblest family in the colony. They are supplied to the consumer in compliance with the reasonable theory that electricity, gas and water are the products of nature and are the common heritage of the human race, to the use of which mankind is entitled upon the payment of such fees or tolls as will pay for installation, maintenance and service.

New Zealand has solved the problem of industrial disputes, strikes and lock-outs; therefore it is a land of industrial peace. Its "Industrial conciliation and arbitration acts," were conceived and enacted to the end that the employer might not be tormented by discontented labor urged to unreasonable or captious demands by the "walking delegate," and that labor might be secure from a lock-out on the part of the employer to punish a real or imaginary grievance inflicted by one or two agitators.*

There is one striking novelty connected with this legislation that would arouse positive opposition in any legislature in the United States. It is not intended to reflect discredit upon an honorable and learned profession, but it is intended to avoid all legal technicalities that operate to increase costs, confuse issues or prolong litigation, and the court has so construed this section that the complaint, the answer and all pleading must

*The following explanatory facts relating to this legislation may be of value to serious students of social conditions in America:

Under the act, "employer" includes "persons, firms, companies, and corporations employing one or more workers." "Worker" means "any person of any age, of either sex, employed by any employer to do any skilled or unskilled manual or clerical work for hire or reward."

"Industry" means "any business, trade, manufacture, undertaking, calling or employment in which workers are employed."

"Industrial dispute" means "any dispute arising between one or more employers and one or more industrial unions or associations of workers in relation to industrial matters."

"Industrial matters" means "all matters affecting or relating to work done, or to be done by workers, or the privileges, rights and duties of employers or workers in any industry, not involving questions which are or may be the subject of proceedings for an indictable offence: and without limiting the general nature of the above definitions, includes all matters relating to—

(a) "The wages, allowances, or remuneration of workers, employed in any industry, or the price paid or to be paid therein in respect of such employment;

(b) "The hours of employment, sex, age, qualification, or status of workers, and the mode, terms and conditions of employment;

(c) "The employment of children or young persons, or of any person or persons, in any industry, or the dismissal of or refusal to employ any particular person or persons or class of persons therein;

be prepared by the parties interested, in their own simple phraseology, free from legal verbiage. The object the court keeps in view is to open the court to the humblest citizen as well as to the most influential and powerful.

"No barrister or solicitor, whether acting under a power of attorney or otherwise, shall be allowed to appear or be heard before a Board, or any committee thereof, unless all the parties to the reference expressly consent thereto. . . .

"The court shall consist of three members, who shall be appointed by the governor.

"Of the three members of the court, one shall be appointed on the recommendation of the industrial unions of employers, and one on the recommendation of the industrial unions of workers. The third shall be a Judge of the Supreme Court and shall be President of the Court.

"The court shall have jurisdiction for

(d) "The claim of members of an industrial union of employes to preference of service from unemployed members of an industrial union of workers;

(e) "The claim of members of industrial unions of workers to be employed in preference to non-members;

(f) "Any established custom or usage of any industry, either generally or in the particular district affected.

"Subject to the provisions of this act, any society consisting of not less than two persons in the case of employers, or seven in the case of workers, lawfully associated for the purpose of protecting or furthering the interests of employers or workers in or in connection with any specified industry or industries in New Zealand, may be registered as an industrial union under this act.

"The effect of registration shall be to render the industrial union, and all persons who are members thereof at the time of registration, or who after such registration become members thereof, subject to the jurisdiction by this act given to a Board and the court respectively, and liable to all the provisions of this act, and all such persons shall be bound by the rules of the industrial union during the continuance of their membership.

"An industrial dispute may relate either to the industry in which the party by whom the dispute is referred for settlement to a Board or the court, as hereinafter provided, is engaged or concerned, or to any industry related thereto.

"Every industrial agreement shall be for a term to be specified therein, not exceeding three years from the date of the making thereof. . . ."

the settlement and determination of any industrial dispute referred to it under the provisions of this act."

I have now indicated something of the purposes of the act, the personnel of the court, and its jurisdiction. Let me add that in all things it has all the powers of a court: to enforce attendance of witnesses, take evidence on oath, and its findings or judgments carry all the force of a judgment of the Supreme Court, and it may enforce its judgments in like manner. Any violation of its findings, either by employer or employé, constitutes "contempt of court" and may be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the option of the President of the Court.

Just one word more as to the beneficial results of this legislation.

The employer is guaranteed in the stability of his labor; he can plan and contract for future deliveries or work within the term of three years, and know positively that his labor may not and cannot handicap him with a demand for new conditions; and on the other hand, labor is assured of employment without a change in hours or wages within a term of three years; and from my personal knowledge of the operation of the act, I can testify that neither employer nor employé would sanction for a moment its repeal.

New Zealand is the only country in the world where a "worker" can buy his home from the government practically without money, pay nothing for it, secure a title to it, and have money left when the fee is conveyed to him. Let me illustrate this seeming paradox in financiering.

A "worker" under the act means every person, male or female, who is employed in work of any kind or in manual labor, and who at the time of his application is not in receipt of more than one hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum (\$15.00 per week). Ordinarily such an one pays the landlord from ten to fifteen per cent. on the

landlord's investment in some tenement house or unsuitable dwelling. Now, the government holds to the position that this tenant would be a better citizen, would be more loyal and contented, if he had a home—a freehold. To this end the government will build for him a "worker's" dwelling which he may acquire by a life insurance policy.

That is: "He shall pay a rent which shall be payable monthly, and shall be at the rate of five per centum per annum on the capital value of the worker's dwelling" (being five per centum for rent and one per centum for depreciation) "in addition to the cost of insuring the dwelling from fire at its full insurable value." This will leave him the other five to ten per cent. that would otherwise have gone to a landlord, to be used in paying premiums in the Government life insurance department for the amount of the "capital value of the worker's dwelling," this policy to be an endowment contract extending over a period of 25 or 32 years, so that the premiums are very light. Should the insured die after the payment of the first premium, his death matures the policy and the freehold vests in the widow. Should he die at any further period of the life of the policy, the freehold vests in the widow, together with the dividends earned on the policy, and should the insured live to the maturity of the policy, he receives from the government the dividends earned on the policy, which amount to nearly as great a sum as all the premiums paid, the government taking the face of the contract only.

Or: the "worker" may acquire the freehold "by monthly payments over a period of thirty-two years, at the rate of eight per centum per annum, on the capital value (being five per centum for rent, one per centum for depreciation, and two per centum for capital value)."

Or: "By monthly payments over a period of forty-one years, at the rate of six and one-half per centum per annum on the capital value (being four per

centum for rent, one per centum for depreciation, and one and one-half per centum capital value)."

Under the operation of this act it may be readily seen that it is an effectual bar to excessive demands from the landlord for rents, and opens the door for every "worker" to provide a home for his widow in the event of his death, or to acquire a home for himself in the event of his living for a given term. Thus we see New Zealand developing into a land of home-owners; the "landless" are disappearing; a landed aristocracy is impossible, and poverty is practically unknown.

The first "Act to provide old-age pensions" placed upon any statute book in the world declared that: "Whereas it is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and to open up its resources by their labor and skill, should receive from the colony a pension in their old age," etc. This act, however, did not apply to *all* persons of the full age of sixty-five, for there were many limitations as to income, residence, character, criminal record, value of accumulated property, etc. The act refers to the aged whose record through life is an honorable one, and whose necessities, when the infirmities of years have crept upon them, demand some assistance; and who better able to give this than the colony to which they have contributed so much in building it up? The amount of the pension is eighteen pounds provided per year, diminished by one pound for every complete pound of income above thirty-four pounds.* It will thus be seen that the government provides the difference between income and fifty-two pounds per annum, or a total of one pound per week, the conditions applying to husband and wife alike. Were you ever opposed to such a gratuity from a government to its deserving aged, you would but need to see the gratitude

*One pound sterling is the equivalent of \$4.87.

expressed in the happy smiles of the recipient who by this act continues to be an independent citizen, for whom a charitable institution has no terrors, and the stigma of an "inmate" does not attach. By this act, their declining years are tempered with a just recognition of a grateful state so governed that want shall never be felt by its deserving wards who have lived honorable lives, who have buffeted with the storms of life's struggle, and have failed, but who have done their share toward nation-building.

I have said that Shylock was opposed to the laws of New Zealand, and why not? The government stands between the "settlers" or farmers and the usurer. Under the "Government advance to settlers" act it may loan money to the farmer at five per centum per annum, secured by mortgage, of course, and so provided with safeguards that the government may be thoroughly secured and the mortgagor relieved from the despotism of the "money-lender." Such loans from the government may be repaid in seventy-three half-yearly installments, but to encourage thrift and frugality the government offers a premium in the shape of a rebate of a certain portion of the interest, and other concessions measured by the time the loan has been shortened by the mortgagor.

It may be interesting to know the fees for granting loans, preparing mortgage, perusing title and registering the mortgage.

For an advance of—	The total fees are—
£250 (\$1,200).....	£0 7s. 6d. or \$1.87
250 to £500.....	0 10s. 0d. or 2.50
500 to 750.....	0 15s. 0d. or 3.75
750 to 1,000.....	1 1s. 0d. or 5.25
2,000 to 3,000.....	1 17s. 6d. or 9.37

The system of the New Zealand government is, to carry its operations so near to the body of the people that all the people shall come into personal contact with the machinery of the political life of the colony. Thus, the post-offices are created government savings banks, and as *the people* are coming into touch daily with the post-office, the

fact that they are a national depository for savings, encourages thrift by the psychological law of suggestion. As a matter of fact, there are more savings bank accounts in New Zealand than in any other nation on earth. Statistics show that every 3.31 persons in New Zealand is a depositor in the National Savings Bank; in other words, if it be true that an average family numbers five persons, we see that there are nearly two savings bank accounts for each family in the colony, and the average account represents £32, or \$160.

In the payment of taxes the same principles apply; they may be paid into the money-order department of the local post-office, thence transmitted to the Commissioner of Taxes at Wellington. Thus, again the government is brought into close proximity to the people, and they learn to feel that they are *the people* and that the public officers are public servants performing a public duty, rather than political despots dominating the will of the people.

Again, the government comes into the very closest possible relationship to the people through the office of Public Trustee, who is the official in charge of the office of Public Trusts. In the administration of estates of all persons who die intestate, and as executor of estates wherein the "Public Trust" has been appointed by will, this office serves the people at the lowest possible cost to the estate.

The uninformed no less than the subsidized press may loudly echo the phrases of the paid agents of privileged interests and clamor against practical measures that foster a genuine democracy; but a personal experience under the beneficent influences of such a government will teach the open-minded student of political economy that a government of the people, for the people and by the people is the richest heritage bequeathed to a free and intelligent people.

A. A. BROWN.

Victoria, B. C.

IDEALISM: A SKETCH. PART II. KANT'S DOCTRINE THAT THE HUMAN MIND IS BOTH THE CREATOR AND LAW-GIVER OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

BY JUDGE L. H. JONES.

ACCORDING to Kant, "the three stages of intelligence may be called sense-perception, understanding, reason. In man, the being intermediate between the animal and God, all three are to be found; while the animal possesses sense-perception alone, God reason alone. Sense-perception is the capacity of receiving sensations, the receptivity for affections. . . . The forms of receptivity are space and time; the product of sense-perception, a plurality of perceptions in space and time. . . ."

The understanding "introduces law and systematic connection among individual perceptions. The product of sense-perception and understanding together is the system of nature, arranged in space and time in conformity with law as [physical] science presents it to us. Reason is the faculty of passing beyond the empirical world to the supersensuous; its product is the ideal world, the *mundus intelligibilis*. It is, properly speaking, the form of the divine thought that is employed in the intuition of existence in

the form of ideas immanent in it. Human reason is only a feeble reflection of the absolute reason."*

"We may now appreciate the final meaning of the notion of the *mundus sensibilis* and *intelligibilis*. The world is intelligible for the divine understanding, the *intellectus archetypus*, and it is completely included in God's thought. It is therefore in itself an ideal unity; the *mundus noumenon* is, as its name implies, an existing system of ideas. The reality presented to the human intellect is, on the other hand, sensible and phenomenal; the world of divine ideas manifests itself to it as a sensuous, changing, corporeal world in motion, which it laboriously and imperfectly strives to master, not by means of pure thought, but by experience."†

"These ideas seem to lead to a pantheistic view. But that is not Kant's meaning. . . . God is the unitary principle that fashions things, but is not merged in things. The relation of God to things is perhaps intelligible through the relation of the understanding to concepts. Concepts are in the understanding and the understanding is in the concepts, but it is not identified with them. It is not the sum-total of them, but their presupposition, the principle by means of which they are posited. Thus God is the supramundane principle, by means of which 'the natures of things,' existing ideas or things-in-themselves, are posited. Obviously, this does not include bodies, which are nothing but the representation of things in our sense-perception. That which God creates is the intelligible world, the world of *noumena*.

"This differentiation of God from the world—not from the corporeal world of phenomena, which does not exist at all for him, but from the intelligible world—is merely touched upon in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, but is often discussed in the *Lectures*."‡

*Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 152-3.

†*Ibid.*, p. 158.

‡*Ibid.*, pp. 262-3.

"The notion of the world of appearance, of the *mundus sensibilis*, with which the critical period starts out, implies as a necessary correlate the notion of a real world that appears. Without this, the idea of the phenomenal would be meaningless."§

"In reflecting critically on its own nature and limits, the understanding recognizes that there is an absolute reality beyond the world of sense. And now the spirit (which is something more than the understanding) claims, as a moral being, to be a member of this absolute reality, and defines the nature of this reality through its own essence." In other words, "that which is born of the Spirit, it is the spirit." (John, 3: 6.) "This is Kant's doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason over the theoretical."||

"The transcendental philosophy,' Kant says, 'has for its object the founding of a metaphysic whose purpose, as the chief end of pure reason, is intended to lead reason beyond the limits of the sensible world to the field of the super-sensible.' And he repeatedly defines metaphysics as a science 'of advancing from knowledge of the sensible to that of the super-sensible. . . . Indeed, the *trans physicam* gives the direction to Kant's whole thought; the *mundus intelligibilis* is its goal. The first step towards it is the transcendental idealism. By means of the principle of the ideality of space and time, it establishes the ideality of matter. *The corporeal world is nothing but phenomenal, and sense-perceptions are the material out of which it is built.*"¶

Kant's position that the human mind produces material nature and prescribes its laws is further brought out and emphasized in Professor Eckhoff's introduction to the *Dissertation* of 1770, as follows: "The reply of Kant to Hume, in which the Königsberg philosopher makes causality a 'function of the under-

§*Ibid.*, p. 164.

||Paulsen, p. 6.

¶*Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

standing' is of the profoundest significance. The proclamation of the human mind as the law-giver of nature marks a turning-point in the whole history of metaphysics. Kant was the first who dared to say: it may sound exaggerated and absurd to say that the understanding is the source both of the laws and of the unity of nature. It is correct, nevertheless, and accords with experience."

Now Jesus proved by practical application the ideality of both space and matter, as, by disappearing suddenly from those about him, by passing bodily through closed doors; and, on the lake, when the disciples, because of adverse winds had been rowing all night and were yet a long way from the shore, Jesus coming to them walking on the water was received into the boat and, John adds, "Immediately the ship was at the land whither they went." (John, 6: 21.) Jesus knew the ideality of space or distance and the knowing of this truth freed him and those with him from the limitations which a mistaken belief in the reality of distance had imposed upon them. In the same way he overcame other human concepts, falsely called laws of nature, as by quieting the winds and the waves, by simply knowing that such turbulence is not a manifestation of real nature but of the mortal or human mind. Inasmuch as the human mind prescribes the laws of nature (so-called), the setting aside of any such law by the divine Mind does not involve a conflict of laws but merely the assertion of real law as against unreal law. Jesus wrought his miracles not by the suspension of law but by the assertion of real law, the law of reality, of the real universe, the *mundus intelligibilis*.

The same logical necessity which drove Kant to the conclusion that God did not create and does not know of the sensible or physical universe, compels the same conclusion with regard to physical man and his material consciousness. God did not create and does not know of the existence of any such man,

for the very sufficient reason that no such man or consciousness has real existence. If any such man or consciousness really existed God would certainly know of it. But neither sense-perception nor the human understanding which alone construct the sensible universe so-called is, according to Kant, attributable to God. God is the pure practical Reason; and man, the only real man, being the image and likeness, however feeble, of this pure Reason, has likewise neither sense-perception nor sense-consciousness. There is no gain-saying this conclusion as to man, even from the standpoint of philosophy; it has its warrant in the whole Kantian system, with Plato looming large above the horizon of a distant past. A thing can not be said to have real being which is not known to God. The only way to have real being is to be known of God, to be an idea of the practical Reason. But the carnal man or consciousness "is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom., 8: 7); that is, is not subject to the law or categories of divine knowing and therefore can neither know the ideas of pure Reason nor be known as an idea of pure Reason, and has therefore no real being.

Thus, as with other phenomena so with man: "Space itself, however, as well as time, and with them all phenomena, are not things by themselves, but representations, and can not exist outside our mind; and even the internal sensuous intuition of our mind (as an object of consciousness) which is represented as determined by the succession of different states in time, is not a real self, as it exists by itself, or what is called the transcendental subject, but a phenomenon only, given to the sensibility of this to us unknown being."*

And again: "The logical nature, understanding and reason, is really the ego-in-itself, while, on the other hand, time and space belong merely to sensibility, to the sense representation of the

*Critique of Pure Reason, p. 401.

ego, which as phenomenal can pass away (at death). But there remains the ego as a pure thinking essence, free from space and time, a spaceless and timeless pure thinking spirit."*

Through his doctrine of the correlation of the *mundus sensibilis* and the *mundus intelligibilis* and the unity of experience which it suggests, Kant was naturally led to differentiate between the sense consciousness-in-general and the psychological consciousness or individual reflection of the consciousness-in-general in individual experience. Ernest Bax in his preface to the *Prolegomena* mentions this as Kant's greatest service. However that may be, it affords an excellent illustration of how the mortal or human mind—the sense-mind, so to speak—seeks to counterfeit the unity, or oneness of divine Mind or, as Kant puts it, the practical Reason; and, at the same time, it offers a helpful theory on which to work out of our false sense of the reality of matter. That which Kant refers to as "the unity of experience" and "the progressive possibility of experience," John Stuart Mill utilizes under the expression "Permanent Possibility of Sensations" as his definition of matter. "Matter," he says, "then, may be defined a Permanent Possibility of Sensation. If I am asked whether I believe in matter, I ask whether the questioner accepts this definition of it. If he does, I believe in matter: and so do all Berkeleyans. In any other sense than this, I do not."† Now, to reduce a thing to a mere possibility, however permanent the possibility, certainly robs it of every quality as a material substance; furthermore, a sensation being a mental state, a possibility of sensations can be nothing more than a possibility of mental states. Moreover, under the magic of Mill's discriminating thought, this Permanent Possibility of Sensation is further resolved into merely a *belief* of a permanent possibility of sensation; and with this

belief as a background or substratum the human mind, according to Mill, constructs its external or material world.

This consciousness-in-general means that universal empirical (mortal-mind) consciousness, or perhaps it would be more correct to say possibility of consciousness, which embraces in potentiality all sensations, or rather, all sense experience, which, under any conceivable condition of normality, is possible to the human race, excluding such modifications of experience as may be due to the peculiar organism of the individual. Sense phenomena have not actuality except as they are perceived in some individual consciousness; but although they may not be actually present at some particular moment in the consciousness of any individual, they nevertheless continue, not as phenomena, but as a possibility of becoming phenomena according to the laws of connected, universal, empirical experience. When, therefore, Christian Science teaches that the objects of material nature exist in mind only, it does not mean that they are dependent upon this or that individual subjectively for existence, but that they exist, in belief, as a continuing potentiality in universal mortal mind, subject to be actualized in individual experience whenever a normal occasion for such actualization shall arise. Which means nothing more than that mortal mind claims to imitate the processes of divine Mind.

These views should help to relieve our thought of the crude notions of workmanship which in the early period of our development we are apt to associate with the idea of creation. We think of God as making things like a human artificer, and even as going outside of Himself for material out of which to make His wares. But as our minds develop under the discipline of reflective thought, we begin to realize that creation could not be a less excellent act than the Father's Self-realization, the realization of His own Self-sufficient nature and identity.

*Paulsen's *Kant*, p. 185.

†*Exam. of Sir Wm. Ham. Phil.*, I., 243.

One finds rest in the thought that creation is simply the Good realizing or expressing His blessedness, giving objectivity to His ideals in images, ideas, or living forms of beauty. The highest of these ideas is of course God's act of Self-consciousness, God's thought, idea, or consciousness of Himself, which is individual in as much as it expresses God's consciousness of His own individuality, which is compound in as much as it embraces all other ideas, or the whole creative thought, and which, being the expressed image, ideal or likeness of

God Himself, is, therefore, Man. Thus, the reflective or conceptual activity and identity of Mind (God's conception of Himself) is the image and likeness of His originative or creative activity; 'and God is All-in-All, both noumenon and phenomena. As Mrs. Eddy says in the Christian Science text-book, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, pages 114-10: "In Science, Mind is one, including noumenon and phenomena, God and His thoughts."

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POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PRESENT-DAY CIVILIZATION: A CRITICISM.

WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.

POLITICAL economy, though known in former times, has not been regarded as a science for much more than one hundred years. A wise man named Smith stated its laws in the latter part of the last century.

This science assumes that there is enough work in this world for every man and woman; that they can always find this work near at hand; that there will always be enough products of human labor—food, shelter and clothing—to go round—and never too few or too many; for a mysterious thing called "Supply and Demand" attends to all that. This science assumes that there will never be too few or too many laborers in one kind of work; because if there are too few, the products of that work will become scarce and dear, and the wages high, and other laborers will come in; if there are too many, the products of the work will become plentiful and cheap, the wages low, and laborers will go into some other occupation where there is greater demand—that another mysterious thing

called "Freedom of Contract" will take care of all that.

That science tells us that competition in each industry, and between the various industries, will keep the price of products reasonable and the profits of the various industries uniform and equitable, giving each man a fair chance in the struggle for life.

The scheme of this beautiful science, when they had worked out all its mysterious details,—capital, wages, profit, rent, interest, etc.,—they called by an elegant French name, *laissez faire*—the philosophy of "let-alone" or "let-go." They asserted that it had been in operation for two or three thousand years, and that it was the only science that would afford liberty and happiness to humanity.

There is a great deal of wisdom in this splendid and elaborate science. There is a great deal of truth that has not been entirely escaped by its mysterious doctrines. The study of these doctrines has brought a great deal of

knowledge as well as a great deal of insanity into this world. There must always be some insanity in anything which is respectable. This science is respectable, but it is not fascinating.

Political economy is believed in implicitly by a great many English and American college professors. That settles its social status. Inside of some of these institutions called universities, where they teach theology, astronomy and dead languages, it is perfectly satisfactory. The professors get five thousand dollars a year; the students are the sons and daughters of comfortable families, where supply and demand are always equal, and *laissez faire* works like a charm.

Independently of these facts, Mr. Smith's theory of political economy, invented before the discovery of steam-power and electricity, is fit to be the monument of the genius of any man. It was a great thing to do in his time. I speak of it reverently.

But this theory called *laissez faire*, placed in practice on American soil consecrated a century ago to equal rights, has created in that century a vast result of human inequality. It has distorted the just conditions of social life. It has estranged classes of citizens. It has placed the wages of toil in the hands of idleness. It has made Cunning a prince and Honesty a pauper. It has made Industry a slave to feed Indolence as a parasite. It has written despair over the doorways of millions of homes. It has dwarfed Childhood with premature toil. It has filled the breast of Labor with discontent, and the streets of cities with the tramp of soldiers in times of peace. It has placed manufacture under the surveillance and protection of hired detectives—the Pinkertons and the police. It has laid the dead hand of debt on the ploughman, and pawned the lands of the West to the princes of the East. It has given to millionaire gamblers and railroad monarchs the power to lay an embargo on the wheat fields of the prairies, and

“with a stroke of a pen to make famine crouch in the streets of our cities.” It has made tender women toil for the pittance of beggars, or flee to prostitution for bread. It has made the anarchist and the tramp. It has handed over to merciless corporations the gigantic industries of the nation, to unseat the will and debauch the conscience of the nation itself. It has enfeebled the sense of national honor. It has made pillage for private greed of the resources of a mighty and generous people. It has kidnapped for monopoly the government of the United States.

So much for *laissez faire* in unrestricted play on American soil for a century! It has shown this nation, which began in liberty a century ago, of the power of volition—the Delilah to the American giant. In the streets of our cities, on election days, the vote of an American sovereign is bought for a barrel of flour, because bread has become more precious than the ballot. In twenty states of this Union we innocently ask which is the railroad's candidate for Congress. That settles the question.

Every American industry passes rapidly into the hands of monopoly. The millions that are made pass to the pockets of the few, the Jack Sheppards and Dick Turpins of American society. These are the gentlemen in the United States Senate, who sit like kings at the head of syndicates, give feasts like Lucullus, purchase admiration of a grateful people by flinging back to them in charities a fragment of the spoils of which they have robbed them, and lie in marble mausoleums costing a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, when they are dead. We do not envy them, living or dead. They, too, are the victims of the industrial morals of their time. But we do say that no dead American has right to lie under a grave-stone worth a hundred and fifty thousand dollars while a live American woman is starving in a garret.

The wealth of this world belongs to the quick and not to the dead. Civilization

is not rich enough to furnish mausoleums for dead capitalists,—or yachts for live ones. Its industries should be devoted to producing the necessities of life as long as one needy human being exists.

So much for eighteenth century political economy in twentieth century civilization. So much for the science of an age of dreams in an age of steam. So much for the results of the philosophy of Adam Smith in the New Republic.

But how about it considered theoretically? What can be said for its intelligence? It has not been a success in practice, yet it may be wise in theory.

But let us see! This science is the alleged science of supply and demand. We are told that this principle will regulate and adjust the conditions of human labor. But for more than half a century the most remarkable and persistent feature of our modern industrial order has been the war between capital and labor—between employer and employed. Ugly things called strikes and lock-outs cover every civilized land. Scarcely a month passes but shops and mills close industries cease, and thousands and hundreds of thousands of workingmen turn to idleness in the streets. The sensitive ear of humanity is assailed with the clangor of human rage and suffering. The man with the purse is testing the supply of labor to purchase it at the most beggarly price. The man with a tin bucket is testing capital to get a larger share of profit.

The United States government, through its department of labor, has looked into this matter. It finds that ten millions of days' labor are lost through this conflict to the productive force of this country in a single year. I have found that the loss to the country in the same time by this cause is \$300,000,000—enough to support the fearful drain of another war at nearly a million a day. This is scientific economy with a vengeance. This is the *laissez faire* of the college professors at full play.

There is another feature of this sci-

entific economy. Under it a man or a set of men with a bank account sets up a manufactory of products of food or clothing or soap or pills or iron nails. Other men and other companies set up other manufactories of these goods in other parts of the country. These establishments know nothing accurately of the conditions of the supply or demand in these products. There is no understanding between them. There cannot be by the nature of the case; this is competition. They know nothing accurately of the ability or intentions of each other in regard to production. So they manufacture goods at full steam, launch them by all cunning ways on the great unknown sea of demand, the market; and each tries to steal the trade and crush the business of his rivals; for this is the Christian principle of modern competition.

Some day, early in the morning, it is found that here are more soap, and starch and shoes and sugar and suspenders and cotton goods, and iron nails, than anybody or everybody will buy. Pills have become, so to speak, a "drug in the market." Factories suspend or close. Workmen are turned into the streets. Without wages they cannot buy these goods or other goods. They want them, but cannot buy them. This the professors of Mr. Smith's political economy call "Over-production." Then other manufactories suspend. There is a crash—universal poverty and misery. But the professors are prepared for this also. They give it a scientific name. They call it an "Industrial Depression." That vindicates their science.

But this system without organic unity or coördination is the scientific scheme of political economy in the first quarter of the twentieth century among civilized peoples.

Let us suppose that a visitor from another world should come to this planet in one of these periods of industrial depression. He would pass over the land and see the prairies waving with

golden grain, the barns and bins heaped full with accumulated harvests, the pork fattening in the valleys, the cattle feeding on a thousand hills. He would see the warehouses and shops of the hamlets and great cities filled with the supplies of human want—with stores of food and clothing and luxuries. He would see millions of strong men idle and threadbare and hungry in the roads and streets—millions of sad-eyed women and children standing by the shop windows looking longingly upon the piled objects of their need—which they could not buy. He would see millions more with the fear of the future shadowing their faces. Then he would ask a few questions and return to his own planet and report to the council of his people. He would tell the strange and pitiful tale of want in the midst of plenty. They would ask him in amazement whether he had received no explanation of such a strange condition of things as this. He would answer that he had; that he had applied to the college professors—the political economists; that they had made the matter quite clear; that these gentlemen had assured him that the reason why their fellow-citizens were idle was because too much work had been done in the world; that the reason why women and children were threadbare and ragged was because there was too much clothing; the reason why they were homeless was because there were too many houses; that the reason why men were starving was because there was too much wheat and bread! that there was a “glut in the market”—over-production—and consequently “an industrial depression!”

So much for the intelligence of *laissez faire*! How stands its morality? In one of the royal libraries of the world there was said to be extant a few centuries ago an ancient book, entitled *A History of Snakes in Ireland*. That volume, with its many chapters, and its curious binding of massive gilt and gold, contained but a single sentence. That sentence was as follows: “As to snakes

in Ireland, there are none there.” A similar volume would hold the description of the morality of *laissez faire* political economy—the doctrine of the modern competitive system of labor. There is none *there*.

Professor J. Stanley Jevons, one of the high priests of this doctrine, informs us in one of his books that the first step in the study of political economy is to rid the mind of the notion that there are any such things in matters of social industry as “abstract rights.”

That is the morality of Wall street—just sufficient to keep out of the penitentiary! That is the morality of the Paul Cliffords and Jesse Jameses, who hold up railroad trains. That is the morality of Rockefeller, who buys up a hundred oil fields at a stroke to keep up the price of the poor man’s light. These gentlemen are the apt and searching pupils of Mr. Jevons. His political economy furnishes the convenient principle of their trade. *They* are not troubled about abstract rights. *They* are political economists!

A professor of Yale College, another unextinct pachyderm of modern learning, assures us that “social classes owe nothing to each other.” Why is it that when the schemes of Satan are to be upheld in this world, the wisdom of the university and pulpit is so often at its call?—slavery, autocracy, robbery!

They prove to us, with curious and labored statistics, that the condition of the laborer of to-day is better than that of the poor man of history. They assail us with the maudlin argument that the modern workingman enjoys comforts unknown to the prince of a few centuries ago; that the feudal lord, like his serf, slept on bulrushes, and the modern poor man under a blanket—as if it were a question of bedclothes rather than of the security of sleep!

There is a difference between absolute and relative poverty. The poverty of past centuries was relative. That of to-day is absolute. The blankets and

bread of the nineteenth century are better than the rushes and crusts of the middle ages; but humanity in the middle ages was at least certain of its crusts and rushes.

The morality of the competitive system, outside of a book, is the morality of medieval barbarism that made Might the basis of Right—the savage doctrine of the survival of the strongest, that strips Humanity naked at the feet of Cunning; that places manhood at the mercy of meanness; that asserts in the sunrise of the twentieth century that man is merchandise—his heart and brain to be bought and sold in the cheapest market, like a bundel of old furs!

Primitive man, the man of the woods and caves, would not endure hunger and want. He emerged for conquests and spoils. "The ravages of Atilla and Geneseric began from the stomach." Civilized want is shy and modest. It dresses itself, if it may, in the garb of respectability. It smiles in the face of the pitiless world. But underneath this ghastly complacency there exists to-day in the sharpened sensibilities of modern men and women a mass of acute agonies such as never pierced the heart of savage races.

The industrial competition under which we live is adjusted only to the satisfaction of the fortunate. Those who fall in the struggle with the praises of human dignity and equality ringing in their ears, naturally accuse the scheme which has brought them despair. Victor Hugo has said, "The Paradise of the rich is the hell of the poor." Under the American flag there should be no hungry man. On American soil there should be no want. A great philosopher has said that while there exists an honest man without enough to eat, no man should have more than enough.

But they tell us of the freedom of contract—the sacred freedom of contract between wealth and the workingman! That is freedom indeed!—the "iron law of wages!" Wealth can wait; wages

starve in a day. The freedom of contract with Death in the scales against the workingman!

That is the grim sarcasm of the freedom of contract.

Cardinal Manning, the great Catholic Englishman, declares that the freedom of contract on which political economy glorifies itself "cannot be rightly said to exist." He appeals to the great Catholic Church to protect the laboring poor who have builded the modern commonwealths.

It was said of the Italian Cæsar Borgia, that he was a soldier every inch of him, but a villian to the last fiber. Cæsar Borgia said: "If a man wishes for success he must not hesitate to make stepping-stones of the corpses of his neighbors."

That is the morals of nineteenth-century Industry. A heart of flint and a conscience as devoid of moral consideration as an absence of all fear can make it, are the chief stock in trade for success in modern competition.

But the gentlemen of the colleges assure us that the evils of the competitive scheme arise not from the use but from the abuse of that system. They are right. The unrestricted use of that scheme anywhere in this world is its abuse. That scheme carries within it the seeds of its own defeat. It insures combination. Where combination is possible, competition is impossible. The wages of labor do not purchase back the products of labor. There follows stagnation, depression, wrong.

That is your beautiful Adonis, *laissez faire*, when stripped naked! It is a padded hunch-back. It has neither a brain nor a heart.

Man is not a commodity. He is not a compound of mathematical quantities or chemical gases. He has a heart and a brain, and between these spring a thousand needs and emotions. He has the instinct of love. He is conquered by justice. Any scheme for the computation of man which leaves out justice will in this world be a failure.

But the toilers of the world are told that they should be content. They are assured that they do not grow poorer—that they receive more for their work than a century ago. The answer is no longer enough. The laborer has become intelligent. He is the child of the republic of free schools. He has read the Declaration. He has heard of the doctrine of Equal Rights. He has taught it to his children until it has become his own faith. He has caught the echo of the words of Mirabeau, "There are only three ways of acquiring property, by work, by begging, and by stealth." Civilization has increased his needs. He cannot live as did his forefathers, on the bare floors of a cabin. The glitter of his century would fill him with shame. Respectability would desert him. From his valley of poverty he points to those peaks of wealth and answers: "Those splendid heaps I helped to build; they are the product of my generation. I have worked for thirty years; my children are paupers, I have been robbed."

The laborer is right. He has a cause. He is logical. He is consistent with the teachings of the republic. If he is to be content with work and poverty, he should not have heard of the Declaration. He should have been protected from the New Testament. The only way to keep men satisfied with work and poverty is to keep them ignorant. Free schools and industrial pauperism side by side are a mistake. The history of labor from the earliest times shows that capital left to itself forces wages to a bare subsistence. A free government cannot afford to have its citizens dwarfs and paupers.

The workingman understands all this. He is fond of telling the story of the man with the mule and a patch of ground. The man said to the mule: "I will harness you to the plough and plough this land, on which I will raise beans. I will eat the beans; you shall have the stalks." The mule said to the man, "That will not be fair; I should have

some beans." "You are unreasonable," said the man, "your father was contented to eat thistles all his life." "That is true," said the mule, "but my father—he was an ass."

If there were any fair distribution of the products of human labor there would go out from all the homes of this land men and women to purchase abundance of the necessities of life. There would be none of the "alternating fevers and chills" of our present industrial order. There would be no "gluts of the market"—no "industrial depressions."

Three centuries before our era, the great Chinese sage, Mencius; taught that uncertainty as to the means of existence is the most important factor in the demoralization of a people. At the end of two centuries of unrestricted competition, three-fourths of the people of the most prosperous commonwealth of the world are insecure of the means of subsistence. We have approached the limit of the great speculative opportunities for wealth. Doubt paralyzes the limbs of industry. Dread poisons the sweetness of the world. Fear sits like a specter at our brief banquet of life. Gloom shadows the way of the toiling millions. What kind of a civilization is that whose heart is Fear?

Upon the results of this scheme of aggregated and aggregating wealth in the hands of individuals and corporations on the political morality of the nation, I need not speak. They are too familiar.

One-eighth of the total wealth of the United States belongs to the monopoly of transportation, the railroads. Its use in these hands for oppression and corruption is notorious. American statesmanship, like American sovereignty, has retired into the offices of the corporations. The United States Senate sits directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, for "vested rights."

We have heard of government by kings, by oligarchies, by aristocrats. We began a century ago as a government by the people. We have ended by giving

the world a new study in political science—government by corporations. When the Pennsylvania railroad has no more business to transact in the legislature of that State, it is said that that political body adjourns.

The late Mr. Tweed, of New York, had an acute appreciation of American politics. He manipulated a city and stole fifty millions of dollars. He recorded his vocation on the prison register as that of a *statesman*!

What is the conclusion? How will it end? The Duke of Weimar, looking upon the schemes of Napoleon in the height of his power, said, "This will not last; it is unjust."

I am not endeavoring to picture the details of an ideal commonwealth. There will come other days and there will be other gods. When civilized man is less a barbarian, the glitter of gold, the red wampum of the savage, will not intoxicate his senses. He will cease to be drunken with the lust of vulgar advantage over his fellow-men. The triumphs of the brain will measure his ambition. The triumphs of justice will ease his heart. The victories of art, the splendor of noble affections, will fill his dreams. That which is said here does not concern Utopian fancies. While there is human weakness there will be human suffering. But organized wrong is curable. It should be assailed. There are ideas which, intrenched for centuries, stop the march of our race. They are superstitions. Human society has the right to examine from time to time the foundations on which it rests. It has the obligation to repair or renew these foundations when they have become rotten.

The power of human government is co-extensive with the welfare of peoples. it is limited by that welfare. To that limit it must approach. The open secret of history is that justice and virtue lie deeper than institutions; that honesty is the preserver of nations. Beyond all laws, beyond all government, beyond all institutions, beyond all vested rights,

beyond all sneers, lie the indefeasible rights of man.

Before nothing less than the intrenched citadel of these rights in the organization of human states, will the march of humanity pause. They are demanded by the conscience of mankind. Their security is the goal of the race.

What are these rights? The oldest of the economists, the wisest of the Greeks, Aristotle, treating of the natural wealth of the world—"the source and raw material of all other wealth"—summed it up in a single descriptive phrase, "the bounty of nature."

Supported by the great teachers of our kind, I affirm, as incontrovertible propositions commending themselves to the instinctive justice of man, that the world belongs to the living race; that the bounty of nature is the inheritance of all; that the wealth made by the common forces of any civilization is the common wealth. I affirm that the human hand is as sacred as the human brain. I affirm that the robbery of Cunning is as malignant as the robbery of Force. I affirm that every problem of the dealings between men is a moral problem. I affirm that no economic scheme for this world which ignores abstract rights is a science. I affirm that man's struggle should be with nature and not with his kind. I affirm that civilization without justice is a failure.

If for the realization of the rights here intimated, it is necessary to enter the gateway of the future by the partial or the absolute industrial coöperation of men, it is History that has led us to this door. There is no longer choice as to changing the route. The ruggedness of the present path has turned to an impossible steep. Struggling humanity, hungry and ragged in the presence of the riches it has created, has grown sick of its tyrants. The purpose of peoples is greater than the philosophy of the schools; and the peoples are saying, not "There should be," but, "There *shall* be a change!"

The toiling millions of the earth look

toward the Great Republic. It has given the world the spectacle of political government based upon the equality of manhood. There is awaited at its hands the spectacle of industry based on the brotherhood of Toil. Over the redoubts of the Past, over the bastions of Wrong,

over the dreams of the Old, bearing aloft the flag of the Declaration and the doctrines of the Nazarene, Americans will be the first to scale the heights and enter the citadel of the New Time.

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THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD.

BY WALTER J. BARNETT.

THE FEDERATION of the world—a conception so grandiose as probably to seem chimerical to one who has not observed the signs of the times, seems nevertheless to be slowly but surely taking form and substance.

Far in the past, on the minds of the world-conquerors, shone the ideal of a world united. In the present, on many a mind is shining this great ideal; but now has the dreamt-of tyranny of the past been glorified into the idea of a union of the nations in a voluntary federation.

Like the growth of a tree from a seed, the growth of the modern ideal has been of an inevitable and fateful character; and in its present stage a discerning eye can perceive the outlines of the grand consummation.

Immediately preceding the more definite conception of a world-federation are to be seen a number of nourishing factors—each adding its quota, its energy; as, for example, the application of steam to navigation and to land transportation, the extension of telegraph and telephone, the industrial inventions which have rendered each country dependent on others for vast quantities of supplies, the practice of international loaning of money, the growth of international brotherhoods, the readier and cheaper production of books, the growth of the press, the increase of general education, together with the potent humanizing activities of

the great republic of letters, and the consequent partial eradication of national prejudices; each of these bringing material benefit and inculcating ideas of interdependence and mutual help on a national scale.

Let us consider now that which corresponds to the sapling—the young form which, out of the darkness and groping of the life in the soil, has risen to view and, though but partly developed, foreshadows the coming tree.

It is commonly accepted that the welfare and prosperity of mankind depend more upon agriculture than upon any other industry. Statistics from all lands on the production and consumption of agricultural products, intelligently disseminated, must affect the destinies of millions of people. Official and reliable data concerning the results obtained by such men as Luther Burbank, and miscellaneous information such as that gathered by organizations like the United States Department of Agriculture, if spread throughout the world freely for the benefit of all who are interested, cannot but profoundly influence for the better the agriculture of the world and consequently improve the condition of the people. If the advance made by the American farmers in wheat-growing during the past ten years could be intelligently presented to the peasants of Russia, much of the agrarian trouble of that country would be remedied. If the

information that the California fruit growers possess could be transmitted to the agriculturists in Siberia, fruit-growing would in a decade be one of the great industries of a large portion of that territory. On the other hand, could the agriculturalists of America receive accurate information freely and readily concerning the products of field and orchard and vineyard of the remainder of the world, their advance in these matters must proceed apace. The food-supply of hundreds of millions of people is now being brought from far distant points; to cheapen the marketing and insure the purity of this food must necessarily enhance the well-being of those who depend upon it. Reliable information as to crops and as to agricultural products in storage and in transit the world over, will tend to promote a better adjustment of supply to demand, promptly and sometimes with incalculable benefit to millions of people, as in cases of threatened famine.

The United States of America spends millions per annum in securing information of this character pertaining to its own territory, but the benefits derived are but partial, owing to the lack of accurate statistics concerning other countries.

The inference from all this is: that the welfare of the world is to a considerable degree suffering from a want of coöperation of the nations in this very vital department of human activity; and that it would be to the advantage of all were the governments of the world to come to an agreement on this subject—an agreement best embodied in a permanent form, perhaps, by the establishment of an international board of competent delegates from each nation, whose duty it should be to promote the advancement of all forms of agriculture throughout the world irrespective of nationality or of personal interests.

To one man belongs the honor of perceiving this clearly and of bringing it about—Mr. David Lubin of California.

Through his efforts was the King of Italy converted to his views. Thereupon under the leadership of the King was inaugurated a movement of such strength that finally over forty nations assented to the plan of coöperation proposed. Thus has been born the International Institute of Agriculture, to be supported by funds from the treasuries of nearly all nations—the first voluntary world-movement of all-embracing import.

So interrelated are human affairs that, having been firmly established and begun its work, this institute will gradually enlarge its scope and more and more firmly cement the common interests of mankind throughout the world. And so potent is suggestion and so fecund are fundamental ideas, that from this new organization and that older one, the International Postal Union, which has accomplished so much for the intercommunication of the peoples of the world, will spring others of their sort.

The movements which are embodied in the Interparliamentary Union and the American Society of International Law are directed toward the codification of international law and the firm establishment of principles that will be recognized by the courts of every land. During the Russo-Japanese trouble the peoples of many lands were concerned with the question as to what articles were contraband. The principles of international law as interpreted by various writers were not uniform, the result being that merchants were at a loss as to what course of action to follow. This is an example of many that might be presented wherein great benefits will flow from the coming together of all nations in an institution that will reduce these matters to order and uniformity; the principles finally settled upon, to become active by being incorporated in the various international treaties.

In connection with the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture and the formulation of definite laws operative between the nations in

peace and in war, there may well be considered the establishment of a permanent body of delegates to regulate matters of international commerce, thus providing for greater commercial freedom, minimizing the risks of commerce, and affording greater legal protection and personal security to the people that engage in commerce. Through the power of the Federal Government to regulate interstate commerce, the United States of America has been able to correct some of the greater abuses that flow from the selfishness of man; for instance, that of the sale of impure foods, and that of the lack of sanitation of packing establishments. Such matters could be regulated on a world-wide scale by an International Commerce Commission.

In relation to the foregoing, and matters for consideration by such a commission, are the following:

1. The adoption of a uniform standard of exchange throughout the world. We all know the great benefits that have resulted from the adoption by many nations of the gold standard. Yet the adoption of this standard is but a part of the great work that must be done to render stable the commerce of the nations. When all have adopted the gold standard—as they doubtless will—a second step will be required, namely—

2. The adoption of a common system of exchange, or money which will be good the world over. There is no reason why a system of exchange cannot be devised that will be a common measure of value in all civilized lands.

3. The establishment of a common standard of weights and measures. The good this will accomplish is obvious. The use of the metric system is gradually being extended; in another decade it will probably have become practically universal.

4. The introduction of a universal language. Such a language, of scientific construction and capable of easy expansion concurrent with growing needs of nomenclature due to new inventions

and scientific discoveries,—a language which shall, along with the mother-tongue, be taught in the schools of all nations,—would be an important factor in the promotion of international understanding and popular benefit.

Through all these things will the peoples of the earth be brought into closer and closer commercial relations. Commerce will be greatly increased. In many ways will the material welfare of all be advanced. Through the masses of the populations will be diffused a greater and greater knowledge; and the consequent better understanding of one another will result in a further gain—a gain inexpressible in terms of commerce.

The question may now be asked: What is to be the effect of these movements upon the destiny of nations?

Let us try to answer this.

First: The true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes. This function applies most particularly to the care of the proletariat. To advance the masses morally and intellectually it is essential to advance them first in a material way: it is requisite to supply them with work and increase their productive capacity—their power of acquiring for themselves from soil and mine and factory and trade a greater income and thus a better environment and more leisure. For example, the people of Russia must be taught how to utilize the energy of their vast water-power, as the people of the state of New York use that of Niagara and the Californians that of the streams of the Sierra Nevada. The workers of the world who are following primitive methods must be shown how to more fully develop the energies of soil and mine and stream through modern methods. Thus will be aroused in them renewed and more intelligent industry, with greater scope for the employment of their minds: this, seemingly slow though it may be, will inevitably result in intellectual, moral, spiritual, and political progress. This awakening of the higher nature in

the masses will gradually be brought about by the interworking of many factors, notably through free and compulsory education, but chiefly perhaps through the wide diffusion by the individual governments of knowledge appealing to the immediate self-interest of men, enabling them to earn more with a given amount of labor,—knowledge derived from the general information and the statistics published by such international institutes as we have spoken of.

Secondly: The greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government. As the people become more enlightened, they will have an ever-growing voice in government. As this proceeds, they will demand—and some are beginning to demand it now—freedom from the burden of taxation for the purpose of maintaining the immense standing armies and the great navies. In Italy the income tax alone is 14 per cent. of incomes, and the total tax in some sections of that country amounts to 30 per cent. of the gross earnings of the people. Already in Italy there is a movement of great proportions opposing the voting of further sums for army and navy. The masses of Hungary are thinking the same way, as also are a large party in France and a considerable party in Germany. And the prosperity of Canada and Australia has tended to arouse the minds of the masses of England in respect to taxation for this purpose.

In this connection the Russian nation is a particularly interesting subject. The peasants of Russia are thinking potently. The Douma, temporarily discountenanced, will probably become within a decade a power little dreamed of to-day by many of the statesmen of Europe. Russia is the one country in Europe that can be called the United States of Europe. The most despotic of governments, she nevertheless is thinking to-day the thoughts of America and studying American institutions, and in

the next twenty years will have enforced many of the distinctively American ideas. Like the United States, she is composed of many races. The Russian territories contain a population of 140,000,000 people, divided into 111 races. During the past thirty years the government has been preparing for the formation of the most democratic state in all Europe: unconsciously it has been laying the foundations of a great constitutional monarchy with power vested in the people. This has been partly accomplished through the intercommunication between remote portions of the Empire provided by the construction of one of the greatest railroad systems in the world. The government now owns about 30,000 miles of railroads, valued at more than \$1,500,000,000. When the history of the past century is written, the construction of the great Siberian Railroad must be recorded as one of the most potent civilizing factors of the century. Along the line of that railroad millions of peasants will settle in the next twenty years. Emigration from European Russia into the Siberian territory will be rapid. Russia now has her outlet on the Pacific. She contemplates building a new railroad, to run from Lake Baikal through Chinese territory to Peking and the port of Tientsin. This road will open to the people of Siberia, for their agricultural products and their timber, the great markets of China; and the construction of the Panama Canal will give to this vast country a world-market. When it is remembered that Siberia is as large as the United States of America, that it is situated mostly in the temperate zone, and that it is fertile, one can readily understand that here the Russian peasant will rapidly advance materially and commercially, and that the form of government he will ultimately have, will be a liberal one modeled in all probability after that of the United States.

It is the destiny of the United States to extend a friendly hand to the civilization that will develop in the Russian

territory bordering on the shores of the Pacific. With the friendly aid of the United States, the great markets that will open up for the products of field and forest and mine and factory of all Russia, the gradual enlightenment of the farmers and operatives of all classes in the way of improved methods learned through the agency of the international institutes, the whole population of the Empire will come in time to have the same incentives to general progress that the people of the United States have; they will see their opportunities in the lands they already possess, will endeavor to develop them to the utmost, and, like the peoples of other countries, will mightily oppose through their representatives in the Douma the maintenance of a great standing army.

As a general proposition we may say that the principle of the government of the people, by the people for the people, is becoming universal, and that when the peoples of the European countries finally express themselves fully, it will be first and foremost in the way of refusing to pay taxes for the maintenance of great armies and navies. This will probably occur within the next twenty or thirty years; it will be a bloodless revolution; and its effects will be most beneficial and far-reaching, as the following considerations will indicate:

The expenditures by the nations of Europe for military and naval purposes aggregate probably more than \$1,500,000,000 per year. In the standing armies and the navies of those nations there are now about 4,000,000 men. This vast number of men constitutes just so much energy directed to other than productive ends. What it costs to maintain these men represents, on the one hand, money derived from governmental revenues other than taxes, which money might be used by the government for the public benefit; and on the other hand, money derived from taxes, which money, retained by the tax-payers, would better their condition.

Were European states to disarm as against one another and retain armies and navies for policing only, there would probably be released say three-quarters of these 4,000,000 men, or 3,000,000 men in good physical condition, among them a considerable number of very intelligent minds. Assuming that one-tenth of these would emigrate to the New World, we have left 2,700,000 to engage in productive work in European countries. Of these about 135,000 would be officers, men of trained minds. Assuming that these 2,700,000 men would earn on an average \$400 per year apiece, this would mean an increase of over \$1,000,000,000 per year in wages alone. It is likely, too, that the great majority of these men would work for others and receive wages considerably lower than the value they produce.

And further: We should have that part of the governmental revenues other than taxes, and that part of the incomes of civilians expended by them as taxes, at present devoted to the maintenance of these men and the equipment, fortifications, men-of-war, etc., corresponding to them—redistributed and turned into more beneficial channels. The money thus set free to be applied to public improvements, and that now expended by civilians as taxes, but in the event of disarmament restored to them, would amount in round numbers to, say, \$1,000,000,000.

We should therefore have to the credit of European nations, as the result of disarmament, a yearly increment of wealth which we may conservatively estimate at \$1,000,000,000, and a yearly addition to public improvements and personal comfort and well-being represented by the amount of \$1,000,000,000,—a total betterment of \$2,000,000,000!

While the foregoing figures cannot in any case be considered exact, they nevertheless are so nearly so as to indicate the magnitude of the benefit that would result from disarmament.

In addition to the above, the following

words from Mr. Vivian of the British House of Commons are to the point: "War expenditure lessens the national and commercial credit, intensifies the unemployed problem, reduces the resources available for social reform, and presses with exceptional severity upon the industrial classes."

And the following from an editorial in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* (Kobe):

"War [and the writer might have added—a constant readiness for war] creates an incubus of debt which lies as a permanent dead weight upon a country's life and enterprise—which militates against those works of public utility absolutely necessary for the national progress, and necessarily imposes a burden of taxation which is felt by every class."

The following is also pertinent: In 1905 England spent on her army and navy an amount exceeding \$300,000,000, whereas in the same year she appropriated to Education, Science and Art only \$79,000,000. These figures need no comment.

As reason, or the great common-sense of mankind, is bound to triumph in the end, we may predict with almost absolute confidence that—now that the movement has been started—the benefits that so obviously will accrue from the cessation of international wars, will eventually and perhaps in but a few years appeal with so compelling a force to the peoples of Europe that the governments will finally heed their voice and gradually disarm. In this it is likely that the weaker nations will lead. Italy—ever one of the first nations to advance new movements—will vote to disarm, retaining but a moderate standing army and a small navy. France will follow. The people of England will presently refuse to appropriate money for extensions of the military or the navy; this the precursor of disarmament, which will follow in time. And the people of

Germany, it is likely, will in the course of a few years bring about reforms in the interests of reason and general well-being.

The nations having partly disarmed, due to the enlightenment of the people and their greater voice in the government, the appeal to arms in cases of international friction will indubitably become less potent than the appeal to peace through arbitration—with the consequent maintenance of commercial and governmental stability.

Therefore—repeating our propositions: first, that the true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes; and secondly, that the greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government; and setting beside these propositions the fact that the principle of the government of the people, by the people, for the people is becoming universal, and the fact that the nations are beginning to realize the self-interest that lies in coöperation—we have a warrant unimpeachable for the faith that is in us; namely, that in the course of but a few years we shall see the shaping of a true world-movement (for Japan and China, the United States of America, and the rest of the civilized world will join with the nations of Europe) toward the effectuation of an international understanding embodied in a permanent institution of universal scope.

We have now considered those things that correspond to the hidden, unconscious forces which precede the appearance of the tree above ground, and we have considered the things which correspond to the early growth and gradual shaping of the tree: let us now consider that which corresponds to the tree itself, developed.

In this permanent institution in which all nations will join, the full characteristics of the world-federation will begin to show forth—hesitatingly at first, for it will be subjected to storms of criticism, blights of self-interest, heats of prejudice;

but, even so, it will grow the harder, and more deeply will it send its roots down into the heart of humanity and to greater purpose will it raise aloft its noble presence in the pure air of altruism, of universal benefit and good-will.

This permanent institution, this parliament of widest scope, which is to embody the international understanding, will from its very nature eventually include within its purview the more specialized international institutes. The details of its development we can hardly foretell with definiteness, but we may say with some confidence that the earliest action taken by the great nations of the world will probably be the signing of a protocol whereby they will cede to the jurisdiction of the parliament a certain armament, a certain number of ships and sailors and soldiers, for the purpose of executing the decrees of the tribunal; thus enabling all the nations with safety to disarm as against one another, retaining only such armies and navies as they may need for policing purposes. The protocol will develop into a constitution providing for executive, judicial and legislative departments, and embodying articles which in time all nations will ratify. And upon this must follow the arbitration of international disputes, the cessation of international war.

Strange is it to contemplate—and we may perhaps see in it the working of the Reason which rules the world—that to the head of the most despotic of the great nations and to a representative of the most democratic belongs the credit of first practically urging the idea of the promotion of a peace universal: to the Czar Nicholas and to Andrew Carnegie is the world indebted for the preliminary shaping of this grand conception.

Mr. Carnegie has given much thought to this subject. Several years ago he pointed out the great benefits that must result from the organization of the nations into "The United States of the World." His interest in the American Society of

International Law and in the peace conferences, and his construction at The Hague of the Temple of Peace, where will be housed the International Board of Arbitration and also, we hope, the International Institute of Agriculture and all other international institutes, for we believe that if the Temple of Peace be selected as the home for all the world-movements the sooner will be effected the union of all in a true International Parliament,—all this on the part of Mr. Carnegie will contribute much to the success of this great movement which has for its object the preservation of peace and the increased well-being of the peoples of all lands.

With the federation of the nations under a constitution ratified by all; with the devotion of human energies in this way to the material, intellectual, and moral welfare of humanity; with the growth of tolerance through knowledge; with the perception which is bound to arise, of the interrelation of all mankind and of the fact that the happiness and prosperity of other peoples contribute to our own prosperity and happiness;—with all this we have the fullness of growth which corresponds to the developed and firmly planted tree,—a tree indeed, whose trunk is humanity itself, whose greater limbs are the greater nations and whose smaller limbs are the smaller nations, whose roots are the roots of humanity in the Source of All, whose sap is the Spirit of Life.

Inevitable, fateful, not to be stayed in its growth—obviously a part of the Divine Plan—proceeds this great idea. Let the mothers and the teachers of all lands aid in its progress. To spread this gospel is a work of sublime importance. Men and women are needed for this, and men and women are needed in whom to embody the delegated powers of the nations. In every nation there is at least one person eminently fitted to serve as its representative. Let each

nation search him out, and having found him, appoint him its Permanent Delegate to the International Board of Arbitration; and let it empower him unstintedly to act with his confreres from the other great nations in formulating a plan for international arbitration and federation—a plan elastic enough to grow with growing needs, yet firm enough to withstand the strains of opposing interests.

How better conclude than with the vision of a poet whose insights the world is hastening to verify and confirm to the full? Looking from the past to the future, he noted the progress of humanity from the reign of physical force and compulsion—the day of the brute in man—and saw it culminate in the regnancy of

moral suasion and justice—the day of true manhood, when:

“ . . . the war-drum throb’d no longer, and the
battle-flags were furl’d
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of
the world.”

And going farther—searching to the heart of things with the eye of insight—he prophesies the next step, the elimination of internal, that is, industrial or insurrectionary, strife under the sway of Reason,—the outcome of it all, when:

“ . . . the common sense of most shall hold a
fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in
universal law.”

WALTER J. BARNETT.

San Francisco, Calif.

THROUGH THE NEEDLE'S EYE: A PARABLE.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE.

THERE was a man in the land of the United States whose name was David Ives, who was perfect and upright according to the standards of the Chicago boulevard where he lived. He had seven sons and three daughters. His substance also was seven millions in bonds,—railroad, mining and municipal,—of conservative character, and three millions in Great Lakes Trust Company stock; five hundred thousand in Amalgamated Copper, and five hundred thousand in Steel Common; and also a very great household; so that this man was one of the great ones of the West.

And his sons went and feasted in their several mansions, every one his day; and sent their touring-cars and called for their three sisters, to eat and drink with them.

And it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, at the beginning of Lent, that their father rose up early in the morning, and without hy-

pocrisy or parade of his religious practices, went to week-day service in the chapel of his parish church, and there offered prayers according to the number of his children; for he said, “It may be that my sons have sinned, and renounced God in their hearts.” Thus did D. Ives continually.

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them. And the Lord said unto Satan “Whence comest thou?” Then Satan answered and said. “From going to and fro on America, and from walking up and down therein.” And the Lord said unto Satan, “Hast thou considered my servant David Ives, that there is none like him, a perfect and an upright man?” Then Satan answered, “Doth David Ives fear God for naught? Hast thou not mightily prospered his investments and built a hedge about all that he hath? But put forth thine hand now, and touch

his possessions, and he will renounce thee to thy face." And the Lord said unto Satan, "Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand." So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord.

And there was a day when David Ives' sons and daughters were departed for an excursion in their touring-cars. And a certain banker came to him and said, "Burglars more expert and bold than any hitherto on record are found to have tunneled under our safe-deposit vaults and rifled a number of our supposedly strongest boxes; yours are among these and they have been emptied of all your bonds. And I only of all the directors had the courage to come and tell you."

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, the vice-president of the Great Lakes Trust Company, and said, "It is discovered that our president has been for a long time taking the company's funds and loaning them to a promoter of worthless enterprises, while he deceived the directors with a false list of reliable loans which he never made. As a heavy owner of stock in the Trust Company you will, I regret to say, be assessed probably three-quarters of your holdings, to recoup the depositors' losses."

While this messenger was yet speaking, another had rung the door-bell, who proved to be the broker whom David Ives oftenest consulted concerning investments. He whispered, "There has been such a break in Amalgamated Copper that the market is in panic, and our stock is worth a third less than yesterday, and Steel Common has also suffered severely in sympathy. I regret to add that on account of the assessment for the ruined Trust Company, you will have to sell all your outside stocks at these panic prices, besides disposing of your house, land and personal property, to make up the deficit which will still stand against you. I have learned of your unfortunate loss by the safe-deposit robbery, and I deplore the fatal coinci-

dence whereby all your disasters have fallen upon the same day."

This messenger had only just departed when the telephone rang, and this announcement was delivered to the broken man, "Your sons and daughters were racing in their cars, and crossed, almost together, the tracks of the Northern Pacific; they were so excited by their contest that they failed to see or hear an approaching express; their cars were both struck by the locomotive, and all were instantly killed."

Then D. Ives sent orders to sell his stocks and his real estate, and with a hundred dollars remaining to his wife's account in a savings bank, he went to one of the poorest streets of the city and hired two rooms in a tenement. But in all this he sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.

Again there was a day when the sons of God presented themselves before the Lord. And He said unto Satan, "Hast thou considered my servant that still holdeth fast his integrity, altho thou movedst me against him?" And Satan said, "Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth thy hand now and touch his flesh, and he will renounce thee." And the Lord said, "Behold he is in thine hand; only save his life." So Satan went forth and smote D. Ives with sore boils, and he went and sat all day long behind the little kitchen stove.

Then his wife bade him consider how utterly he had been brought low, and renounce God and die; but he answered, "What, shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" In all this did he not sin with his lips.

Now when D. Ives' three chief friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his undisturbed home to the little tenement,—the Reverend Eliphalet Evans, the pastor of the church which D. Ives had so liberally supported, Wilfred Carmody, the banker, and Norman Armstrong,

professor of Political Economy in the University,—for they had made an appointment together to come and condole with him. And when they saw the wretched street where their friend now lived, and climbed the dark stairs to his lodging, and saw his bodily affliction, they scarcely recognized him, and for an hour sat silent with him in the tiny kitchen.

After this David Ives spoke, and said to his friends, "I thank you for not forgetting me in my adversity, and for the trouble you have taken to seek me out in my broken fortune, in this poor attic, but it is more than you ought to think of ever doing again. I have been removed, by a decree I cannot understand, entirely out of your world and all that belongs to it, into one utterly alien. For you to try to bridge over the chasm now inscrutably fixed between us is most charitable and loyal, but I not only do not require such a sacrifice on the part of any of you, in the name of past friendship, but I absolutely insist that after you have left me to-night you will not seek me out again, nor burden your memories with the name of your former parishioner, investor and educational patron. From me now there has been swept all power to aid in the good works and financial enterprise and intellectual aspiration which you, my three friends of other days, so capably represent. And yet human nature pleads in spite of itself for a little balm of sympathy, and I cannot quite yet say 'Good-bye.' I must not abuse your patience, but it will be a solace to tell you how my overwhelming adversities have affected me; and if you can out of your store of wisdom throw any light on such affliction, how gladly will I listen, to profit thereby!

"As for me, my soul now echoes only with the one piercing cry, 'Why was I born at all?' How much better not to have seen the light, than after enjoying it to behold it blotted out by such utter gloom as this! Had I but died I should now be asleep, untroubled even by

dreams which this reality terribly surpasses. Whatever I now believe or disbelieve, I am sure that there is nothingness, for out of it I came; and now to go into it again is my most eager wish. How then can I but ask of the God who at least permitted my affliction, why He continues the awful gift of consciousness and memory, and the whole keen-edged gamut of emotions to one whose way is hedged by calamity, and in the twinkling of an eye bounded on every side by the wilderness of grief and pain?

"Is it any wonder that I sigh and groan,—that I look with agony of desire for the approach of merciful death, and that more than men of the world covet riches, I covet the long oblivion?"

Then the Reverend Eliphalet Evans answered and said, "I think you will realize that I am moved to speak from no formal or professional desire to dispense consolation, but because I cannot help replying. You always had an exceptional skill in instructing others, and a marked ability to encourage those who faced odds and troubles. I cannot refrain then from expressing surprise that when similar disappointments and spiritual difficulties assail you, they so completely sweep you from your moorings into what I cannot help saying though dreading to hurt you at such a time, seems to me complete pessimism.

"I regret the slight note of self-confidence in the way you speak of your losses; it is impossible that any of us should be pure before our Maker,—we who dwell in houses of clay, and whose foundations are laid in the dust. Rich and poor differ in much, but they are alike in this that they have no assurance of uninterrupted continuance in one condition. My pastoral experience gives me full authority to assure you that there is a precisely equal chance of the poor man becoming wealthy to-morrow, and of one blest in this world's goods as you were yesterday being as suddenly bereft of his possessions, by some decree inexplicable to our petty understandings.

"Certainly, my dear friend, affliction does not spring out of the ground, nor come by chance, but man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. The man is really to be envied whom God correcteth; He woundeth and His hands make whole. You may yet come to your grave in a full age like a shock of corn in its season. And I trust it may be of some consolation to you in your present adversity to remember that you share therein a heritage common to all the generations of men."

But David Ives answered, "O that my grief could be reckoned by weight, that other eyes might see its immensity! O that God would let loose His hand and utterly cut me off, instead of striking me part way toward death, only to leave me there, quivering with anguish!

"My strength is not the strength of granite, nor my flesh of the fibre of steel. To him that is afflicted pity should be shown by his friends, but forgive me for saying in my misery that your arguing proves nothing to me now. I look for death as a hireling for his wages; my skin closes up and then breaks open afresh. I loathe myself, and my days are utter vanity. It is such a man as this you are speaking to now, my friends, and the old arguments and consolations are but as the wind in the naked trees of winter."

Then answered Wilfred Carmody, the banker, and said, "I am not skilled in religious condolences, but I have studied a little the meaning of that life that to you and me has come under the form of business and finance. And perhaps for the very reason that your past and mine ran in similar channels, I may be able to throw a little light on this day's strange reversals.

"I fear there were faults that the world could not see, which had to be purged from your character, and so the Supreme Being chose this way which you are now so painfully walking, to accomplish His cleansing process. The conscientious and incorruptible transaction

of duties of high trust in the modern business world is, I believe, as truly a service of the Deity as the offering of oblations upon church altars, or the fortifying of human souls with spiritual hope at the brink of dissolution. Such a priesthood of the secular, if I may so designate it, was conferred upon you, and we, your friends, are sure it was honorably and even illustriously fulfilled. And yet we see not with that trenchant glance of God, that doubtless detects flaws invisible to our eyes, in the jewels of our best service. You are then not being chastened more than any of us here deserve, if we would have our lives and works found worthy to shine at the last in the diadem of eternity.

"Therefore, my brother, take heart of grace from the very completeness of your affliction, perceiving therein a divine acceptance of more than is deemed worth refining in other men. Certainly God will not cast away a perfect man, and will permit your present distress only until He can be sure of your victory over all inner unworthiness. Then He will fill your mouth with laughter and put to shame those who now secretly rejoice at your reverses."

Then David Ives answered, "Indeed I know that never a man hardened himself against God and really prospered. Earthquake and tidal wave, hurricane, fire and contagious disease, are as truly His angels with the golden bowls full of His wrath to-day, as those the Seer beheld coming forth from the Temple of the Apocalypse. It is He that spreads out the heavens and walks on the billows of the mid-Atlantic storm. He formed the flaming crystal of Capella and Vega, the throbbing ruby of Antares, and the silver-frosted Pleiades, and He armed Orion with his twirling panoply. I have felt Him go by me on the path of the Galaxy, in the splendor of the summer midnight, and have been tremblingly aware of His approach to my heart in the hour of prayer, but I perceive Him not.

"If He taketh away, who can hinder

Him? Who will say to Him, 'What doest thou?' If I justify myself, my own mouth is condemning me while it forms the words. But ah, what theodicy will clear away this mystery of all the ages,—that God seems to allow the righteous to be smitten with calamity, or destroyed outright, as readily as the evil and disobedient? Government and power throughout history have been for the most part in the hands of the wicked, while prophets and righteous judges have been persecuted, rejected and put to death.

"I am not asking my questions and laying bare my perplexities for myself alone, but for all who have suffered or are even now enduring underserved and preventable distress. My life must be short, but others will suffer after me, and I cry for justice and a little comfort for those who have none, before I go whence I shall not return."

Then Norman Armstrong spoke and said, "You have found by personal experience what remains a matter of theory to the rest of us. My study of economics, I do not hesitate to acknowledge, seems utterly profitless in face of your misfortunes. But at least I am sure of this, and cannot help reminding you, that the will behind all natural and economic laws is greater than can possibly be expressed by them. The measure of those purposes which all the phenomena we have registered reveals, is no longer than the earth and broader than the sea. Man cannot by searching find out God, and human destiny, intellectually, is to live in suspense, always if possible fortified against a burst of fresh truth that may upset and forcibly remodel all former knowledge.

"At the same time I believe there is moral certainty, so that the attainment of virtue by a good life is not in the same danger of being superseded by later moral discoveries. Holy once is always holy. Moses' righteousness is not outlawed by that of any modern saint, though his knowledge of Nature's processes

beside Charles Darwin's is as a candle-flame matched with an arc-light.

"So we can be sure that it always was and for ever will be true that iniquity means moral decay, and that sin inwardly cherished sooner or later terribly publishes itself outwardly even upon the body and the features of the face. And if you, without our knowledge, perhaps even without your own full realization, have transgressed the ever-vigilant laws of the moral nature, then you must suffer the penalty. I dare not say the calamities you have just endured are sent you as proportionate punishment, but there may be some occult connection we cannot trace, and I earnestly ask you to search the secret places of your past, and unreservedly confess the worst to God. If you do this I am even surer than the scientist can be of his chain of natural causation, that you will then lift up your face without spot, and your life shall be clearer than the noonday. You will forget your misery, or remember it only as the troubled waters that have passed by in a great river's current."

Then David Ives answered, "No doubt you are the wise men of your time, and have plucked for me the best fruits of your wisdom, but I have traveled your ways and am now terribly pioneering in realms of experience you never even discerned on your horizon. It is not ingratitude then, but the conviction of an immeasurably tortured spirit that forces me to complain that I find your arguments but proverbs of ashes and defences of clay. My highest reach of faith now is to repeat again and again to myself this desperate ascription, that is more like an inarticulate groan than a creed, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me!"

Moreover David Ives continued his parable, and said, "Surely there are veins of silver and sands bearing dust of gold. Iron is mined from the earth and copper smelted from the ore. The coal-

miner breaks open his shafts beneath the dwellings of men, and in darkness harvests the black grain to feed the fiery mills of the world's furnaces. But where shall wisdom be found? And where is the place of understanding? Man knows not the price of it. The firmament says, 'It is not in my depths,' and the ocean declares, 'It is not with me.' It cannot be bought with a fortune of gold, nor valued with onyx or sapphires. Diamonds and pearls are but pebbles in comparison, and the ruby and topaz but tinted glass.

"Whence then comes wisdom, seeing it is hid from living eyes? When God weighed the water and taught the lightning the skill of its stroke, then He established and declared it, and unto man He said, 'To fear me is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding.'

"And these are my last words: If I made gold my hope, rejoicing because my wealth was great and my ability brought me abundance; if I was pleased at another's failure though he were my adversary; if the men of my club and the members of my church said not, 'Who can find one to whom he has not been kind?'—then let fire consume even this attic, my last poor foothold in the world of the living, and let it not spare me also its broken tenant! The words of David Ives are ended."

So these three friends ceased to answer him. But a certain Edwin Ramzell entered the room,—a young man who lived on the floor below David Ives' tenement, who had heard from what rich estate the new-comer had descended. He came up with neighborly impulse to render any help he could and hearing the voices in the kitchen he waited in the other room till they had finished. Then because he could no longer keep silence, he laid aside his fear of being rebuffed and said to David Ives' friends, "I am young, and you are old, so that I was afraid to come in and express any opinion of mine. I said, 'These men ought to know, they have had so much experience.' At the same time I know

great men are not always wise, nor the aged infallible. Will you allow me to say what has been gathering in my mind while I listened to your debate? And pardon me if I add that I cannot see that any one of you has really answered this man's difficulties, or given him genuine help in these sore straits. I am far from intending rudeness, but I never could bring myself to show much respect of persons or use flattering speeches."

Turning to David Ives, who sat as if hearing nothing, with his head sunk on his breast, Ramzell said, "It seems to me that you have drawn no line whatever between the portion of your calamities which was caused by human fault and was therefore avoidable, and that which befell you by no one's dereliction. This latter portion alone can be justly termed a 'visitation,' but you have all four begged the question to begin with, by summing up all the blows of this misfortune in that one category. No wonder your conclusions are irrelevant and pitifully inadequate.

"The robbery of your bonds, the failure of the Trust Company, the collapse of your stocks on the market,—these are all results of one cause, greed, with its attendant train of perjury and violence. Therefore in all these things, human agency, and not divine, allotted you disaster. Indeed, even the death of your children was the result of the fever of rivalry showing itself in the furious sport of such racing as they were engaged in when struck by the locomotive. Can anything then of which you complain at this time be called unavoidable calamity except your physical affliction? To me, it seems not.

"Though I feel as full of counsel, such as is mine to offer, as a bottle is of new wine, and it seems as though it would burst me, I will stop if you sign me to. Otherwise I will go on and find my relief in speaking, and hope my personal equation and point-of-view will not give offence.

"Your whole thought, my brother,

was that the social system in which you were bred would last forever. Even now these friends of yours hold the same opinion, whether their outlook is from pulpit, banking-house or professor's chair. But I believe you yourself, because of your tremendous reverses, are receptive to proofs of the coming radical change in the economic world.

"What has your goal of earthly life been but profit? Whether you needed or could use your gains mattered not; whether less skilful or less fortunately placed men went to the wall to yield you increase, affected you little, because your nerves of sympathy had by 'business,' so-called, been strangely rendered numb. But now you are ready to look at the social organism with new eyes, and have been prepared by suffering to sense the sufferings of others, everywhere and in all ranks of your brother-men. You have but to look from this window of your attic to see the sordid grist that the mills of the profit-system ceaselessly grind. You were told and you believed that these wretchedly housed, ill-fed strugglers, whose toil exhausts heart and hope by its severity and duration, were the victims of their own sloth or evil habits or incorrigible stupidity. But to-day you know it is not so. You have yourself tasted the bitterness of poverty and social humiliation. Was the cause of this collapse *your* sloth, evil habits or incorrigible stupidity? By no means; it was the selfishness and sin of the economic relations of this time, which suddenly leaped forth and thunderbolted you. The tree that stands nearest the lightning's path is shattered not because it is of a certain fibre, or decayed at the core, but because it was in that spot. So you have been made a victim of the fierce levin of the gathering social tempest, for no special cause in your character, nor to punish you of faults greater than your fellows committed. It might have been any one of them, but because you were in the path of the advancing retribution that sooner or

later is to sweep away all social injustice, therefore you show forth for all who will look, the portentous thoroughness of the coming economic day of judgment.

"Why are mills and factories shut down when the human beings you can see from this window are in need of the very things those workshops produce when in operation? Why do economists declare that over-production gluts the market, although in every great city men, women and children are continually reported as dying of starvation, or committing suicide for want of common necessities? You yourself know that their lack of nourishment, and foul living-places, and inadequate apparel render even those who survive among the 'submerged' unfit for life-sustaining industry.

"All this is chiefly,—I do not say entirely, for the poor have faults as well as rich—because profit-taking by the few is more and more mulcting the many poor of their ability to buy in those alleged 'over-stocked' markets. When the miner, the molder, the railroad hand, and the employés in the factories of this land's thousand industries, receive only a fifth or an eighth of the value they produce, while most of the remainder goes as profit to increase the plethoric fortunes of the owners of natural opportunities and the tools of production, what else can the result be? The laborer simply has not left to him, after the disproportionate taxes which Privilege is now allowed to levy, the means to buy the products which he and his fellows have created by their toil. He needs badly enough what Privilege has to sell, but he has been deprived by that very profit-taking itself of power to purchase. Of course then 'over-production' and bitter need coëxist under such a system. There is too much to sell because so few can buy; and there is pitiful want because the profit-taxed workers have no access to the supplies piled up in the so-called glutted markets.

"If this continues in America for only

twenty years longer at the present rate of development, there are those observers who believe that the unthinkable accumulations of wealth in the hands of the few, side by side with the deprivations of the millions, will generate, like meeting charges of negative and positive electricity, such a force of economic lightning and tempest, that the strokes which have lately fallen upon yourself, David Ives, unwitting representative of a false and selfish social organization, will seem but the tiny sparks of a friction match.

"But we must believe that the wisdom of this people will never permit such a cataclysm. Before that they will have decreed by ballot a change, root and branch. A revolution, we hope without bullet or firebrand, is approaching, and happy are they who are preparing themselves now to cope with the majestic crisis of that day.

"Bear with me yet a few moments only, till I ask this question,—Will God and His servants in this land permit much longer the survival of a social *régime* which fosters such conditions for instance as ours to-day, when approximately ten million persons are in actual poverty in the United States, of whom four million are dependent upon public relief, that is, in some degree paupers; when one out of every ten persons who die in New York City is buried at public expense in Potter's Field, and this in spite of the sacrifices the poor make to give their dead private burial; when one *per cent.* of the families of this country hold fifty-four *per cent.* of its wealth, while four-fifths of the working people receive not more than three hundred dollars apiece yearly in wages, and yet are in constant danger of staggering increase in the cost of the necessities of life?

"No, God looks on these His children in such conditions exactly as He beheld the Israelites in bitter bondage long ago, and some how, sometime,—may it be soon!—He will raise up deliverance for them and lead them to a Canaan of social justice and blessing."

So far spoke the young man, and David Ives, looking upon him with kindness answered, "I have listened to your earnest words with more sympathy than I once thought I could ever feel, and these friends who with me have heard your indictment will pardon me if I say frankly that they all together have not given me the relief and the stimulus toward taking up my life once more that you have.

"You spoke of the gathering tempest above an unjust social organization, from which as your figure expressed it, a premonitory leap of lightning has shattered my fortunes. But, ah my young brother, I hear now a deeper, more awful voice in that thunderous pall of cloud than ever spoke to my prosperity-encased soul in the former days. I tremble at its solemn questions, and arraignment of my past blindness, for now both from the world about me and my conscience within, this voice issues, and I know it for the utterance of the Most High to a mercifully awakened spirit.

"And now it seems to say, of my vain arguments and self-vindication, 'Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?' I hear it demand of my infinitesimal life, 'Where wast thou when I laid Creation's cornerstone and fitted the keystone in its awful arch?—when the fixed stars and planets sang together, and the nebulae and comets shouted for joy? Or who shut up the sea with doors of sand, when I made the storm-clouds its raiment, and the trade-winds the Bedouins of its trackless desert?

"'By what way is the light parted in the X-ray bulb, when the willow-green fluorescence, isolated from its fellow-rays, discloses to fearful human gaze the arcana of the living body? Who purged and hardened the carbon from its grime and friable weakness, through uncounted ages, till it rolls into the delving hand of man a diamond, with strength beyond tempered steel and heart of glittering splendor like the stars of the arctic night?"

"Tell now if thou canst, for thou art wise and the number of thy days is great, who hath focussed the inner heat and power of the earth in the grains of radium, that will do great works for thee and past finding out? And who coiled in their stealthy bodies the unmeasured fury of Perunite and gun-cotton? Gavest thou its far-sounding articulation to the telephone, and didst thou instruct the tremors of the wireless telegraph to cross land and sea, and swifter than homing pigeons to their cotes, to seek their receiver and lisp, "Here we are." By whose hand is the glory kindled between the carbons of the arc-lights that flash in the cities of men, and jewel the hillsides like constellations of an earthly zodiac?

"Out of whose cistern are the Great Lakes filled, and who spills the floods of Niagara? Whose hand flings on high the geysers of Wyoming, and from whose bowl brim the currents of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence? Is it thy chisel that had skill to carve the Canon of Arizona, and was strong to hollow the Mammoth Cave? Did they brush paint the turrets and buttes of the Dakota Bad Lands, or the eyries of the Yellowstone Gorge? Didst thou oversee the mason-work of the Garden of the Gods, and the graving of its snow-filled symbol on the Mount of the Holy Cross? By whose forestry were the redwoods of California planted, and the Everglades of Florida embowered? And who calls from the loam of their seeds' burial the crops of wheat and corn, of cotton and flax, whereby the prairies and valleys do laugh and sing?

"Wilt thou hunt the prey for the cougar, or fill the appetite of the grizzly bear, when they couch in their dens and abide in their mountain ambush to lie in wait? Who provideth for the bald eagle his food when his fledglings cry unto God? Knowest thou the time when the mountain sheep bring forth, or canst thou mark when the prairie wolves do litter? Their young ones are in good liking; they go forth and return not unto them.

"Who hath sent out the elk, or who hath loosed the bands of the moose, whose house I have made the wilderness and the barren land their dwellings? They scorn the multitude of the city, neither regard the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is their pasture, and they search after every green thing. Will the bison be willing to serve thee, or abide by thy crib? Will he harrow the valleys after thee? Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great, or wilt thou believe him that he will bring home thy seed and gather it into thy barn? Gavest thou his strength to the river salmon, that leapeth like the locust and ascendeth the stepless escalade of the waterfall? Or hast thou taught the deep-sea cod his lore and guided the shad and the mackerel in their migrations?

"Didst thou bestow his swiftness and discernment upon the fire-engine horse, and clothe his neck with vehemence. He paweth in his stall; at the clang of the alarm he plungeth forth like a leopard and endureth his falling harness. He goeth out to meet the battalions. He mocketh at danger, neither turneth he back from the heat. The falling walls roar against him, and above him whirl the blinding flame-billows and glittering sparks. He swalloweth the ground with eagerness and rage. He saith among the trumpets, 'Aha!' and he smelleth the smoke afar off. He exulteth at the thunder of the captains and the cries of the beholding throngs.

"Was it by thy gift that the locomotive received its might? It swalloweth fuel as the tiger its meat. Lo now, its strength is in its loins, and its force in the muscles of its thighs. It moveth its piston-rods like weavers' beams and the sinews of its wheel-trucks are knit together. Its voice shouteth in warning to the crossing-places of men in populous cities, pierceth forests as with the wail of the tempest, and shrieketh across the barren lands and limitless prairies like the echoed war-cries of departed tribes. One would think the

ground to be in travail beneath its tread when it rejoiceth to run its course. The winter day is adorned with its high-blown plume of steam that the sinking sun dyes amethyst like the hill-side snows, and the night gazes in awe at the pillar of throbbing fire above its dauntless pilgrimage. Behold such a chief in your time of the ways of God. It sucketh up the span of a state and fainteth not, and trusteth that it can swallow a continent unwearied.

“Canst thou draw out the steel-furnace's contents with a cup? Will this leviathan make supplications unto thee or speak soft words with thee? Wilt thou play with it as with a torch? If thou lay hand upon it thou wilt remember and do so no more. I will not conceal its parts nor its goodly frame. Who can open the doors of its face, and who dare look into the blaze of its molten sea save through glasses of darkness over the frail vision? Its teeth of fire are terrible round about, and its scales joined one to another that no air can come between them. Out of its nostrils issueth flame, and heat that melteth iron and stubborn ore like tallow abideth in its raging bowels. When it raiseth up itself the mighty are afraid; by reason of consternation they are beside themselves. From its opened sluices poureth a cataract of white-foaming steel to the molds beneath. Encompassing darkness becometh as noon-day with the glare of its torrent; one would think a volcano was spewing

forth its gulf of lava. Upon earth there is not its like, and it is king over all the children of pride.”

And after this the soul of David Ives answered the Lord and said, “I know that Thou canst do everything. I have uttered that I understood not,—things too wonderful for me. I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth Thee; wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes.”

And the Lord turned the captivity of David Ives, and healed his flesh so that it became like that of a child. And there came a telegram declaring that the reported death of his children was only the figment of an unscrupulous press,—that one of their touring-cars had been overturned but no one seriously injured. At the same time the director of the Trust Company brought news that its losses had been made good by the President's relatives, so that the sacrifices of the stock-holders would be restored. And immediately a messenger came from the Detective Bureau, saying that the robbers of the vaults had been captured and their booty of the bonds recovered.

But yet David Ives was of a newspirit, and received his wealth again no longer as its owner but as a steward, until the day should dawn when “charity” should yield place to justice, and the anguish of the ages be turned to joy that Brotherhood is born into the world.

ELIOT WHITE.

Worcester, Mass.

SECRETARY TAFT AND SENATOR LODGE AS UPHOLDERS OF MACHINE-RULE.

BY GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,

President of the National Federation for People's Rule.

THE PEOPLE'S rule in place of machine rule has become a live national issue. Secretary Taft and Senator Lodge have publicly attacked the initiative and referendum, as also have the Oklahoma Republican leaders, and within the Democratic party there is widespread coöperation.

I.

Until the autumn of 1906 the opposition kept itself from public view, fearing discussion. But the movement had reached a point where it was carrying everything before it, which compelled the monopolists and their attorneys to publicly combat the extension of the people's power or lose their monopoly privileges. September, 1906, Senator Lodge opened the campaign at Brookline, Massachusetts, in a carefully prepared speech, the gist of which has been published in *THE ARENA*, together with exposure of its errors. Later came sweeping successes for the people's cause at the polls, followed by battles in some twenty-nine state legislatures and the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. August 20th, this year, candidate Taft openly stated in his Columbus, Ohio, speech that, in his opinion, the people of this country are not fit to decide issues but should elect rulers. He said:

"The representative government that has served us well for 130 years has not been, for Mr. Bryan, sufficiently expressive of the will of the people. Election of Senators by the people is not enough for him. We must call upon fourteen million electors to legislate directly. Could any more burdensome or inefficient method be devised than this? I believe that a referendum under

certain conditions and limitations in the subdivisions of a State on certain issues may be healthful and useful, but as applied to our national government it is entirely impracticable.

"If it is difficult for the people to use proper judgment in the concrete question of the personality of the representatives they are to select to carry on their national government, as Mr. Bryan's theory assumes, how much more difficult for them to give sufficient attention to the settlement of the many questions of policy and procedure in complicated statutes which the people have always been willing to leave to the decision of their representatives, skilled in the science of legislation, whose general views on the main political issues of the day are well understood. Think of the possibility of securing a vote of fourteen million of electors on the 4,000 items of a tariff bill. The opportunity to retire a representative who fails to be truly representative is all that the people wish and need to enforce their will."

A review of the above shows that Mr. Taft does not describe the initiative and referendum nor tell what it is accomplishing. Why this omission? It must be that had he done so it would have injured his case. The system exists in Oregon, Montana and South Dakota, as he well knows, and is being adopted in Maine, Delaware, Ohio, Missouri, Oklahoma, Utah and North Dakota, with a unanimous vote in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. There certainly is sufficient history to which he might have referred.

Furthermore, he has mis-described the existing system of government. He says that it is "representative government" and

that it "has served us well for 130 years."

We submit that the existing system in this country is not representative government, but machine rule; and that it has not existed for 130 years. History is clear on these points.

Machine rule, as everyone knows, is the rule of the few through popular forms. The people vote but do not rule. The legislative power is in the few men in office, back of whom are the few who stand ready to contribute the immense campaign funds and usually control the situation.

The system came into being through the debasement of the convention system during the years 1825 to 1844, and is described in contemporary literature. Senator Thomas H. Benton in his *Thirty Years' View*, tells how it came about.

To seriously maintain that machine rule is representative government is ludicrous. As well might it be said that the Roman state under the arbitrary rule of Augustus was a republic. It was merely a republic in name, just as machine rule in this country is representative government.

Representative government is a system in which the people rule. Representative government was established in this country in 1776, for a system prevailed whereby the people could instruct their representatives, and instructions were obeyed. Furthermore, members of the legislatures were pledged by districts and not by machine-rule state and national conventions, as became the case after 1825 to 1844.

For sixty years there was representative government in this country except when the autocratic Federalists were in power—1798—1800. During these sixty years of people's rule there was greater and greater tendency to equal rights. In the words of De Tocqueville who visited America about 1830:

"The democratic principle has gained so much strength by time, by events, and by legislation, as to have become not only predominant, but all-powerful. Men are

seen on a greater equality of fortune and intellect, or, in other words, more equal in their strength than in any other country of the world. . . . The Anglo-Americans are the first nation who have been allowed by their circumstances, their origin, their intelligence, and especially by their morals to establish and maintain the sovereignty of the people."

But as quickly as machine-rule was established the ruling few granted to themselves special privileges, issued enormous amounts of state and municipal bonds, and the railroads started by the states were sold to privately owned corporations. The growth of public debts during the twelve years 1830 to 1842 was from \$13,000,000 to \$200,000,000, an increase of 1,600 per cent. in twelve years. Paper money was issued in huge volumes through banks chartered by the ruling few. In 1839 the inflation bubble burst and depression set in, followed by repudiation of state debts. State conventions met in commonwealth after commonwealth and partially tied the hands of the state machines, restricting the amount of bonds that could be issued without a vote of the people, and constitutional limitations were placed upon the issuance of paper money. Later the railway monopolists charged such outrageous prices and discriminated so glaringly that it brought on the Granger Uprising, 1868 to 1877, and constitutional conventions and state governments were forced to legislate in the people's behalf. Then by act of the Federal Supreme Court the railroad corporations were released from the greater part of state control, since which time the monopolists in interstate commerce were practically unrestrained until President Roosevelt began operations.

During this seventy-five years of rule-of-the-few the wealth of the country has centralized tremendously, whereas under the people's rule the tendency was to equality. This change toward centralization is proof of a change in the ruling power.

But Secretary Taft, while decrying the presence of swollen fortunes, such as the world has never before witnessed, asks the people to leave in place the existing rule-of-the-few system and vote to continue the same party machine! It has not protected the people's interests; it is only the Chief Executive who is fighting some of the Trusts. It is quite probable that the Democratic machine would have done no better, for it is the system that is wrong. But when the people elect representatives pledged to establish a direct-vote system for public questions there will quickly be a change. Then practically all the men elected to office will be such as will really protect the people's interests, as is evidenced by the work of Oklahoma's constitutional convention.

In short, the issue before the people is the restoration of representative government, part of which system is a final power in the voters, otherwise the men in office are not agents but rulers—elected rulers, it is true, but rulers nevertheless.

Only on rare occasions will a national referendum vote be called for, because the mere existence of a veto power will usually be effective. Such is the case, with the President's veto power, and in Oregon and South Dakota it is true of the voters' veto power. But should a tariff law be ordered to a referendum campaign and vote and should the bill be rejected it would merely be its return to Congress with orders to pass something better. Undoubtedly Congress would then get closer to the public ideals and interests.

The people throughout the country are becoming acquainted with these facts, and as rapidly as they come to know about them they demand the initiative and referendum. Five years ago in Oregon the vote for the system was 11 to 1, and to-day the sentiment is much stronger. In Maine the last legislature, largely Republican, voted to submit a direct-legislation amendment to the people. Even in Pennsylvania the

last House by a unanimous vote passed a bill for the initiative and referendum for cities and boroughs.

Should Mr. Taft be nominated he will be antagonistic not only to the voters' desires for restoration of self-government but he is the father of government by injunction and is unrepentant, which would cause him to lose not only the Republican referendum states of Oregon, Montana and South Dakota, but would also render very doubtful his carrying New York, New Jersey, Illinois and other northern states where the labor vote is powerful. To-day Mr. Taft is merely on trial. If the Republican machine finds that it cannot win under his leadership it will select another candidate. In casting about it will find, doubtless, that President Roosevelt's ideas as to government by injunction and the continuance of final power in Congress and in the President are the same as Secretary Taft's. This will rule him out, also, unless the machine is so largely controlled by the conservative interests that it will nominate him and die fighting, as did the autocratic Federalist machine and the Whig machine.

On the other hand if the Republican National Convention selects Governor Hughes and if he is a majority ruler, the people's fight will have been won, for the Democrats will undoubtedly nominate Mr. Bryan and the people will not much care which of the majority rulers are in office, for they themselves will have become the sovereign power.

II.

Senator Lodge in a speech before the Central Labor Union at Boston in Faneuil Hall, Sunday, September 15th, this year, amplified his arguments against the initiative and referendum. He spoke for an hour and the substance of what he said is reported in two and a half columns in the Boston *Herald* of the following day. The measure he objected to is the Public Opinion bill, copied from Illinois, where the system was installed in 1901

and by means of which six questions have been voted upon throughout the state and the people of Chicago have settled their street-railway question.

But the report of the senator's speech, carefully prepared, makes no reference to this history but speaks as if the proposed system in Massachusetts is purely an experiment. Why this suppression of facts? Furthermore, no reference is made to the widely-known results of the more complete system, the initiative and referendum. But an outline history of representative government is presented, largely true, and then are stated two great fallacies, the first being that the present-day system of machine-rule in Massachusetts is representative government.

This will deceive only a few voters, for they know that a machine is in power and they want to oust it; and it is self-evident that the establishment of the direct-vote system will do it. Historically considered the voters in Massachusetts used to instruct representatives, and that is just what is proposed in the Massachusetts Public Opinion Bill.

The senator evidently felt that the voters would see this so he proceeded to claim that for them to possess an option to vote direct on state issues would be injurious. His words are:

"I do not distrust the people who make the laws, but I distrust methods of law-making which would force good people to make bad laws."

But the senator refrained from quoting the Illinois history or any other initiative and referendum history. To have so referred would have proved his conclusions to be absolutely unwarranted. What he did was to present analogies and ones which have no application, and then to boldly claim that an option in 5,000 voters to secure direct voting by their fellow-citizens on state questions would actually benefit the bosses and lobbyists. This is the height of audacity, demonstrating that the exigencies of the situation were his only limitations.

The point in the speech most likely to mislead is a claim that under the proposed system "There would be but little chance for discussion, and good legislation without the opportunity for debate, amendment and deliberate consideration is an impossibility."

The fallacy is in concealing the fact that the legislature can amend the bill by providing for committee hearings and for a system whereby competing measures can be submitted, or the legislature can add these features whenever a specially important initiative petition is filed.

This lack of provision for committee hearings and submission of competing measures is not Senator Lodge's real objection, for if it were he would have proposed amendments last winter. His aim is to retain the existing machine-rule system. In his speech he says: "I do not think the people are so weak and stupid that they cannot choose men who will fittingly represent them."

The statement is clearly erroneous, for under existing machine-rule the nominations are controlled by the Republican and Democratic machines and at election time the voters are limited to a choice between these nominees. It is machine-rule. What is needed is restoration of a system in which the voters can instruct their representatives, or, better still, can veto their acts and legislate direct. Only by installing one or the other of these systems can the voters again become the ruling power.

To put an end to the use of sophistries herein exposed the history of machine-rule should become generally known. Machine-rule was installed in this country during the years 1825 to 1844. Just previous to that time the convention system, an improved form of popular government, was debased. Instead of continuing to elect delegates direct to the state and national conventions, or nearly so, the few in control of the state and national committees provided that delegates should elect delegates, and these delegates elect other delegates. In

some cases the delegates were four times removed from the people. Thus the people were unable to control the conventions thereby losing the power to control nominations and platforms. But the people continued to participate in electing delegates and felt bound by their action, which prevented a return to the old-time practice of instructing elected representatives at town meetings and mass meetings. Furthermore, that system is outgrown and a better one exists, namely, the advisory initiative and

advisory referendum, provided for in the Massachusetts Public Opinion bill. For state questions nothing short of a state-wide campaign and vote is sufficient.

Had the senator admitted these facts he would have lacked a basis for his sophistries. Only by suppressing important facts can illogical conclusions be drawn. One who has no case is compelled either to yield or stoop to fallacious reasoning.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

DANIEL'S VISION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MEANING OF THE FOURTH GREAT BEAST.

BY GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS,
Author of "Bible Allegories."

NOT SINCE the beginning of our era has such a sweeping change been made from the orthodox view of Daniel's visions. These new interpretations are startling and momentous. It is a well known and admitted fact that the old interpretations have given to Christendom more comfort during the past nineteen hundred years than any part of Scripture. The great reliance upon them has been the natural outgrowth of a theory promulgated by the clergy and Bible commentators throughout the world. Therefore the church at large relies implicitly upon the fulfilment of these prophecies.

The author had always supposed that these visions or prophecies, while wonderfully strange, were otherwise sound and invulnerable, and therefore passed them by. But after he had written *The Bible Allegories*, which is an interpretation of the blessings of Jacob and Moses as recorded in Gen., 49, and Deut., 33 he found these so-called visions to be veritable astronomical observations. They relate mainly to the seasons of the year.

Had these two chapters of Scripture been understood by the world two thousand years ago, and published as they are to-day, no such inconsistent or irrelevant meaning could have been given to the prophet's language, because any one conversant with the meaning of these two great chapters could have no trouble with the interpretation of Daniel's visions or those of St. John in Revelations. Every line which Daniel wrote plainly reveals the fact that he was as familiar with those blessings as were Jacob and Moses themselves. The heart itself has no more importance to our physical system than the meaning of these chapters has to the religion of Israel.

Scholars familiar with ancient Oriental literature need not be told that it was the custom of the learned to veil their meaning in allegories, which, while hidden from the ignorant, were thoroughly understandable to the initiated, and I think any student of Hebrew Scriptures, who will put aside prejudice, will readily see that this was the case in the famous passages in Genesis and Deuteronomy.

Moreover, it would seem that the initiated or astronomical class went out of existence between the time of Daniel and the Christian era, and the key to Scripture was then lost.

The author will have no trouble in demonstrating that Daniel had no visions, although he purposely assigned them as such. This he did in order to lead astray the ignorant, vulgar and credulous class who knew nothing of the kingdom of heaven, or the elementary principles of astronomy. These sights, or visions, were each and all astronomical observations. They have no relation whatever to prophecy.

Daniel was one of the leading lights of his day and age. For mental acumen, natural discernment and eagle-eyed penetration, he was without a peer.

Dan., 7:7: "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns."

Dan., 7:8: "I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."

The four beasts which the prophet saw rise up from the sea were Taurus the Bull, Leo the Lion, Scorpio the Scorpion, and Aquarius the Water-bearer. These four principal signs or beasts have a sign, beast or constellation on each side of them, and these were considered then to be the guardians of the earth during the four seasons of the year.

The prophet was obliged to change the appearance of the fourth beast in order to suit his ingenious dissertation on the evil and malevolent character of winter. By his imagination he produced a mythical nondescript, the like of which could not be found in heaven or

upon the earth. He truthfully symbolized the destructive ravages of winter, a season diverse from each of the other seasons of the year. The great iron teeth represented the destructive effect of frost, which in the fourth season is everywhere apparent. It might be called the destructive season.

The horns are mythological, yet they truthfully represent the power and influence of the sun throughout the year. The ten horns of this beast are the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, and December. These ten months had come and gone, but the little horn was yet to come. Seven of these horns represented the seven summer or productive months, known in ancient days as "the favored seven." The other three, which were plucked up by the roots, were the semi-winter months,—October, November and December. Being plucked up by the roots means that their time had expired, had lapsed or passed by, and was superseded by the little horn.

This condition or situation can be explained to better advantage by a mythological passage of Scripture found in I. Sam., 5:2: "When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him."

This signifies that when January was passed and gone, the part of the image which represented the head, face and rams of a man (the Water-bearer of the zodiac) fell down and broke, leaving only the fish part to represent the sign Pisces, the Fishes, which guard the earth in February. Thus the eyes in this horn, or mouth, were those of Aquarius.

Dan., 7:17: "These great beasts,

which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth."

No one in the world, no matter what his attainments, can accurately interpret the words of this text without his being conversant with the meaning of Gen., 49 and Deut., 33. How could any one derive the knowledge that these four beasts are four kings? Nay, but they are more: they are four great celestial kings! None but Jacob and Moses, the two most distinguished leaders of Israel, have ever spoken of them. Let us patiently examine the words and see where they originated.

The twelve signs or beasts of the celestial zodiac were known anterior to the Bible. Each one of them occupies a twelfth part of that great zone or belt of stars. They are forty-five million miles long by twenty-four million miles wide, and the earth's orbit or ecliptic runs through or by them.

Jacob and Moses in their immortal blessings appointed each one of Jacob's twelve sons to be the genius or spirit of the shining Lord, and they personify the twelve beasts of the zodiac.

Gen., 35:11, gives us to understand that Jacob's twelve sons were all born kings. Ephraim, Judah, Dan and Reuben were appointed by their father and by Moses to be these four heavenly kings. Moreover, if there is any truth in Israel, they will reign as kings forever. These four great kings personified the four beasts, which were seen by St. John worshipping in the midst of the throne and round about the throne.

Even though our space is limited, we must give a brief synopsis of the importance of these four great reigning monarchs.

Ephraim as king reigns over the three constellations of Aries the Ram, Taurus the Bull, and Gemini the Twins, while his shining Lord is passing through them, as he does annually in March, April and May.

Judah as king presides over the constellations of Cancer the Crab, Leo the

Lion, and Virgo the Virgin, while his Lord is going through them on his annual journey in June, July and August.

Dan as king rules over Librathe Scales, Scorpio the Scorpion, and Sagittarius the Archer, while the shining God of Israel is passing through his dominions, as he does annually in September, October and November.

Reuben as king rules over the constellations of Capricornus the Goat, Aquarius the Water-bearer, and Pisces the Fishes, while his Lord the sun is passing through his dominions, as he does yearly in December, January and February.

All this interesting knowledge has for the past two thousand years been hidden beneath a veil, but now it is recovered, with a thousand other treasures. It all comes from that oriental mine—the immortal blessings of the Patriarch and the Law-Giver.

Dan., 7:18: "But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever."

The author desires to give a clear and adequate conception of these saints of the most High, as the orthodox view is empirical and misleading.

The saints of the most High are the genii, spirits or messengers of the sun and the personification of the beasts of the zodiac and the ten thousands who are under them. They are the stars within the orbit of Saturn or Israel; the Bene-Yesreille, or "Children of Israel." In Numbers, 23:24, we find this text: "Behold, the people shall rise up as a lion, and lift up himself as a young lion."

The words, "The people," here are allegorical, and are consequently misleading, and this simple and seemingly innocent deception constitutes the veil, a covering that has securely hidden its meaning for over three thousand years!

The words, "the people," signify "the stars." Then it becomes an easy matter to observe how nearly literal this

troublesome text has been. To illustrate: Behold, *the stars* shall rise up as a lion, as the constellation of the Lion invariably rises, on *schedule* time, in each and every year. And it is lifted up by the power of the sun, as all the other constellations are, and with the ease that a spry young lion would rise; and, further, the text informs us, "he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain."

Here we encounter the words "blood" and "slain." Their plain and obvious meaning has been changed to the esoteric or allegorical, which has figuratively imprisoned their sense for ages.*

The twelve constellations are the twelve tribes of Israel. Not one of the children of Isreal ever existed upon the earth. We can affirm it with overwhelming evidence.

Deut., 33:2: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them: he shined forth from Mount Paran."

The Lord that *rises* and *shines* is the sun. He belongs exclusively to the celestial zodiac and dwells between the cherubim. (Ps., 80:1.)

"He came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law (or law of fire) for them."

For what special purpose did this shining Lord give this army of saints a fiery law, or law of fire? It was because a most stupendous task confronted him; a task which contemplated the elimination of water from the sea. But how and in what way could the Lord and his saints bring water from the sea? There was but one way by which it could be done. It would have to be accomplished by means of evaporation or distillation. But would not these refining processes require an enormous expenditure of heat? Yes, it certainly would. But when Moses said: "From his right went a fiery law for his saints," he had in contemplation the Lord's indescribable heat. St. Paul held a similar idea when

he said: "For our God is a consuming fire." (Heb., 12:29.)

Thus, then, by that fiery law his chosen saints distilled the briny waters of the sea. Neptune's realm was placed directly under tribute, and the four winds of heaven wafted this treasure over distant lands where it was needed. These saints or spirits of the most High thrice refined the waters of the sea, leaving the saline ingredients behind. These knowing confidential saints, as it were, guaranteed its purity to meet the exact demands of all organic life. They sent it away piled up in stories, one above the other. It floated on the ambient air. These brimming clouds—these carriers of the sky, were hailed as golden chariots, or "chariots of salvation." They were gilded with burnished gold. Their beneficent mission was to multiply the products of the soil, and by saving millions from starvation they earned full well their glorious epithet. Hab., 3:8, calls them "the Lord's chariots of salvation."

Dan., 7:19: "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet."

The fourth beast is a faithful symbol of the fourth season, or winter. The iron teeth, and nails of brass, assail everything upon the earth that grows, and truly portray the malevolent character of winter.

The allegorical iron signifies the literal frost. It congeals or freezes the ground it cuts down and breaks in pieces, and figuratively stamps what is left under its feet.

Dan., 7:20: "And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows."

*This thought is elucidated in *The Bible Allegories*, pages 215-220.

Most of this verse has been explained. The apparent denunciation alluded to, as words from a mouth which spake very great things, was the howling, roaring, driving tempests which rave and rage for days and nights with wild and unabated fury. This boisterous force and vehemence might easily be construed as vituperation or a violent discharge of temper, grossly expressed by its incoherent vocabulary.

The words, "whose look was more stout than his fellows," mean that all animals, as well as men, clad in winter with heavy coats of hair, wool, or fur, which greatly increase their bulk and add to their appearanec, so that they look more stout than at other seasons of the year.

Dan., 7:21: "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them."

This little horn practically controls the severest part of winter. It rules in December, January and February, guarded by Aquarius and personified by Reuben. The winter rarely closes with February; it more often extends through March and even levies tribute from April.

Gad, Ephraim, Asher, Issacher, Judah, Naphtali and Joseph are the primitive saints of the most High. They were the first saints ever appointed. They, as regal successors in the months of the year, have a right to control every day of March and April; yet this little horn, in the partial absence of the most High, asserts its power and makes war with the saints and prevails against them.

Dan., 7:22: "Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

The Ancient of days is the great planet Saturn; no modern astronomers have more correctly described it than did Daniel.

The reader should know what the prophet said about this heavenly wonder.

Dan., 7:9: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit."

We have already shown that the twelve sons of Jacob are kings that reign over the twelve tribes of Israel, which are the twelve constellations of the zodiac. As these constellations are governed by kings, they are called kingdoms and dominions. And kings have thrones. By the revolution of the earth these thrones, kingdoms or constellations were apparently cast down, i. e., they were setting behind the sea or horizon.

"And the Ancient of days did sit." This simply means that the astronomer Daniel sat up so late that he beheld the planet go down.

"Whose garment was white as snow." The garments of all the planets are white as snow, because they reflect the rays of pure light directly from the most High.

"His throne was like the fiery flame and his wheels as burning fire."

All the nations of antiquity worshiped this most wonderful planet. He was the outside world in our solar system, as Uranus and Neptune were undiscovered then. The diameter of his orbit is one billion, eight hundred million miles, and he makes a journey around it in twenty-nine of our years. The Chaldeans called him Abram, High Father, or Father of Heaven; the Arabians knew him as Remphan; the Greeks as Kronos, from which comes our word chronology; the Phœnicians knew him as Israel; and the prophet Daniel gave him the name of Ancient of Days.

"And judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

This passing judgment is purely mythological. By the science of astronomy we learn that the planet of Saturn is a vast material world, incapable of being endowed with the faculties of mind, and therefore could not render judgment in any sense whatever.

Dan., 7:23: "Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom

upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces."

This signifies that the fourth beast, Aquarius, is the guardian and protector of the earth during the fourth season, or winter, which is a season diverse from all the seasons, and it annually devours the whole earth, metaphorically treads it down and breaks it in pieces. The most High is powerless then.

Dan., 7: 24: "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise."

This means in literal language, And the ten months out of this season have ten constellations that guard and protect them, which are reigned over by ten kings: Gad, Ephraim, Asher, Issacher, Judah, Napthali, Joseph, Dan, Benjamin, and Zebulon. These ten kings always rise with these constellations, kingdoms or dominions, and have done so for ages.

"And another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings."

The king who shall rise after them is Jacob's son Reuben. He is the royal king of winter. He is diverse from the first,—that is, he is diverse from the saints of the most High, who reign while their shining Lord is vested with full power and passes through the constellations which guard the earth in summer.

"And he shall subdue three kings." The kings which he shall subdue are Dan, Benjamin and Zebulon,—those who guard the earth during the semi-winter months, October, November and December. Subduing, in mythology, does not mean conquering. The months pass by, and are then considered slain. Then it is averred that their successor subdues them. Reuben was simply their successor.

Dan., 7: 25: "And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High."

The most High, the sun, during January and February often makes no

appearance for many days together, and winter holds the earth in its embrace.

"And think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time."

Owing to the furious character of the elements, Reuben, the reigning monarch of winter, thinks to change times and laws. This thought undoubtedly sprang from the fact that he was in complete possession and control, and there was no power to be seen commensurate to successfully resist him. Therefore, everything was under the yoke of his despotic administration. He holds in his iron grasp the taut, inelastic reins of winter and thinks to change existing statutes, and for a time, indeed, they were given into his hand.

Dan., 7: 26: "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end."

This signifies that time keeps on in its forward march; and while conditions of a local nature may hinder and temporarily delay a season, there is always a well defined limit, beyond which they cannot go. Then the ancients said: The judgment sits, *i. e.*, a successor is installed, with a new reign or policy. Thus the saints of the most High annually succeed king Reuben, as certainly as summer succeed the winter; and this condition or recurrence is perpetual.

The most High is indeed the all-commanding force or power. He annually should have the credit for this beneficent change. As time moves on, he strenuously asserts his normal power, until his burning rays thaw the frozen fields and destroy and utterly consume the stings of winter. Then his chosen saints possess the allegorical kingdom, or literal season.

Dan., 7: 27: "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven." This signifies that the season and the greatness of the season, under the whole heaven or throughout the earth, extends all around

the world and always covers a hemisphere for while we have the season of summer in our half of the world, it is winter in the other, and *vice versa*.

The kingdom "shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High" means that the literal season in all its greatness, which is annually produced by the most High, shall be given to the people of the earth, who are guarded and protected, always, by his chosen saints. These saints are residents of the constellations, where, with the most High, they reign. It is through their beneficent care and watchfulness that the benign influences of heaven extend to us on earth, as there is not a day, nay, not an hour, of our lives that we are not the recipients of them.

The kingdom of the most High "is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

This sentence shows that Daniel thought that the sun—the most High—was the Ruler of All. But in this his knowledge was inadequate.

The most High is distinctively a local god, who dwells between the cherubim—the twelve constellations of the zodiac. His family of worlds physically serve and obey him. But it is the Infinite, Invisible Deity who reigns supreme not only over the most High but over countless millions of other suns and systems throughout His immeasurable universe.

He will reign forever and forever.

GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS.

Chicago, Ill.

THE CONSERVATIVE SQUIRREL.

BY ELIAS O. JONES.

AS I WANDERED through the forest, I spied a squirrel.

"Oh Squirrel," said I, calling from afar, "why do you run away?"

"Oh," answered the Squirrel, keeping the tree and a hundred feet between us, "that is my human nature."

"Oh but I will not hurt you," said I.

"Oh but how do I know?" cried the Squirrel. "Everyone and everything are against me. There are wild animals and wild birds and wild men with guns and I have to be very careful indeed. Even my fellow Squirrels try to get the nuts I gather and I have to hide them with great care. And, no matter how hard I labor and no matter how many nuts we gather, sometimes a hard winter comes and the snow covers the ground for many weeks, so that it is often impossible to get to our store houses and many of us freeze to death or starve to death."

"Oh yes," said I, "but you are now living in a state of barbarism. Come with me. Let me show you how to live more easily and then you will cease to fear. You will live in a state of brotherhood and understand the meaning of love."

"Oh that is all very well in theory," sneered the Squirrel. "It will not work in practice. We are already a Christian community. We know the ten commandments and the beatitudes and say them regularly, but of course, it is not feasible to live them. You cannot change our human nature. We have been this way always and so we must continue to remain, at least for thousands of years."

"Oh but I know where there is a beautiful park," I persisted, "with plenty of nuts and magnificent squirrel mansions built in the trees, where there are no dogs and no wild animals and no wild men with guns and where little children

come all winter and all summer long with choice morsels of food. In this beautiful park, the Squirrels are not afraid. They do not run away when anyone approaches and they will even eat out of the little children's hands."

"Oh but that cannot possibly be," maintained the squirrel. "That would be Utopia. You are either a dreamer or else the forms of life you have observed are not Squirrels, for it is the human nature of Squirrels to be timid and to run away when man approaches. To change it would require thousands of years. Do not trench on credulity by telling me it can be accomplished in a life-time."

"Oh but it is so, friend Squirrel. Does not your human nature allow you to be friendly to those who are friendly to you?"

"Oh but there are n't any such. This is a world of the survival of the fittest, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost and it would take thousands of years to change it."

"Oh but, if there were such a world as I describe, do you not think that it would be better than the miserable struggle for existence that now engages your whole time and attention?"

"Oh, by no means," said the Squirrel. "If life were made any easier, it would destroy all incentive to make it better. Go away! I have no time to listen to your subversive doctrinal rubbish. You are a base agitator, a self-seeking demagogue and an enemy of society, for you are striking at its very roots and spreading discontent."

ELLIS O. JONES.

Columbus, Ohio.

STEVENSON IN SAN FRANCISCO.

BY JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

SEVERAL years ago in San Francisco I read Robert Louis Stevenson's comment on "the evocation of that roaring city in a few years of a man's life from the marshes and the blowing sand." I was impressed at the time by the characteristic difference between his old world point-of-view and our own, we taking as a matter of course this phenomenal growth of our cities, which he could only liken to "some enchantment of the *Arabian Nights*."

"Such swiftness of increase," he continues, still speaking of San Francisco, "as with an overgrown youth suggests a corresponding swiftness of destruction. We are in early geological epochs, changeful and insecure, and we feel as with a sculptor's model, that the author may yet grow weary of and shatter the rough sketch."

The recent destruction of San Francisco

lends to these words a tragic significance and recalls vividly to my mind a morning spent searching out Stevenson's haunts in the old mission quarter of that city. There, after the last act of the play was over, the lights out and the actor long since gone, I saw the stage (even that vanished now!) where he played out the grimmest act of his life's tragedy. As I stood before the dreary working-man's lodging house there came to me a vision of the "sick man" who lived there "all alone, on forty-five cents a day and sometimes less, with quantities of hard work and many heavy thoughts, burying so much courage and suffering in the manuscript" we read to-day with such delight; trying so bravely to "fight it through," with "no one but his landlady and restaurant waiters to speak to for days at a time;" in that glad Christmas season, the face of death almost the only

friendly face at hand, seemingly not unkindly as he lifts his own to meet it. For "death is no bad friend," he writes, "like the truant child, I am beginning to grow weary and timid in this big jostling city and would run to my nurse even although she should have to whip me before putting me to bed."

Walking over to his restaurant on Bush street, the chill wind from the bay beating in my face, I could almost hear him say, "I'm the miser in earnest now, and Saturday when I felt so ill it seemed strange not to be able to afford a drink I would have walked half a mile—tired as I felt—for a brandy and soda."

I had my lunch on a bare table in the little café where everything was marked five cents, from the pea soup to the cup custard. But, while I could follow up this frugal repast by a dinner at Marchand's at night, he had nothing better to look forward to after that "drop from a fifty cent to a twenty-five cent dinner" which he records in a letter, adding quickly: "but I regret nothing and do not even dislike these straits, though the flesh will rebel on occasion."

The elderly man who waited on me had, I thought, a slight Dutch accent and, with a woman's intuition, I instantly recognized in him that "waiter of High Dutch extraction, indeed only partially extracted" in Stevenson's day,—by this time thoroughly extracted and Americanized and proud proprietor of the little restaurant.

"What could be more romantic!" I mused. In my enthusiasm it seemed to me at that moment entirely worth his while to have been incarcerated in this



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

The Bronze Memorial by Augustus Saint Gaudens, in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

cubby-hole for a score of years, waiting for me to arrive on the scene to discover and identify him!

I could hardly wait until the man came out of the kitchen with my pork pie, to ask him all about "the slender gentleman in the ulster, with the volume but toned into the breast of it," whom he had served so often with coffee and rolls.

"Stevenson," I explained, as he stared at me blankly;—"Robert Louis, you know; tell me all you can remember of him."

Alas for my conjectures and theories! The man seemed suddenly stripped of even the slight Dutch accent that had so stimulated my imagination. He stood before me a most painfully prosaic Yankee, as he explained politely that he had been in San Francisco almost two years, but had never seen the "party in question." When I had succeeded in straightening out his ideas, however, he had the grace to remember that one afternoon, the year before, some people calling themselves "The Stevenson Fellowship Society" had taken possession of the café, made speeches and toasts and broken bread in memory of Stevenson. After their strange banquet, they had all walked over to Portsmouth

Square and planted an ivy from Scotland back of his monument.

For in this city which never knew him when he was in her midst, there was erected a beautiful monument to "remember him" when he was gone.

"Lonely, ill and poor, estranged from his people, unsuccessful in his work and discouraged in his attempt to maintain himself," yet meeting every fresh wave of defeat with the same indomitable spirit,—the picture we have of Stevenson in San Francisco is indeed inspiring.

In the face of unfavorable criticism of his work by his best friends at home, he is still "not disheartened," confident "there is something in him worth saying, though he can't find what it is just yet," and determined to "fumble for the new vein until he finds it." He turned out an immense amount of literary work during his four and a half months stay in San Francisco; his essays on *Thoreau*, *Yoshida Torajiro*, *Benjamin Franklin*, *The Art of Virtue*, *William Penn* and *Dialogue Between Two Puppets*, being all written and sent home at this time. Here also he finished *The Amateur Emigrant*, the second part of which he says was "written in a circle of hell unknown to Dante, that of the penniless and dying author, for dying I was," he adds. "One of the causes which contributed to his illness," says Sidney Colvin, "was the fatigue he underwent in helping to watch beside the sick-bed of a child, the son of his landlady. During March and a part of April he lay at death's door."

Although he applied for work on various newspapers, the payment offered was too small for one of his painstaking literary habits to consider, and with the exception of two articles published in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, he had no connection with the press of that city. On his marriage in May, 1880, to Fanny Van de Grift, he left at once with his wife and stepson for the little deserted mining camp of Calistoga, where their life is described in *Silverado Squatters*. The *South Sea Idylls* which he read at this time fascinated him greatly, and it

is probable strengthened that impulse which in the end was to "cast him out as by a freshet" upon those "ultimate islands."

Nine years later, ill and broken, he came once again to San Francisco where the yacht "Casco" waited to take him on his far journey to the South Seas. How far a journey it was to be he little knew; but I think he would have embarked no less gladly had he realized in very truth his ship was sailing toward the setting sun.

Some thought like this the artist must have had when he designed his San Francisco monument, a golden ship in full sail—fit emblem of a life "tossed with tempests, yet comforted" and comforting—a ship that sailed strange seas, that breasted many a wave and came at last into port with mast erect and colors gaily flying.

In their admiration for Stevenson the writer, some people are apt to forget that the life he lived was greater than anything he wrote. The story of his wanderings, so full of pathos, heroism, and vital human interest, forms a kind of nineteenth century *Odyssey* that has thrilled our generation as does no piece of mere literature, ancient or modern.

Of course the San Francisco period is only one brief chapter of this story. In all parts of the world travellers are constantly coming upon Stevensons' footprints: "Skerry vore" in Scotland; Monterey on the Pacific coast; the little Swiss chalet in the mountains at Davos; the cottage by the wood at Saranac Lake; "La Solitude" at Hyeres; these and far away Vailima with its mountain grave, all bear witness to his ceaseless quest for that one good the gods denied him, the gift of health, without which all his other gifts seemed so cruelly handicapped.

And yet it is a question to what extent this lack of physical strength took from the value of his work as a whole; for, if we recognize that the personality of the man adds the finishing touch of charm to his writing, we must remember that



the strength of his spirit was made perfect in the weakness of his flesh. Indeed, can we forget how often the undaunted soul of the man came to the rescue of his broken body, while his persistent will to live and will to work seemed for a season to conquer even fate itself? It is for this above all else that men must love and revere him, this courage which was Spartan in its simplicity and Christian in its essence, which had the appealing grace of sweetness, the immortal gift of light. His courage had also that rare quality of gaiety which enabled him to line with light the clouds that were forever closing in on his horizon; to resolve that, if in his corner the sun could not shine, the heavens for others should not be darkened. He had a silver tongue, and there was music and magic in his speech, but I love him most for his golden silences, for those times when he did not lift up his voice nor cry out—when his soul kept dumb faith with God. JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

Bloomington, Ill.

IMPRESSIONISTIC PHOTOGRAPHY: A CONVERSATION.

BY PAUL FOURNIER.

Note: In the February ARENA we published an extended paper on *Photography: Its True Function and Its Limitations*, in which we took occasion to criticize the work of many of the impressionists who have seemed to imagine that the function of photography was to secure strange, curious and unusual effects by manipulation and empirical treatment. Some of these photographers appeared to imagine that photography was destined to supersede the work of the artist of the brush, and we aimed to show how different were the legitimate spheres of the artistic photographer and the painter. True, many photographers have succeeded in producing some exceptionally fine work that is essentially impressionistic in character. They have to a certain degree succeeded in catching the atmosphere in scenes portrayed, especially in out-door

pictures which reveal nature in her varying moods; but these have usually been obtained by strictly legitimate processes.

Among the younger American photographers who have already made a considerable reputation for impressionistic work, is Mr. Paul Fournier, whose interview we take pleasure in presenting below, together with typical examples of some of his recent work. Mr. Fournier was born in Minnesota and educated in Minneapolis, although he has traveled in Europe and resided for some time in Paris. Since 1903 his home has been in East Aurora and in Philadelphia. He is a member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and of the Photographers' Association of America.—Editor of THE ARENA

Question. What are your views in regard to the scope and proper function of photography, apart from the ordinary taking of photographs?

Answer. Hundreds of people can make photographs and thousands can squeeze a bulb with some degree of success, but I hardly think this is what



Photo. by Sherwell Ellis.

PAUL FOURNIER.

photography means. Photography in its true meaning is a very serious thing. A snap-shot fiend is no photographer any more than a piano player in a moving-picture show is a musician, or a lightning-artist is an artist. The idea of a photograph is to get life and action together with pleasing composition and correct lighting and shading and color values. That is, the correct rendition of light and dark and red and blue.

Q. Are you in favor of working for surprising results by experimental or empirical methods, or do you believe in getting the best possible results by catching nature in her varying moods and by making studies of your characters, so as to make the plate produce the greatest possible artistic results without attempts at manipulation for surprising results?

A. There is no use in making surprising and unusual pictures simply to be unusual. The idea is to make a picture beautiful. If you can do it by making unusual pictures, then all right, so much the better. If not, then it is a good plan to manipulate. Do anything to

make a beautiful picture. Photography is only a means to an end.

Nature at her best can never be improved upon. Therefore if you have a picture which illustrates nature at her best, there can be no improvement upon it. But very often photography cannot accomplish this, then you have to manipulate to get the desired picture. In the end I am in favor of doing anything to make a picture look as beautiful as possible.

Q. Will you illustrate your theory in regard to photographic art by descriptions of how you have proceeded in obtaining certain photographs, and the results?

A. In the pictures of the buildings in the distance, the man at the fire-place, the stoker, the snow scene, the profile portrait, and the cloud picture, there was no manipulation. They were simply straight prints from straight negatives.

In the portrait of Horace Traubel the lighting was made a little unusual, perhaps, the light being behind the subject.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

The reason for my doing this was to accentuate the beautiful white hair and leave the light blue eyes in the shadow; otherwise the eyes would have taken much too light. The ordinary dry plate is very apt to reproduce pale blue as nearly white.

It should always be the idea of the photographer to accentuate the good points and obscure the bad ones.

When I took the sunset picture there were many clouds in the sky but very few showed in the negative. I therefore tried to work into the negative such clouds as I had seen, as nearly as I could remember, and thus I got what I consider a beautiful sky picture.

The picture of evening in spring I think is almost an exact reproduction of nature, as nearly as could be accomplished with a one-color process. The landscape had a very heavy black cloud



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

A STERLING CLOUD EFFECT.

near the horizon as is shown in the picture. The negative failed to reproduce this. Therefore I shaded the sky until I got the desired effect.

The portrait of a girl shows a background worked in. The background originally was solid black but I found that by lightening it around the face I could bring the figure nearer, as it were. Many people have criticized the hand in this picture. This hand was dropped into its position unconsciously, and as I

found it would be an original aid to the composition without being affected I decided to leave it in.

Q. Do you think that the photographer to do really great work in photography must have the poet's or the artist's soul, besides being a master of technique, so as to know just how to obtain the best possible legitimate results and to effectively catch nature in her varying moods?

A. Yes—I think a



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

EVENING IN SPRING.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

THE STOKER.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

A STUDY IN PERSPECTIVE.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

PROFILE PORTRAIT.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

WINTER SCENE.

photographer must have the poet's or artist's soul, or rather the photographer's soul, which is probably greater than any of the others. He *must* have an idea of the beautiful and must try to think of the beautiful and nothing else.

I know a photographer who lives in a small town. He is master of technique but he has neither artistic ability or business ability. After thirty years of careful and thoughtful labor he remains where he began. He has never had an idea of what was beautiful. I have also known many photographers who were masters of technique and had great business ability. These photographers have succeeded the best because they had the most perfect idea of what would please the popular taste:

but they were not artists in any sense of the word. Artists sometimes fall below in business ability but they are generally masters of technique.

Q. What are your views in regard to the present stage of photographic development? Do you think that it will be carried much further than it has already been carried, or that we have already practically reached the limits of achievement in camera work?

A. Photography is only one of many means to an end. It is perhaps the most perfect means to the end. Some people say it is only mechanical. As far as that is concerned why are not brushes, paint and canvas mechanical and why is not a piano mechanical? If this were so, only passes in the air would be art, and singing the only music. But this is not so. Nothing in art is mechanical that accomplishes the end. Photography has not reached a one-hundredth part of the growth that it will reach. My photographs are only examples of what may be accomplished at the present day. We will laugh at these ten years from now, the same as we now laugh at photographs which were made ten years ago, and photographers who are working ten years behind the times.

PAUL FOURNIER.

Philadelphia, Pa.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

IN THE FIRELIGHT.



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA, by Ryan Walker

POISONING THE WELLS.

Industrial Autocracy—"Having poisoned the Wells, all I ask is to be left alone."

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Oppler, in New York American (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

THE COURT OF NO APPEALS.
If You Don't Want It, Vote Against It!



Sullivan, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

THE JACKALS.



Nye, in Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine, Atlanta, Ga.

YOU LABORERS MUST BE HAPPY!



Spencer, in The Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.

NONE SO HUMBLE AS TO ESCAPE THE MONSTER



Hughes in Charlotte (N. C.) News.

THE MODERN BILL SYKES OF THE SOUTH.



THE BOODLERS DRIVEN FROM THE CAPITOL BY THE REFERENDUM.



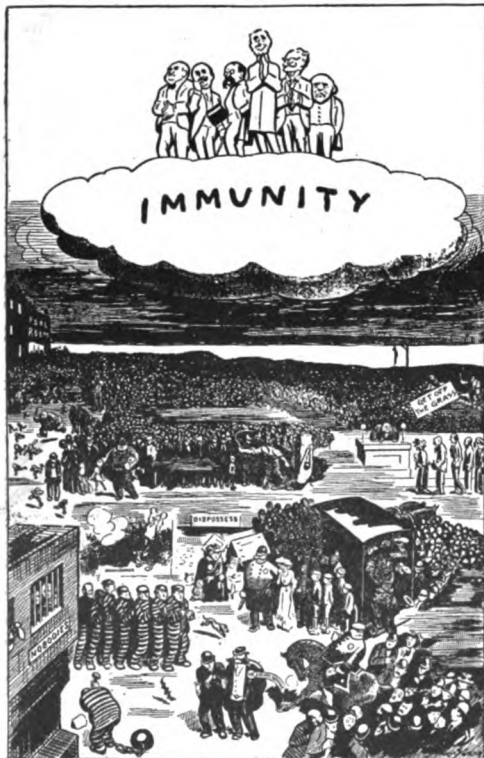
Mav, in the Detroit Journal.

THE NATIVE—"Bears or Delegates?"



Rogers, in Harper's Weekly, New York.

LITTLE NIPPON TRUSTS NOBLE ALLY
DID NOT HURT HIS HON-
ORABLE TOE.



Young, in Puck, New York.

ABOVE THE LAW.



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

SKY HIGH.
The consumer finds that bread has now gone up to join milk
and butter among the heavenly bodies.



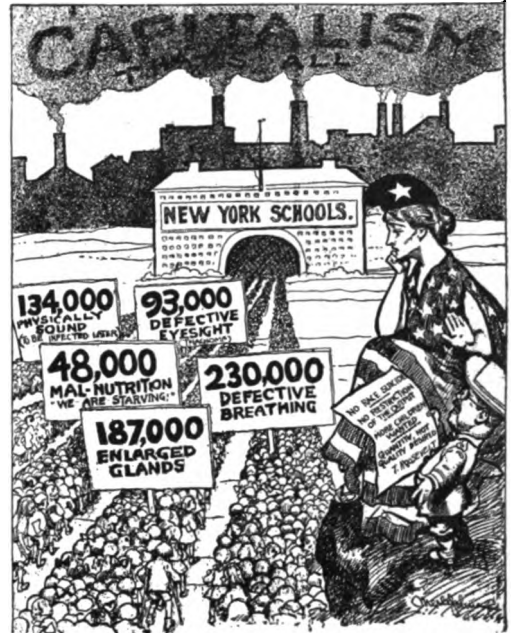
Nye in Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine, Atlanta, Ga.

Cartoonists working for corporation papers picture the farmer as the luckiest fellow in the world. The fact is there are 1,000,000 farmer families in this country who are never out of debt. The above cartoon is plain, unvarnished, brutal truth. The patient wife is the woman of all work—she is the cook, the nurse, the laundress, working from early sunrise till late into the night—never knowing what rest is, or means. By the time she is thirty-five years of age you see an old, wrinkled and worn-out woman, one more victim of special privilege and corporation greed. GORDON NYE



Sullivan, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

PLEASE GO WAY AND LET ME SLEEP



Johnson, in Wilshire's Magazine.

COLUMBIA (to persistent orator): "Cut it out, Theodore. That speech does n't fit. But there is a text here for an appropriate sermon on undesirable citizens."

The Burlington report shows that 465,000 of 600,000 school children are physically defective. Of these 48,000 are suffering from mal-nutrition; 93,000 from defective eyesight; 187,000 from enlarged glands and 230,000 from defective breathing. Out of the 600,000, but 134,000 are as yet physically sound.—Daily Paper.



Wrecker in International Syndicate.

MR. WALL STREET: "I wonder if that doctor will come every time I have a case of financial heart failure!"

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE POET AS AN INTERPRETER OF LIFE'S PROFOUNDEST TRUTHS.

WE HAVE seen that the true poet is sometimes an interrogator and an interpreter of nature in her varying moods; and again, he is a revealer of life's profound truths, a philosopher in the presence of the master problems of the universe. In the last capacity, the poet becomes one of the most efficient influences that make for spiritual awakening and moral advance.

We are accustomed to regard the nineteenth century as peculiarly materialistic and utilitarian in its spirit; and yet the historian of the future, sufficiently removed from our age to be able to gauge things in their true proportion, will see that few centuries of the past have been so pregnant with moral idealism as the last hundred years, and certain it is that everywhere the true poets were voicing messages of deepest import to man and nations.

In our land Emerson, probably the greatest ethical philosopher America has given to the world, was nowhere so profound or meaningful as in his wonderful but little-understood poems; while in England Browning, from the very Himalayas of spiritual truth, was impressing lessons of gravest import. Even Bulwer Lytton, from the engrossing demands of his literary and political life, paused in the midst of a career marked by feverish activity and wonderful productivity long enough to hearken to the voice from the silence, after which he devoted much time during five years to weaving into verse his *King Arthur*, in many respects a wonderful poem—a creation whose master charm and chief value lie in its sheaf of spiritual lessons.

But perhaps it is on the Continent of Europe that we find the greatest poet-teacher and mystical philosopher of the century. Certainly in the creations of Richard Wagner we have capital ethical lessons presented in the clearest and most comprehensible manner of any of the mystics and philosophic poets of the nineteenth century.

Thus "The Flying Dutchman," Tannhäuser," "Parsifal," and the great Ring

dramas are all instinct with spiritual truths that make for man's mastery of self through that interior development which, by bringing growth and happiness to the individual, makes him a radiator of life,—a spiritual dynamo that helps man and nation onward and upward toward the Land of the Heart's Desire, the realm of justice, liberty, and fraternity.

Where, for example, can we find in romance literature the master lesson of the redemptive power of unselfish love more vividly impressed than in "The Flying Dutchman" as interpreted in Wagner's opera based on Heine's poem? The old legend was originally a myth handed down from the infant days by the rugged children of the Northland, which, like all the great myths and legends of every people possessed by ideals, lived through untold generations because it imperaled a vital truth,—lived awaiting the poet-prophet or interpreter who should breathe into the sleeping ideal the breath of life and transform, humanize and vivify the dimly perceived truths of those who in twilight days groped after the light. Later this ancient legend underwent a transformation during the wonderful hour of Europe's awakening from the sleep of the Dark Ages; when the New Learning and the Renaissance burst upon the brain and imagination of men; when art and science, invention and discovery, waved their magic wands and awakened Angelo, Titian, da Vinci, Correggio and Raphael; Savonarola, Erasmus, Colet, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Zwingli; Gutenberg and Copernicus; Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan. The age that gave to European civilization a new heaven and a new earth awakened not only the imagination of man, but the lust for gold, for conquest, and for personal power. The ocean became the highway of daring spirits. El Dorados and Golcondas floated mirage-like before the bold rovers of the sea. The wealth of Mexico and Peru and the wonder tales of those who had reached the Indies by the water route,

excited the cupidity and selfish ambition of an army of masterful men drunk with lust for gold.

The awakened imagination of the poetic natures, the interpreters and minstrels who were also mystics, at this time seized on the old legend and the story became externalized, definite and personal, while still holding the kernel of truth of the older myth. Now we find a daring mariner who is under the spell of the hour, gold-crazed and intoxicated with the dream of power and personal gratification born of the possession of material wealth. He strives to double the Cape, beyond which he believes is to be found an El Dorado; but the storms are contrary. He is beaten back time and again, until at length he swears that he will double the Cape if it takes all eternity. Satan, who in the powerful imagination of the time was almost as powerful as God, hears the oath and condemns the reckless seaman to sail the main until the Judgment Day in a phantom craft whose blood-red sails and black masts should everywhere be the herald of doom to all the ill-fated vessels that came within its wake.

Such, in brief, is the legend which became a popular superstition in the morning years of Modern Times. But man is ever rising. The savage in his nature, though very tenacious, slowly gives place to the divine ideals imperaled in the soul of every son of God; and as the centuries come and go these ideals unfold, and man's conceptions of Deity and justice take on nobler shapes. The angry Judge and avenging Jehovah give place to the All-Father, Whose name is Love. Hence the nineteenth century poets gave to the weird legend the human touch, and brought it more *en rapport* with our conceptions of eternal justice and infinite love. The ill-fated mariner still wanders the deep, but now a single star shines in what was hitherto the impenetrable darkness of despair. Every seven years, according to the newer version, he was permitted to land for one night, and if perchance during any of these brief respites he should find a woman who loved him enough to marry him, and who would be true to him until death, the curse should be lifted and he and his wife should enjoy eternal felicity in the home of love. If, however, she fails, both are to be forever lost.

Though thoroughly familiar with the ancient myth and old legend, Wagner took

as the basis of his opera the poet Heine's humanized legend, embodying in so positive a way the larger truths made visible by the advancing light of civilization and the upward march of man.

The opera opens with a supremely tragic picture,—that of a lost soul, a man possessed of fabulous wealth in gold, jewels, pearls and precious stones, but resting under an awful doom,—the messenger of death whenever he rides the waves, and only permitted to land one night in seven years. We see him now on land, entering the home of Senta, a maiden who embodies in supreme degree the divine feminine—the soul of selfless love. On the walls of her father's house hangs an ideal picture of the master of the phantom ship, and the fate of the doomed man has awakened a longing in her heart to help the helpless one,—a longing that has grown greater than her love of self. On the entrance of the ill-fated mariner, Senta instantly recognizes him as the lost soul, and gives him her love, bent on saving him from the awful doom, and not only him but the countless ill-starred seamen who without such salvation might be lost by coming in sight of the death-ship.

The two are wedded, but before the bridegroom sails, he discovers Senta earnestly engaged in conversation with her former lover, and thinking she repents her choice and may prove false to him—something that would involve her eternal damnation—he reveals his identity and, deaf to her protestations of love and fidelity, rushes aboard his ship, weighs anchor, and in the midst of a rising storm sails forth toward a high promontory that guards the harbor. Senta, remembering that the salvation of the mariner is dependent on the fidelity to death of his bride, rushes to the beetling cliff and hurls herself into the raging sea. Instantly the phantom ship vanishes, the storm subsides as by magic, and in the western sky, over the cliffs from whence the maiden threw herself, are seen the glorified spirits of the sea wanderer and Senta slowly ascending, wrapped in the glory of eternal dawn.

Here we have the damnation motif matched and overpowered by the salvation motif; night with all its appalling blackness lost in the glory of day. Here was man doomed to be lashed by the fury of the deep from land to land, and knowing full well that wherever the black mast and baleful red sails were borne, death, ruin and destruction followed.

in their wake. On the other hand was a woman, in all the glory of opening maidenhood, rising to the divine heights where loss of self is joy, when that loss means the salvation of another. On the one hand, man, lost through presumptuous arrogance and a determination to gratify selfish whims and desires; on the other hand, the lost saved by woman as the embodiment of divine love.

Two central ideas are here embodied: the great truth that egoism so pronounced as to give dominance to the passion for material acquisition until it silences the voice of the soul, not only involves the downward impulsion of the individual but also causes him to be a blight or curse to all who come within the sphere of his influence; while over against this baleful egoism stands the genius of life, the altruistic, love-dominated spirit that gives, and freely gives, all for the salvation or eternal well-being of another or of others that love that imparts the great central truth upon which the rise of man and of civilization depends in the contest for supremacy or dominion of the spiritual against the physical, of the light against the darkness, of the higher against the lower, of the divine against the animal. Love, ever rising and becoming more impersonal, more selfless, more sublimated, is the master moral lever that will lift humanity out of the quagmire of materialistic or sense domination, for this love is the lord of life, the eye of day, the breath of God.

The eternal war between materialism and idealism for mastership, the battle for supremacy of the spiritual against the sensuous, was a favorite theme with Wagner, because with his mystic insight he saw how fundamental and all-inclusive was the conflict. But lust for gold and passion for personal aggrandizement for selfish ends are by no means the only great springs of poison that exert an enthralling influence on the imagination of man. Indeed, the greatest influence, the very master spring of power in the sensuous world, is found in the passions, appetites and desires of the flesh. He who surrenders the higher to the lower by giving mastership to passion and sensual desires, profanes love and turns from the angel of life that purifies and glorifies and uplifts, to embrace an influence that enthralls the soul, poisons in life its vital springs and implants the seeds of satiety, unrest, jealousy, hatred, bitterness and hopelessness in the heart. Every step

taken under the domination of sense perception leads away from the path of life, of happiness and the health of the real self, and must sooner or later be retraced amid sorrow and bitterness of soul, after he who has embraced the counterfeit for the real has partaken of the wormwood that must be drunk before the eyes of the wanderer are opened.

In "Tannhäuser" we see one of the most vividly contrasted pictures of the world of sense dominion and the realm of soul supremacy to be found in literature. Here, as that fine musical and dramatic critic, W. J. Henderson, well observes, "Wagner has set before us the struggle of the pure and the impure, the lusts and aspirations of man's nature. It is essentially the tragedy of man. Tannhäuser is typical of every man, beset on the one hand by the desire of the flesh which satiates and maddens, and courted on the other by the undying loveliness of chaste and holy love. If ever a sermon was preached as to the certainty with which the sins of the flesh will find a man out, it is preached in this tremendous tragedy, when the flame of old passion sears the face of new happiness and drives the errant out of paradise. Wagner, out of the old Tannhäuser myth, fashioned the tragedy of a man's soul. Every man must bow his head in reverence to the genius which thus made quick the battle of passion against purity for the possession of man's soul. Wagner wrote no mightier tragedy than this."

In the story of Tannhäuser as presented by Wagner, the hero of the tragedy is a famous minstrel of the Middle Ages who has won the love of one of the fairest and noblest German princesses. "In an evil hour" he came under the thralldom of sensual desire.

"A sudden madness seemed to strike his brain
And he had sought for refuge in the mount
Of Horschelberg, and wandered to the depths,
Led captive in the lure of evil love."*

He was warmly welcomed by the northern Venus, who soon led him into a life of abandon. All thought of love in its true sense, all thought of honor and purity and manhood were drowned in one mad round of voluptuous revels, varied by the infinite resources of the goddess who sought to hold in thrall this last-found favorite. For one whole year he thus sunk his soul and stifled the call of

*See Mr. Oliver Huckel's rendition into English verse of Wagner's music-drama.

conscience. He had descended into the depths; he had been false to his higher self. At length, however, the time arrived when this prodigal, so far from the Father's house, came to himself. His soul bade him leave the basement of being and ascend to the plane of noble endeavor, to fling open the windows that look upward and Godward; but the spell of passion, when long indulged, is not easily broken. Venus here stands for the power of sensualism, and she has so anæsthetized the moral energies that they lack the power of execution or resolution to do that which is desired. A subtle spell rests over the soul.

The experience which must sooner or later come to every human soul that surrenders to sensual domination is thus vividly pictured:

"And now the life of sin palled on his heart.
O sad satiety of evil love,—
For sin can never satisfy the soul
Now had his better nature waked again,
And longed for earthly life and liberty,
For earthly life with mingled joy and pain."*

What more pathetic than the cry that comes from the heart of the prisoner of passion:

"O that I now might wake "

"In dreams I seemed to hear the distant sounds
That have so long been strangers to my ears."†

Tannhäuser here represents the slave in the realm of sense perception who begins to awaken from the dream which has held his better self in thrall. He is sincere, but he has not yet been so morally aroused that the witchery of appetite can no longer throw a spell over his resolution. He has not broken the bars that hold the soul in the prison of sense domination. Thus Tannhäuser, though no longer happy, is held for a season after the illusion of the Venus world has become apparent to his homesick spirit,—homesick, that is the proper term, for the soul of man is never at home in the cellar of being. His spirit can only grow in a pure and exalted atmosphere, and Tannhäuser yearns for home. Venus in vain strives to detain him, resorting to her manifold wiles and seeking to cast a glamor over his senses which will make him forget that high estate from which

he came to be her companion and slave. She intoxicates him for a moment, only to find that his conscience is not wholly dead. He refuses to longer sleep, and in the midst of the under world of sensual abandon his resolution thus finds words:

"T is freedom I must win or die,—
For freedom I can all defy;
To strife or glory forth I go.
Come life or death,
No more in bondage will I sigh."

The moral nature has spoken. The animal is subservient to the soul so long as the soul keeps its purpose steadfast and its vision is rivited on a high ideal; but woe to it if after journeying forth it looks back and coquettes with the powers that have ensnared it. Venus, on hearing Tannhäuser thus declare his purpose, is no longer able to hold him, but she does not despair of his return. He has tarried with her over-long. He has fed that which was low, and dwarfed that which was high in his nature. He has rendered it possible for her witchery to linger in his imagination, a haunting, illusive, subtle spell.

When the spell is broken and Tannhäuser enters again into the real world of being, the gates of the house of life swing open before him. Love, pure, true love, welcomes him: but unhappily his soul has been drugged, his imagination poisoned by his long lingering in the world of sensual desire. Hence when his brother minstrels sing of love,—that pure, true love that refines, exalts and makes all who come under its magic noble, brave, true and fine of soul, he hears no echoing sound in his own heart. Only the gross passion of the Venus world, the world of self-desire and unbridled passion, floods his mind, and under the baleful spell he takes his harp and extols the Venus world from which he has ascended, to the horror of all present. Too late he comes to himself, and but for the love of Elizabeth, who stands as the opposite of Venus, the type of true love as the goddess of the under world of sense domination typifies the domain of sensual supremacy, Tannhäuser would have been exiled and lost. Even the church refuses to hear the penitent's cry. But love, pure, true love, is steadfast to the end. It will not abandon that which it has loved and which it feels may be saved; and so Elizabeth, in a different way from Senta, but none the less unselfishly, gives herself for Tannhäuser's redemption, and the realization of this greatest and most

*See Mr. Huckel's English rendition of Wagner's music-drama.

†*Ibid.*

wonderful thing in the realm of moral verities—the love that loses itself for the loved—awakens and emancipates the soul of Tannhäuser. Every bond that has bound him to the Venus world of sense perception is snapped. He too is saved.

As we have seen, "Tannhäuser" presents the world of sensual desire and the world of soul supremacy in bold antithesis. On the one hand is the acme of all that the Venus world can give, Tannhäuser being the favorite of the supreme goddess of the realm; and yet, with its powerful appeal to the physical eye, ear and passional nature, does it satisfy? No. A little time, and all it offers palls on sense and soul. Satiety, uneasiness and infinite longing seize upon the one to whom has been given all that the sensuous world can give. Now why is this? Because man is a spiritual being, and as such his cravings can only be satisfied by things that are real, abiding, pure, uplifting and free from the passion that degrades, the sting that slays. Now the world of sensual delight is nothing if not ephemeral. He who yields to its mastery chooses the counterfeit instead of the real, the tinsel in lieu of the gold, the fleeting instead of that which is perennial and rejuvenating. Hence Tannhäuser who has left, the highway of virtue, faith, honor, love—the real world of truth and idealism—and descended to the Venus world,—not as Parsifal into Klingsor's realm, to assail the power of evil, but to surrender to the sensual goddess,—though he gains all the realm can give, does it at a fearful cost, for every day spent in the dominion of sensual ideals leaves its impress on the soul life. He who gives way to the supremacy of animal desire enters a land where illusion becomes reality, where the deadly dream becomes the master of the soul, while that which is real, true, and abiding becomes more and more vague and intangible. The soul thus enthralled to sense perception necessarily builds on shifting sand. So long as the false dream remains the master, life remains not only empty of all great purpose, vapid and negative to all that is truly lofty and noble, but the thralldom becomes more and more complete. Such an

one is like a man who contracts the opium habit. The drug day by day gains its morally destructive hold on the mind of its victim, whose loss of will power is coincident with the obliteration of the moral sense,—the line of demarcation between right and wrong, honor and dishonor, love that purifies and exalts and unbridled passion that is dominated by sensual desire.

Now we see Tannhäuser a victim in the thrall of the Venus world. He soon feels that awful soul hunger, that profound restlessness, that nothing in the world of illusion or sense perception can meet. He must leave. The haunting memory of his high-born nature drives all peace from his soul. The breaking of the spell of sense perception is much, but it cannot prevent the reaping that comes from the sowing.

In "Parsifal" the sin of thoughtlessness brings its punishment, but Parsifal is aggressive for the right. He enters the world of sense seduction as a foe and not as a willing victim; and though its seductions dazzle and its supreme temptation well-nigh leads to ruin, his moral attitude saves him, and the fact that his heart is pure and his purpose is true renders powerless the weapon of righteousness in the hand of the evil one; while the moment he burns the bridge behind him, as it were, and makes the sign of the cross, which to the Christian civilization symbolizes renunciation of self for others or the placing of duty, a noble cause, or humanity above self-desire, the counterfeit world of evil shrinks, blights and becomes powerless before him, and in the end to him is given the supreme joy of bringing relief, health, peace and happiness to the afflicted, while his triumph exalts him to his rightful place as prince among the soul victors whose master purpose is loving service.

These are only little glimpses of a few of the vital ethical lessons in some of Wagner's great music-dramas, but they will help us to see how truly the mystical poet is a messenger of spiritual truth, a teacher of life's profoundest lessons.

D. C. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE VICTORY FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN OKLAHOMA AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Citizenship and Statesmanship That Reflect The Spirit of 1776.

NO PEOPLE in the great Republic have of late so conspicuously evinced the splendid spirit of 1776 as have the citizens of Oklahoma, and no group of statesmen sitting in council in recent decades have reflected the wisdom, courage and fidelity to the fundamental ideals of a democratic Republic, which marked the convention that framed and signed the Declaration of Independence as did the statesmen who framed the constitution of the new state. They were first of all loyal to the basic demands of free government and strove so to safeguard and conserve the interests of all the people that no privileged class or law-defying corporation or set of capitalists could levy extortion on a helpless people or unite to plunder the wealth-creators at will.

Changed Conditions Which Demand Additional Safeguards to Protect Popular Government From Class-Rule.

The revolution wrought by the discovery and utilization of steam and electricity not only transformed the civilized world, but they revolutionized industrial, economic and commercial conditions in such a way as to open the door to bands of daring, shrewd, unscrupulous and masterful men to seize upon natural resources that of right belonged to all the people, and to obtain special privileges, through the double possession of which the few were soon able to levy extortionate tribute on the many. As with the sword, battle-axe and spear—the weapons of physical force—the old feudal chiefs rose to power and became the masters of the many who sank to the ranks of retainers or serfs, under the new order, by special arguments, by cunning and often by deception, the shrewd, daring, avaricious and masterful few have become chiefs of the new commercial feudalism or the industrial autocracy; but in order to succeed they found it necessary to first propitiate the governing power and later, by

silent partnership, to control government in such a way as to make it representative not of the people but of the industrial autocracy.

In order to do this it became necessary to gain control of the machinery of government in such a stealthy manner that the people should not see that they had ceased to be the ruling or sovereign power and had sunk to the contemptible position of puppets in the hands of their exploiters. This was done by partnership with political bosses who for monetary considerations,—often for large campaign contributions that enabled the unscrupulous political boss to become the master of a state or city—were ready to make terms with the corporate or privileged interests that amounted to a betrayal of the people, and through these arrangements the corporate interests or privileged classes were able to obtain guarantees and pledges and later were also able to designate men who must be placed on tickets or appointed to positions of vantage after election. The boss sometimes, like Tweed and many of his successors, made personal enrichment a prime consideration. Others were chiefly concerned in their own political advancement and the increase in power which would make them the complete political masters of city and state, and perhaps arbiters in national politics. But usually considerations of both wealth and power have actuated the boss of the money-controlled machine. In all instances the alliance of privileged classes with the political boss has operated disastrously for representative government,—that is to say, for government which represents the interests of the people rather than the interests of small classes preying upon the people, and of ambitious individuals who are willing to prostitute government and betray the people for personal advancement, wealth or power.

The decline in truly representative government has kept pace with the advance in the power of the boss and the machine, guided and directed by the real master—the indus-

trial autocracy or feudalism of privileged wealth, until to-day we have come to the pass when men high in the councils of the nation oppose even giving the people the poor privilege of expressing their desires on important questions at the time when they select their representatives.

Happily, at last the American voter is beginning to awaken to the real peril of the present political situation. He begins to realize that he is the victim of trusts, monopolies and corporations that are robbing him at will,—a feudalism of privileged wealth quite as merciless and oppressive as that older feudalism based on force,—an industrial autocracy, arrogant and contemptuous of the rights of the people, because it knows it is ramified in government at almost every point.

The President's much-advertised campaign for the punishment of the great law-breakers has been answered by a steady increase in the price of almost every trust-controlled necessity. The feudalism of privileged wealth has no fear so long as the party of the President is in power; for its great chiefs and bosses have been its most subservient tools and complacent servants. The beef trust, during the pending legislation, had no more active worker in its behalf than Speaker Cannon. The railroad corporations and express companies have no more valued allies than Penrose of Pennsylvania, Platt and Depew of New York, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Lodge and Crane of Massachusetts, Elkins of West Virginia, Foraker of Ohio, and Fairbanks of Indiana.

More than this, the feudalism of privileged interests and the highly respectable high financiers know they can always rely on a strong contingent of loyal servants in the Democratic party. Men like Senator Bailey will reinforce the forces that are fighting to protect class-rule and corporation mastership of the people whenever their services are demanded.

Statesmen Whose Wisdom and Courage Matched Loyalty to The People's Interests.

Now the statesmen who were selected to frame the Oklahoma constitution, and the intelligent citizens of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, were not blind to the situation—the grave and ominous situation—that to-day

threatens the life of republican institutions while rendering possible the impoverishment of the millions for the unjust and inequitable enrichment of the few beneficiaries of the unholy alliance. They clearly recognized the fact that the present calls for special provisions to safeguard the vital principles which were promulgated by the fathers and which must ever differentiate a genuine republic from a class-ruled land. The day of the stage-coach and the mail-rider, which marked the period when the seven young states that fringed the Atlantic were slowly being welded into a compact republic, was an age of simplicity in life, of comparative equality in conditions, and was as unlike the present as the methods of locomotion and transmission of news of that time are unlike those of the age of steam and electricity in which we live. With the penetration of true statesmanship they realized the sinister character of the danger that confronts the American people. They knew that while the people slept the age-long enemy of social justice and equity, against which the fathers fought, had entered the Republic. Favored classes, feeding on monopoly rights and special privileges, had parasite-like fastened on the people's sustenance. They saw and understood from the political results of the past quarter of a century the menace of the union of the corporation and the political boss acting through the money-controlled machine.

One cannot see the brain acting when the hand moves, but he may judge of its purpose by what the hand does. So the action of the money-controlled machine, in every state where the bosses have gained mastery of the government, whether it be in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts or Colorado, told the same story of public betrayal in the interests of privileged wealth. A misrepresentative government had usurped the throne of the once representative republican rule. The people were no longer the masters or sovereigns, but the slaves of the boss and the victims of the corporations that made the boss a power.

To remedy these abuses, fatal alike to free government and the prosperity of the millions; to break the bonds of this new oppression, ten thousand fold more odious than that of England under the Georges, the statesmen who framed the constitution of Oklahoma set to work with high and serious purpose.

Oregon's Inspiring Example Followed.

The Republican state of Oregon had with fine courage and a high-minded statesmanship led the way in restoring the government to the people and making their servants representatives of their will instead of the puppets of bosses and the tools of corporations at war against popular rights and interests. So in regard to Direct-Legislation Oklahoma followed the lead of Oregon.

Oklahoma Becomes The Virginia of The New Revolt Against Oppressive and Unrepublican Class-Rule.

But if Oregon is the Massachusetts of the new democratic republican revolt against the rule of irresponsible classes, Oklahoma aspired to be the Virginia of the new revolt, and she went boldly forward. Other abuses had arisen. The ancient bulwark of popular rights and liberty—trial by jury—always distasteful to despots and oppressors, was rapidly being nullified by the despotic aggression of judges selected by the industrial autocracy because of their having been faithful tools of corporate interests. The abuse of the injunction power, next to machine-rule and corporate interests, more than any one thing was threatening free government, and to meet this abuse the Oklahoma statesmen prepared effective popular safeguards. The lawless and law-defying corporations were considered, and measures framed to compel them to be as amenable to law as was the individual. In a word, these statesmen wrote a charter of rights for the people, admirably adapted to meet the imperative demands of free institutions and popular rights to-day. It was not strange, therefore, that every law-defying corporation, every kept editor beholden to these interests, every briber and bribe-taker, every grafter and all

seeking graft, as well as every corrupt boss and manager of money-controlled political machines, raised a cry against this constitution. The Declaration of Independence was no more distasteful to King George and the Tories than this new constitution was obnoxious to the enemies of free government, the criminal rich and the corrupt feudalism of privileged wealth. But the people saw in it the means of self-protection and measures that would render possible good, clean and effective government, and they determined to accept the constitution.

How The Modern Tories and Reactionaries Sought to Defeat The Democratic Republican Forces.

The reactionaries in their alarm looked for a faithful servant who might be able to defeat the popular demand. They hit upon the "great postponer," Secretary Taft, and he straightway journeyed to Oklahoma to tell the people to reject their constitution. But Oklahoma resented the impudent attempt of Washington authorities to meddle with her affairs, and by the tremendous vote of 100,000 majority she ratified the ideal constitution while electing the whole Democratic ticket by majorities of from 30,000 to 40,000.

The result of this election will encourage every friend of free institutions in America. It comes as the news of Lexington came to the patriots all along the Atlantic coast in 1775. Oklahoma has given the marching orders for the new democracy. Let there be no wavering. Let courage, a clear, definite program and an aggressive warfare for the restoration of a government of the people, by the people and for the people mark the course of all friends of free institutions from now on. The day for temporizing with privileged wealth and undemocratic reaction is past.

PROFESSOR LOWE'S LATEST INVENTIVE ACHIEVEMENT.**A Unique Discovery That Promises Great Things for The People.**

IN THE October ARENA George Wharton James contributed an interesting article dealing with the life of Professor Thaddeus S. C. Lowe and his remarkable discoveries and inventions. In this paper the author touched briefly on Professor Lowe's latest

discoveries and inventive triumphs, by which after refining crude petroleum and making the finest quality of illuminating gas, the residue of lamp-black and coal-tar is transmuted into a grade of coke equal to the best European product. Since this article was written, extensive and rigid tests have been made, the result being a complete demonstra-

tion of the truth of all the inventor claimed for his discoveries.

The immense potential value of this latest commercial and economic discovery will be apparent when it is remembered that coke produced from oil will serve to reduce the price of making the gas, so that gas can be employed for power in generating electricity, at a price that will enable the enormous benefits of electricity to be enjoyed by the people, whereas to-day they are enjoyed only by the few. More than this, it will enable gas to be used in numbers of ways in which it is impossible to use it at present on account of the price. Small towns and municipalities, by installing one of these plants, can generate sufficient gas for the use of the municipality, sufficient power for its electrical works, and can supply the gas and electricity at a price so reasonable as to bring it within the reach of many, and at the same time, by disposing of the coke, show a balance on the right side.

By Professor Lowe's method, as we understand it, low-grade and soft coal can be treated and turned into coke in much the same way that oil is treated. He has also perfected a process, as we shall presently see, for mineralizing wood or transmuting it into coke.

Coke From By-Products of Crude Oil.

The various Los Angeles papers have recently given extended descriptions of the experiments carried on during the month of August, and the Pasadena *Star* gave more than a page to the subject in a late issue. It thus shows the steps taken by the process, which it holds is destined to revolutionize commerce:

"The oil is run through a series of processes and a series of products are gained.

"Lighter oils, the product of refineries.

"Asphaltum, the product of a Lowe invention.

"Gas, the product of the Lowe gas generator.

"Tar and lamp-black, the by-products of the gas machines.

"Coke, metallurgical coke, the product of the Lowe retort for making' Lowe Anthracite.'

"Not one ounce of the raw material is allowed to leave the plant save in the shape of marketable and valuable products."

The coke produced is superior to any made in America and is equaled to-day only by that produced in Norway and Sweden.

"Commerce," says the *Star*, "will demand the Lowe coke, because it will enable America to produce a steel such as only Norway and Sweden are producing at present."

The following interesting memorandum was made by a scientific writer for the *Star* after personally witnessing two days' experiments in the manufacture of coke from the by-products of gas—lamp-black and coal-tar:

"After operating the improved coke ovens during the past few days in the manufacture of coke from a poor, non-coking blacksmith coal, thereby establishing the heats in the ovens, a charge of mixed tar and lamp-black took the place of one of the charges of coke from coal and in nineteen hours was converted into a hard, solid, metallurgical coke.

"It was taken from the oven at 10.30 A.M. to-day and quenched in the usual way and presented a magnificent appearance, the transformation being more marked than when coal slack is converted into coke. Unusual interest has been exhibited among scientists and practical iron-workers as to the outcome of this new development as a basis for all kinds of metallurgical work on the Pacific coast, therefore as soon as the coke was sufficiently cool to be handled it was taken to a blacksmith shop and a strong blast applied and a white heat almost immediately produced.

"A round iron bar three-fourths of an inch in diameter was converted into a ring and thoroughly welded within the space of five minutes.

"Those present acquainted with these operations expressed great surprise at not only the short space of time taken to do the work, but at the extreme cleanliness of the heat itself, there being no ash, smoke, cinder nor sulphur and the amount of coke required was 25 per cent. less than when ordinary coke is used and 50 per cent. less in weight than when blacksmith's coal is used, thus proving that this coke, for blacksmith purposes aside from being more desirable for making the iron better, is, for this special purpose worth double the cost of the best blacksmith coal. . . .

"One gentleman present who closely watched the operations from the charging of the oil product into the ovens, to the use of the finished metallurgical coke, remarked that the tests made to-day should lead to the increased value of California oil products to more than \$100,000,000, and as much more

gain in value through the various industries that will be established in consequence of this magnificent invention."

Of the second day's experiments the writer above mentioned has this to say:

"As convincing as was the demonstration yesterday of the great utility of Professor Lowe's latest metallurgical invention, it was marvelously eclipsed to-day, when this same charge of coke was employed for foundry use, taking the place entirely of the best Connells-ville coke.

"It was charged into the cupola in the usual way and employing the same weight of Lowe coke as used of other kinds. The amount of fuel seemed very small to the foundrymen, owing to the density and less space occupied, but the usual program as to weights was carried out and the blast applied.

"In actually nine minutes after the tapping-hole was closed it was again opened and the large ladle of molten metal withdrawn and poured into the moulds. From this time on frequent tappings were made, each time the metal getting hotter and whiter, much to the surprise of every foundryman present.

"At the last end of the charge a large amount of very refractory scraps, iron and steel, was introduced into the cupola and almost immediately turned into liquid metal hotter than was ever before noticed.

"Professor Lowe and friends were present and waited until the bottom of the cupola was dropped, which showed that there was no unmelted material left but there was quite a large quantity of the oil coke still unconsumed. This was quenched, taken to a blacksmith forge, where it quickly reignited and served as best blacksmith fuel. Had this surplus been ordinary coke from coal it could not have been reused, but would have been consigned to the cinder pile.

"This being the first use as well as production of metallurgical coke from oil, the foundryman would have been well warranted in being skeptical, but his long acquaintance with Professor Lowe and his various inventions gave him the required confidence and extensive arrangements were made as usual for the usual cast. The quality of the metal also showed great improvement by the use of this pure uncontaminated fuel.

"All metallurgists know, that foundry coke must be of the very best quality, and as the iron in the cupola is heavier than the stock in a blast furnace, a more solid and harder coke

is required in order to carry the stock without crushing the coke.

"In this respect the Lowe oil coke excels all others.

"This most superior of all coke will cost far less than the lowest cost in any part of the East and will produce a metal equal to the very best Swedish and Norwegian iron and steel.

"It may be well to mention here that among other products that will far more than pay for all the crude oil from which this coke is produced, that of gas production is still more valuable, being the very best for illuminating purposes. The gas produced is superior to and will take the place of natural gas not only for open hearth, steel and other heating furnaces and for putting into form the products of the blast furnaces, but will also by the use of the monster modern gas engines, furnish the very cheapest and best power for any and all purposes.

"The blast furnace gases can also be employed in the huge engines of which the United States Steel Corporation is having made, by one establishment, a hundred and fifty thousand horse-power. These engines will be used for this very purpose. When the users of large power wake up to the advantages of this cheapest of all power they will not consider it worth the expense of keeping up long transmission lines of water power."

Another very important feature of Professor Lowe's invention is the fact that it is smokeless. All the elements are utilized and the smoke nuisance is entirely done away with. In noticing this fact and explaining how the by-products are all utilized, the *Star* says:

"A long battery of coke ovens, terminated at each end by high smoke-stacks, or rather draft stacks, for no smoke issued from them, formed the specially novel feature of the exhibit. Into these ovens the crude oil is injected in sprays and an intense heat soon dissociates the chemical elements it contains. The gases are then forced through the washer, which deposits the heavy carbons in the form of lamp-black—a valuable by-product—and then they pass through the scrubber, which eliminates a tarry substance, from which aniline dyes can be made.

"The gases are then carried through the condenser and the purifier, depriving them of all remaining impurities, and then into the

great holder, whence the pure illuminating gas is pumped under an even pressure into the mains and distributed through the city.

"The most important and striking feature of Professor Lowe's works is the manner in which he turns the two by-products—tar and lamp-black—into a most useful and valuable commercial product.

"These substances are mixed in certain proportions and conveyed by a tramway to the ovens, which are in a series and communicate with each other by a special arrangement of connecting flues, and then the mixture is subjected to an intense heat for twenty-four hours, when a charge of hard, firm, silvery metallurgical coke can be withdrawn.

"The result is a surprise to the oldest and most experienced furnacemen and metallurgists."

Professor Lowe's Process for Making Coke From Wood.

Another discovery that holds great potentiality for good to the race is found in Professor Lowe's process for mineralizing wood, or making from wood a fine grade of coke. In speaking of this the *Pasadena Star* observes:

"Professor Lowe has been able to manufacture coke from wood. He has experimented on eucalyptus wood and obtained coke of sufficient hardness to convince him that it will hold up the stock in a cupola and perform wonders in the blasting industry. He says a five hundred acre strip of land will keep the largest blast furnace in the world going, and produce by-products which will keep hundreds of automobiles chugging along the roads and furnish the market with many products for the kitchen. Cutting from one end of the strip to the other, allowing the first cut to grow up after the woodsman had stripped it the acreage would perpetuate the supply necessary to furnish fuel for the largest blast furnace, by Professor Lowe's process. Alcohol is extracted from the wood during the process.

"The twigs and limbs too small to convert into coke are chopped up and driven into a special heat generator to furnish heat to the coke ovens in which the trunk of the tree is converted into what a scientist recently termed 'mineralized wood,' the Lowe Wood Coke.

"The product is as hard as anthracite and black as the blackest coal. It can be made as cheap and shiploads could be shipped to the world ports from such wooded countries as France and the European charcoal countries.

"From other of the by-products, lye, potash and the finest soda for cooking may be manufactured. All the by-products together will more than pay the cost of manufacturing the coke and the fuel is practically free to the smelters.

"Wood thus reduced to coke will last seven times as long as the original wood in the stoves of the housewives. The amount of wood one burns in one week in the winter, Professor Lowe will compel to last him and produce the same heat per day, for seven weeks. The coke brings the heat to the point where heat is desired and for cooking purposes this concentration is a great saving.

"When hit a smart blow with a hard substance the coke manufactured through Professor Lowe's process from wood will ring clear as a bell. In handling the coke one does not get one's hands smutty as in handling charcoal."

It is impossible fully to conceive the potentiality for good which these discoveries and inventions hold for our people, if they can be utilized on an honest or honorable basis,—a basis free from stock-watering and the corrupt methods of Wall-street high finance. With the utilization of the by-products for reducing the cost of gas, there is no reason why this immensely important agent for heat, light and power should not be supplied to the people at a price that would largely revolutionize domestic economy and contribute immensely to the happiness of the people.

JUDGE POLLARD'S PLAN FOR THE TREATMENT OF DRUNKARDS EMBODIED IN ENGLISH LAW.

OUR READERS will call to mind an extended sketch which we published in *THE ARENA* for July, 1906, dealing with the remarkable success that attended the wise, humanitarian and truly statesmanlike plan of William Jefferson Pollard, a judge of St. Louis, in reforming and saving to the ranks of good citizenship the victims of drink who were not yet confirmed drunkards. This article was widely copied in Great Britain and Australasia. The greatest temperance organization in Great Britain made an abstract of the article and circulated it in leaflet form throughout the realm. The Independent Temperance Party also published leaflets containing extracts from this paper and quotations from leading American journals. As a result great general interest was awakened throughout England and Scotland, and when in the autumn of last year Judge Pollard visited England, he received invitations from all parts of the land to explain his plan and its practical workings, and before he left London to return to America, a committee of members of Parliament tendered him a reception at which many distinguished citizens of Great Britain were present. A memorial was presented to the Judge, expressing the appreciation which the temperance workers of England felt for his enlightened innovation.

The interest thus awakened steadily grew. English judges began to adopt the plan in a tentative way, with fine results. Later a bill was drafted and introduced into Parliament embodying in a slightly modified form the plan of Judge Pollard. The bill passed the House of Commons and on the twenty-second of August was accepted by the House of Lords and received the Royal assent, thus becoming a law.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone was one of the leading English statesmen who labored incessantly for the success of the measure. Another prominent Englishman who labored in its behalf was Walter East, Honorable Secretary of the National Independent Temperance Party. The latter sent Judge Pollard the following telegram on August 23d, after the bill had become a law:

"The probation bill containing your additional clause, based on your plan for reclamation of drunkards, finally passed the House of Lords and received the Royal assent yesterday. I am communicating to every newspaper in Great Britain this message of hope for drunkards. The Pollard plan is now in the statute law of Great Britain."

The enactment of this law affords another striking illustration of the far-reaching influence that frequently attends the earnest, high-minded action of an individual. When Judge Pollard, sitting in the police court of St. Louis witnessed day after day the misery attending the carrying out of the regulation punishment for drunkards, without wise discrimination, and decided to adopt an innovating plan for the purpose of giving early offenders an opportunity to reform, he not only saved to society scores and hundreds of weak and unfortunate first offenders who if sent to the workhouse for sixty days, there to mingle with hardened criminals and men far more degraded than themselves, would in most instances have drifted downward, but he also prevented scores of families from being evicted and becoming the victims of hunger and cold because the head of the family was in prison and their scanty means of sustenance had been taken from them. Furthermore, the good which thus seemed to be confined to one large city soon extended to other cities. Since the successful operation of Judge Pollard's plan, a judge in Chicago has adopted a similar plan, with results which he reports as highly satisfactory; while the temperance workers everywhere, seeing an opportunity to help in the reclamation of those who have started on the downward path, have aided in creating public sentiment that will ere long, we are confident, lead to the general adoption of the Pollard plan throughout America and Australasia, as it already has led to its adoption in Great Britain.

No man knows how far the light of his candle will shed its beams, if he lives truly, thinks truly, and strives to better the condition of his fellowmen.

MR. ROOSEVELT AND MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

A NUMBER of friends of President Roosevelt and others who have earnestly desired to be able to regard him as a high-minded statesman who places civic morality and the weal of city, state and nation before party or personal considerations, have been bitterly disappointed at his attempt to secure the defeat of Tom L. Johnson as Mayor of Cleveland, by writing a letter, to be used publicly by Congressman Burton, indicating that he regards it as "exceedingly desirable" that Mr. Burton should win the mayoralty election in Cleveland.

All citizens cognizant of affairs in Cleveland, who have proper regard for truth and honesty, must admit that Mr. Johnson's administration has been clean, honorable, honest and business-like. His great fight has been made to reduce street-car fare and render it possible for the city to control the street-car situation, instead of having the old order that prevailed under the palmy days of Hanna restored, in which the street-car and other public-service corporations controlled and corrupted the city government.

Mr. Burton is a prominent member of Congress and the President admits that he is needed in the House, but the great street-car corporations would give the ransom of a prince to defeat Mr. Johnson, and the Republican machine of Ohio is nothing if not the servant of the monopolies and public-service corporations of the state,—never more so, indeed, than since the notorious Boss Cox has come out for Secretary Taft for President.

It is greatly to be regretted that the President of the United States should meddle with municipal politics, especially when the battle is being waged between a high-minded and conspicuously competent mayor, well versed in the executive duties of a great municipality, and a corrupt order led by the President's choice, who is totally inexperienced in municipal affairs. The only excuse that could be made for the President's throwing his personal influence into a municipal campaign would be in a case where the people were making a life-and-death struggle to wrest

their city government from some notoriously corrupt ring that was debasing politics and robbing right and left,—a condition such as was presented in the tremendous battle which the Lincoln Republicans and better citizens made to overthrow the notoriously corrupt Boss Durham's ring in Philadelphia. It will be remembered that at that time the Lincoln Republicans, who were striving to wrest the city from the unspeakably rotten and dishonest ring, urgently pleaded with President Roosevelt for a message of encouragement in their battle for civic righteousness, good government and common honesty; for such a message would have been worth thousands of votes to them. Governor Folk appreciated the duty devolving on honest citizenship in such a crucial moment, and left the State of Missouri to go to Philadelphia and personally take part in the attempt to save the city from the thieves. But President Roosevelt refused to speak the word that would have meant so much for civic honor and clean government. We are told that it was not the intention of the President to meddle with municipal politics, so he did not notice the plea of the Lincoln Republicans. Yet when the corrupt street-railway ring, in a desperate attempt to overthrow the man who has done more for clean and honest municipal government in Ohio than any other Mayor, looks around for a person whose popularity might possibly enable them to wrest the city from the incorruptible executive chief and give it to the party of Boss Cox, President Roosevelt rushes to the support of the man who is fighting on the side of the street-railway ring and thus aligns himself on the side of corporation extortion and the old order that prevailed before Tom L. Johnson cleaned the Augean stables of Cleveland.

It is a pitiable spectacle which reflects anything but credit on the President, whose vocal strenuosity in the presence of corporation extortion and municipal corruption is as pleasant-sounding as his acts are disappointing.

POISONING THE WELLS.

THE ARENA has on several occasions called the attention of the American people to the systematic manner in which the industrial autocracy is poisoning the wells of public opinion and popular government. Never has the effect of this great moral crime against the social organism, which deadens the conscience of millions of people who desire to act justly and be true to their higher selves, been so apparent as of late, when educators of the Day and Buchtel type have made themselves so offensive to high-minded and conscience-guided men and women by their pitiful rôle of apologists and defenders of the criminal rich. Again, the moral damage which is being sustained by the religious world through the systematic poisoning of the churches by donations to missionary societies, religious institutions and church buildings, is just now painfully apparent.

In the tendency of ministers and religious papers to either ignore and slur over the amazing revelations of moral turpitude which the government's investigations have recently clearly established in relation to the systematic course of the Standard Oil Company since it has been under the mastership of John D. Rockefeller and his aides and associates, or to defend Mr. Rockefeller and others of the

great commercial brigands who have done more to demoralize our political and business ideals than all other influences combined, is seen the death-dealing results which we have time and again pointed out necessarily follow the accepting of money from persons whose business enterprises are known to have been marked by defiance and evasion of law, by oppression, extortion and corrupt practices.

Few things are more ominous or sinister than the gradual silencing of the pulpits and the religious press by the use of a small fraction of the money extorted from the American people by indirection. The loss which religion is sustaining from this partnership with criminal wealth is beyond computation, for it is lowering the church from her position of moral or spiritual leader in one of the most crucial periods in the history of the Republic,—a time when of all times the church should be the great aggressive exponent of even handed justice and the spirit of fraternity embodied in the Golden Rule.

In this issue of THE ARENA Mr. Ryan Walker, one of the most conscientious and effective of our popular cartoonists, contributes a fine original cartoon that should be carefully studied by all our readers. It shows at a glance one of the gravest evils of the hour in regard to which all the people should be warned.

PROMINENT UNREPUBLICAN ADVOCATES OF MISREPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

TWO REACTIONARY, unrepublican professional politicians prominent in the councils of the party of special privilege have recently made a humiliating spectacle of themselves before the American public, in a pitiful attempt to deceive the people in regard to Direct-Legislation.

It is no more surprising to see Senator Lodge, long the absolute boss of Massachusetts, opposing permitting the people to direct their supposed representatives, or even allowing them the poor right of telling their representatives what they desire than it would have

been to find Boss Tweed of the old days, or the notorious bosses, Cox and Durham of the present time fighting the people. Senator Lodge has long been the autocrat of Massachusetts by virtue of his complete control of the state machine.

With Secretary Taft, however, the case is slightly different. He previously has not been a boss and the reason for his opposition is less obvious to the superficial observer who has read only the many pleasing platitudes that the voluble Secretary has been so generous in dealing out to the public. To those, how-

ever, who have followed Mr. Taft's political career, there is nothing surprising in his attitude. He would not to-day be the accepted candidate for the Presidency of the great Wall-street high financial organ, the *Financial Chronicle*, if his actions had not been thoroughly satisfactory to the plutocracy. The feudalism of privileged wealth is quite content for their friends to indulge in general denunciations of lawless privileged wealth, and pose as preëminent friends of the people, provided their acts are satisfactory to the industrial autocracy in crucial moments or at any time when they regard the help of public servants to be of vital concern to the masters of the money-controlled political machines. Now Secretary Taft, from the time when he occupied the bench as Federal Judge and won the undying gratitude of the great railway corporations by his pernicious use, or rather abuse, of the injunction power and by his discovery that the Interstate Commerce Law could be used as a club against organized labor, to the present hour has found time, in spite of his almost perpetual junketing trips at the people's expense and his fair speeches, to do what lay in his power to further the dearest desires of the plutocracy in regard to vital issues.

Now the one thing which the corrupt bosses, the grafters, the law-defying and evading corporations, the bribe-takers and bribe-givers, and the various upholders of corrupt and misrepresentative government most dread is any provision that would make representative government truly representative. They oppose Direct-Legislation, not because it is impractical, but because it has proved so practical as to destroy the power of the corruptionist, the exploiter and the grafter by making the public servants the actual instead of merely the theoretical representatives of the people. Hence we find plutocracy's

faithful servant, Secretary Taft, opposing Direct-Legislation with Senator Lodge. The motive is clearly apparent. No man, we imagine, understands more clearly than the Massachusetts boss who is so loved by the corporations which the machine has served so faithfully, that with Direct-Legislation his power would depart from him, for that power is derived from the powerful privileged interests that prey upon the public. So long as he can control the machine as absolutely as he has of late years, the corporations that are fattening on the people have nothing to fear and Massachusetts will suffer from misrepresentative government.

Senator Lodge goes further than most reactionary statesmen have the hardihood to go. He opposes even giving the people the poor privilege of telling the legislators what they would like them to do. What a striking contrast is to-day presented between Massachusetts and Oregon! The latter is a commonwealth enjoying a truly representative government. Massachusetts is absolutely at the mercy of grasping corporations, because Boss Lodge absolutely controls the majority of the Legislature through his political machine, and the people are consequently shamefully misrepresented, while the boss brazenly tells them that they have no right to even express their desires on the ballot to those who are supposed to be their representatives in the Legislature. Could insolent contempt for popular government go farther?

But the day of reckoning is coming. The people are awakening and the corrupt political machines and the despotic bosses will be overthrown in spite of the vast wealth that has in recent years been so lavishly bestowed upon the machines to destroy representative government in the interests of privileged classes.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS CONGRESS.

ON SEPTEMBER 23d there assembled in Boston one of the most notable religious congresses that has convened since the World's Parliament of Religions met in Chicago during the World's Fair in that city. The Congress has convened four times, in London, Amsterdam and Geneva, and during

the month of September, in Boston. The growth of the movement has been phenomenal and significant of the broadening spirit of the age. The recent convention was by far the greatest and the most notable of its gatherings. It is stated that six thousand delegates were present. While it is not a

Unitarian body, the ideal of Unitarianism summed up in the following well-known and concise epitome of that church's views doubtless comes nearer voicing the spirit of the Congress than any other declaration of faith:

"The Fatherhood of God;

"The Brotherhood of Man;

"The Leadership of Jesus;

"Salvation by Character;

"The Progress of Mankind onward and upward forever."

A preliminary gathering was held at Symphony Hall on Sunday evening, September 22d. An hour before the opening of the meeting all available standing-room was occupied, although Symphony Hall is one of the large auditoriums of the city. It is stated that between two and three thousand people were turned away from the hall for lack of room.

The veteran American poet and sturdy representative of the rugged New England spirit, Julia Ward Howe, although eighty-eight years of age, composed the following "Hymn of Praise," which was sung by the great assembly with a spirit and enthusiasm rarely evinced by a Boston audience:

"Hail! Mount of God! whereon with reverent feet
The messengers of many nations meet;
Diverse in feature, argument and creed,
One in their errand, brothers in their need.

"Not in unwisdom are the limits drawn
That give far lands opposing dusk and dawn;
One sun makes bright the all-pervading air;
One fostering spirit hovers everywhere.

"So with one breath may fervent souls aspire;
With one high purpose wait the answering fire;
Be this the prayer that other prayer controls;
That light divine may visit human souls.

"The worm that clothes the monarch spins no flaw;
The coral builder works by heavenly law;
Who would to conscience rear a temple pure
Must prove each stone and seal it, sound and sure.

"Upon one steadfast base of truth we stand,
Love lifts her sheltering walls on either hand;
Arched o'er our head is Hope's transcendent dome;
And in the Father's heart of hearts our home.

Another original hymn composed for this occasion was written by Rev. Frederick L. Hosmer and read as follows:

"O Pilgrim city by the sea,
In thee we meet on kindred ground—
Pilgrims toward better things to be,
By one high faith and purpose bound.

"The separating seas are crossed,
Each heart is understood of each;
On this our day of Pentecost
Faded out the lines of race and speech.

"One heritage alike we share,
Unspeakable and still more vast—
The widening thought, the hope, the prayer,
The nobler life of all the past.

"And one the goal to which we press
By toilsome paths as yet untrod—
Earth's longed-for reign of righteousness,
The shining city of our God.

"O thou through whom our fathers wrought,
From age to age our trust and stay,
Still keep us open to thy thought
And speed us on our pilgrim way "

Edward Everett Hale, the veteran Unitarian clergyman and chaplain of the United States Senate, was the principal speaker of the evening, and his plea for world-peace was received with thunderous applause.

At the Congress were representatives of four races and sixteen nations, and among the speakers were many distinguished exponents of the highest thought and noblest aspirations of the age.

THE POPE'S AMAZING ATTEMPT TO RECALL THE DARK AGES.

IF SEVEN years ago any leading Protestant thinker should have predicted that within ten years the Pope of Rome, speaking as the infallible head of a church numbering millions upon millions of votaries, would order the removal from professorships of great Catholic scholars in the church's educational institutions who accepted the evolutionary philosophy and the higher criticism,—would even forbid Catholics, priests or laity, to read

the master works of liberal Catholic thinkers, and should order a censorship to be established in every diocese, to pass upon published works which the clergy and the faithful might be permitted to read, that bold critic would have been promptly denounced by a large portion of the Catholic priesthood and clergy as an enemy of Catholicism who was striving to alarm the people by making them believe that any Pope in the twentieth century would

attempt to establish the old fourteenth century order of things. And yet that is precisely what has taken place. Hundreds of millions of people suddenly find that they can no longer read even the profound utterances of many of the greatest Catholic thinkers of the age. They must not use their God-given reason. A censorship must be placed on the literature. They can only read what this narrow-minded medieval priest, who happened to be elected to the Papal Chair and who now speaks as an infallible oracle, sees fit to let them read. Could there be a more startling illustration of the menace to civilization, progress and enlightenment of a church that persists in holding to a dogma which permits the judgment of one weak and narrow-visioned man to manacle the brains of millions of aspiring and truth-loving and seeking people?

It is not strange that the Pope's Encyclical has occasioned amazement throughout the more civilized countries of the world, or that the great secular and Protestant religious papers are outspoken in their wonderment. The *Springfield Republican*, after quoting the clauses relating to the removal of modernist professors and the establishment of the censorship, pertinently asks: "Is this the twentieth century or the fourteenth?"

Leading Italian organs are outspoken in their comments on this attempt to turn the dial hand backward. The great conservative journal, the *Giornale d'Italia*, says: "The Encyclical shows that the Vatican is incapable of keeping in harmony with modern civil society"; while another important Roman journal, the *Italia*, declares that, "it is the reconstruction of the Roman Inquisition."

One of the ablest reviews of the Encyclical that has appeared in America constitutes the editorial leader of the *New York Independent* for September 26th. It so admirably characterizes the sentiment of the best scholarship of the Protestant world, and in a large way the ideals of the profound liberal Catholic scholars who are now under the ban, that we quote from it at length. The *Independent* first points out that the Encyclical against Modernism "is the most important, the most ominous, event in the history of the Christian Church that has appeared since the declaration of the dogma of infallibility by the Vatican Council, and is likely to be even more important than that. A law like this, imposed on four hundred million souls, which absolutely forbids liberty of thought and research to the

teachers and scholars of the Church, is a matter of tremendous import. The weight of it is not in the fact that it condemns certain views, but that it forbids to the teachers of the Church the avenues through which any new truth must enter. So radical, so drastic a suppression of thought we could have hardly thought it possible to enact in this twentieth century.

"It forbids the clergy to read the books that teach what he calls Modernism. It strangles truth at its birth. It prohibits such doctrines to be taught in any Catholic seminary in which priests are taught, or to be read by any student. It does not allow the knowledge of the higher criticism to enter the seminaries, so as to come to the knowledge of the young men fitting for the priesthood. Any professors tainted with these doctrines are to be removed. A special and assigned set of studies is to be fixed at Rome for all the seminaries in the world. Modernism, which means particularly the Higher Criticism, is absolutely excluded. The bulk of the Protestant scholars hold and teach that Moses did not write the Pentateuch; the Pope has lately promulgated the teaching that there is no reason to believe he did not, and now, in no seminary or school or pulpit, and in no book or journal, can a Catholic scholar say that he did not write it. That this decree may be enforced the bishops are told that there must be a board of censors appointed in each diocese to see to it that no teaching of Modernism sees the light within their limits. Thus the eyes, ears and mouths of the clergy and laity are closed."

In reply to the question, whether or not it is at all probable that such prohibition can be effectual in the present state of enlightenment, the *Independent* holds that such is the sway of dogma over the brain of the Catholic world that, amazing and incredible as it seems to free-thinking Protestants, such is the mental subserviency of the Church that in all probability the order will be generally obeyed. It observes that:

"The clergy have been instructed from youth that they must think just as far as they are told to think and no further. If by any accident they have come to think and learn otherwise, they are silenced. If they go farther than pleases their superiors they are removed from their posts as teachers and sent to work in the Philippines or elsewhere,

where they have no chance to teach or to study. If they resist, their means of livelihood is taken from them, and that is usually effective, for what else can a middle-aged studious priest do than to serve in his office? Has not Father Tyrrell, left penniless, now submitted, and had his faculties, his exequatur, if we might call it so, now restored to him by the Pope? Now he can eat a piece of bread. The whole machinery of the Church can be put to work to enforce the prohibitions, for not a bishop, not a Catholic journal, will dare to utter a word of doubt or criticism. Every one is obliged to approve; and when those who know are silenced, how should the great unthinking many suspect that a shocking, a fatal yoke had been put on the Church?"

Among the great scholars and men whose deep research and broad education have shown them the errors of much that in more ignorant ages was accepted as truth, the few who like Père Loisy are sufficiently well off to live without any return from the office of priest will probably be true to the eternal demands of truth and will continue, despite the order to darken the brain and draw the shades over the windows of the soul, to be loyal to the dictates of conscience; but for the most part the priesthood of Rome will, the *Independent* holds, be forced by economic needs to remain mute.

"Père Loisy," the *Independent* declares, "has sufficient property of his own, so he can, and will, declare that no Pope can strangle his free thought. He will dare excommunication. He is about to publish not only a new book on the Gospels, which will go further than anything he has published before, but he will very soon issue a study on the Syllabus."

He, however, will be the exception to the rule, and the able writer, continuing, shows what will be the popular attitude of the most able priests in the Church—an attitude that is admirably expressed by a scholarly priest whose utterances are given at length.

"Others," says the *Independent*, "will groan in silence, or utter themselves frankly only in confidence. How they feel may be judged from portions of a letter written by a scholarly Catholic priest in full canonical standing to a Protestant friend, a copy of which has been shown us, with liberty to publish. He says:

"I can thoroughly understand your astonishment that priests should submit to the

stringent code that now coerces us. I often wonder at it myself. But, with enlightened priests, this submission is not owing to vows and promises made in ardent and unthinking youth. We submit to a great deal in order, by remaining in good standing within the Church, to help the movement for reform and change. If only we may spread a little light, and open a *few eyes to see it, we are willing to take the buffeting of ignorant despotism*. And then, besides, our wonder that more priests do not revolt against disgraceful intellectual Caesarism is considerably modified when we discover how few priests are in the smallest degree aware of the results and tendencies of modern scholarship. I have been amazed at the ignorance of priests. Theology, in its old scholastic sense, they know. But with regard to criticism proper, in the field of Scripture on Christian origins, nine-tenths of them are in a state of baptismal innocence. I doubt whether out of the twelve or fourteen thousand priests in this country you could unearth more than a hundred whose libraries contain Harnack, Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, or even Loisy. You may be sure our seminaries are taking care that this state of affairs shall continue. Let the eyes of earnest and intelligent priests once be opened, however, and there will be on this side of the water an explosion that will shake Rome's seven hills.

"But as soon as our few leaders—so mournfully few!—come to the conclusion that the needed reform is more than Rome will ever allow, they will cease throwing away their lives, cease living beneath the heel of ignorant medievalism, and will step forth into the liberty of a free conscience and an unshackled mind. Some of us, I think, are wondering if that day of sorrowful duty is not close at hand.

"Really, the intellectual situation is very critical within the fold of Roman Catholicism. Pius X. has brought in an era of reactionary repression which is worse than anything of the kind in the memory of living men. What will be the outcome for the Church, and for many individual children of the Church is a question which we are now asking with anguish. The *via media* between tradition and modern learning which Tyrrell and Loisy have thrown open to us is totally rejected by authority; and if we enter upon the road, our traveling must be done by night, so to speak; for a priest who would confess himself a disciple of this school would be

summarily disgraced. If Loisy dies excommunicated I fear that not a few of his disciples will come to a similar end."

The Pope, the *Independent* holds, "is guided by the Jesuits." He is a good man, but not a wise Pope; "one who believes that, as of old, Juno may sit cross-legged before the door to forbid the birth of illegitimate truth."

While all friends of enlightenment, science and civilization which waits on the truth seeker, and those who appreciate the fact that the reason is a priceless gift of the Cre-

ator, to be used in the service of truth and human progress, must regret the stand taken by the Pope, the result in the long run must be disastrous to the power of the hierarchy that holds to the dogma that a narrow-visioned old man, elected after a bitter contest to the office of Pope, can in the capacity of head of the church arbitrarily forbid millions of souls the right of freedom of inquiry and individual search for the great spiritual truths of the universe.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Municipal Lighting in 1907.

IN TWO articles recently published in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, Mr. Ernest S. Bradford, of the University of Pennsylvania, reviews the growth of municipal lighting in this country and sets forth the present situation of the movement so well that we quote him at length. Quoting the figures given in the Central Station List for 1907 on electric-lighting plants he says:

"In the United States as a whole, there are 3,305 private lighting plants and 1,096 municipal electric-lighting stations, listed for March, 1907. The growth of the business and its present condition is shown by the following table. It does not include power companies which do not furnish light, not mill plants lighting only a local mill or factory, nor holding companies owning stock of lighting corporations. In the municipal column are included five plants operated by colleges or universities, and supplying light to outside consumers, and a few plants owned by cities and leased to companies for operation.

GROWTH IN UNITED STATES OF MUNICIPAL AND PRIVATE ELECTRIC-LIGHT PLANTS.

YEAR	Municipal	Private	Total No.	Per cent. of Municipal Plants
1881	1	7	8	.....
1885	16	151	167	9.5
1890	137	872	1,009	13.5
1895	386	1,690	2,076	18.5
1900	710	2,514	3,224	22.02
1902	815	2,805	3,620	22.5
1905 (Sept.)...	988	3,076	4,064	24.3
1906 (March)...	1,050	3,234	4,284	24.4
1907 (March)...	1,096	3,305	4,401	24.9

"The percentage of large and small stations in the two lists is nearly the same. The following figures for 1906, which differ only slightly from those for 1907, show that 15 per cent. of the municipal plants, and 19 per cent. of the private plants are in villages of less than 1,000 population, while 77 per cent. of the municipal plants and 70 per cent. of the private plants are in places of 1,000 to 10,000.

PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL PLANTS IN SMALL AND LARGE CITIES (1906).

	Municipal Plants	Per cent.	Private Plants.	Per cent.
Villages of less than 1,000 population ..	160	15.4	592	19.3
Towns of from 1,000 to 10,000 population ..	808	77.6	2,160	70.1
Cities of over 10,000 population	73	7.0	328	10.6
Totals	1,041	100.0	3,080	100.0

"There were 73 cities in 1906 of over 10,000 population containing municipal electric-light stations, not including the City Destructor Plant in New York City. Some of the stations, however, were very small, as that in St. Louis, for example. Since 1906 a few more large cities have voted for municipal plants; but that private-ownership is the stronger in the large cities is apparent from the fact that 328, or more than four times as many cities of over 10,000, have private plants."

The above comparison is modified also by the fact that in the list of private plants it

sometimes occurs that a plant that is listed but once lights a number of towns while this is seldom true of municipal plants. On the other hand there are sometimes two or more private plants lighting the same city, each counting for one in the above table.

It is interesting to note the geography of the movement. The following table shows the distribution of municipal plants by states and the proportion in each state of municipal to private plants.

	Municipal Plants	Private Plants	Total Number	Percent of Municipal Plants
Alabama	19	28	47	40+
Arizona	0	16	16	
Arkansas	10	43	53	19-
California	13	116	129	10+
Colorado	3	59	62	5-
Connecticut	5	44	49	10+
Delaware	6	3	9	66+
District of Columbia	0	1	1	
Florida	11	25	36	30
Georgia	44	40	84	52+
Idaho	2	32	34	6+
Illinois	95	277	372	25+
Indiana	66	131	197	33+
Iowa	51	141	192	26+
Indian Territory	3	30	33	9+
Kansas	22	67	89	24+
Kentucky	14	63	77	18+
Louisiana	15	20	5	43+
Maine	3	64	67	4-
Maryland	6	26	32	19-
Massachusetts	22	88	110	20
Michigan	101	134	235	43-
Minnesota	88	62	150	58+
Mississippi	29	37	66	44-
Missouri	55	88	143	38+
Montana	1	28	29	3+
Nebraska	17	61	78	22-
Nevada	0	8	8	
New Hampshire	3	46	49	6+
New Jersey	7	77	84	8+
New Mexico	0	13	13	
New York	41	257	298	14-
North Carolina	27	35	62	43+
North Dakota	7	21	28	25
Ohio	100	167	267	37+
Oklahoma	6	15	21	28+
Oregon	10	47	57	17+
Pennsylvania	38	261	299	13+
Rhode Island	1	10	11	9+
South Carolina	14	28	42	33+
South Dakota	7	28	35	20
Tennessee	26	38	64	40+
Texas	10	187	197	5+
Utah	6	20	26	23+
Vermont	12	41	53	22-
Virginia	14	40	54	26+
Washington	10	61	71	14
West Virginia	6	41	47	14-
Wisconsin	50	120	170	30-
Wyoming	0	20	20	
Total in U. S.	1,096	3,305	4,401	24.9

the Southern group it is from 20 to 40 per cent., and in Minnesota as high as 58 per cent. "One hundred cities in Michigan and one hundred in Ohio are trying municipal-ownership. We ought soon to be able to decide whether it is a success."

Between 1881 and 1902 according to the Census Report 13 plants changed from municipal to private-ownership and 170 from private to municipal-ownership. Since 1902 the figures are incomplete but there are ten or twelve reported to have given up municipal-ownership and over one hundred to have been municipalized during this period.

The Special Census Report on Central Electric Light and Power Stations gives the capitalization of the municipal plants at one-twentieth of that of the private plants while the output of the municipal plants, measured by selling price, is one-eleventh of that of the private plants. Mr. Bradford estimates that at the present time these ratios are about one-fifteenth and one-eighth, respectively. This means that a dollar of municipal capital is producing twice as much electric current as a dollar of private capital.

There are no complete figures for gas plants since 1900. At that time there were 877 gas to 3,620 electric stations in the country, the total aggregate cost and income of each of the two industries being, singularly enough, about the same. Of the 877 coal and water-gas plants in 1900 only 15 were municipal. In the short space of seven years there has been an increase of only about 8 per cent. in the total number of plants and an increase of 100 per cent. in the number of those that are municipally-owned.

INCREASE OF GAS PLANTS, 1850-1907 (Table 3).

	Total Plants	Municipal Plants
1850	30	0
1860	221	2
1870	390	4
1880	No report	7
1890	742	9
1900	877	15
1906	940	30
1907	947	30

Mr. Bradford arranges the states in four groups and shows that while in the Eastern and Western groups the proportion of municipal plants is less than 20 per cent. of the whole, in the Mississippi Valley group and

In the following table Mr. Bradford shows the present distribution of gas plants by states, specifying acetylene and gasolene plants giving public-service, and the portion under municipal-ownership.

SUMMARY OF GAS PLANTS BY STATES.
(Table 4)*

	COAL AND WATER-GAS**		ACETYLENE		GASOLENE	
	Total	Munic.	Total	Munic.	Total	Munic.
Alabama	10	1	2	2		
Arizona	4					
Arkansas	5		1		1	
California	62	2	3			
Colorado	10		3			
Connecticut	22	1	6		1	
Dist. of Columbia	2					
Delaware	5		1			
Florida	11		5	5		
Georgia	12	2	3	2		
Idaho	2					
Illinois	58		3	1	8	3
Indiana	39		5	2		
Indian Territory	2					
Iowa	40		10	2	52	25
Kansas	7		8			
Kentucky	17	1				
Louisiana	2		1	1		
Maine	9		14			
Maryland	11		4			
Massachusetts	66	5	12			
Michigan	52	1	1		1	
Minnesota	18	4	6	3	18	15
Mississippi	24	1	4			
Missouri	3					
Montana	11		23	1	13	6
Nebraska	11					
Nevada	13		3			
New Hampshire	43		1			
New Jersey	2					
New Mexico	108	1	26	1	16	
New York	11					
North Carolina	3		6	2		
North Dakota	41	2	5			
Ohio	5		2			
Oklahoma	4					
Oregon	91	1	9			
Pennsylvania	6		1			
Rhode Island	4					
South Carolina	4					
South Dakota	6	2	5		3	2
Tennessee	8					
Texas	16		6		3	
Utah	2					
Vermont	10					
Virginia	11	5	9	1		
Washington	10		1			
West Virginia	6	1				
Wisconsin	32		2	1	14	10
Wyoming	1					
Totals	947	30	194	24	130	61

*Compiled from Brown's Directory of American Gas Companies, 1907.

**Includes a few oil-gas plants.

There are comparatively few municipal gas-works in the United States, only 30 out of 947 coal and water-gas plants, or 3 per cent., being so owned; while in the smaller places 25 out of 194 acetylene plants—about one-eighth—and 61 out of 130 gasolene gas-plants—nearly one-half—are operated by municipalities.

The same sections that have the most municipal electric lighting stations—the Middle West and the South—are the ones where municipal gas is being introduced, and here are the smaller places where gas-plants have never been introduced.

There is no disputing the very rapid growth

of the municipal-ownership movement in both gas and electric lighting, and it is doubtful that a subsidized press acting as a tool of a vicious campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood about this branch of civic activity can long keep these facts and their true significance from the knowledge of the people.

Brookings, South Dakota.

THE CITY OF Brookings, South Dakota, has many municipal industries which according to "Taxpayer" of that town "are equal to, if not the best, of their kind in the state." The first municipal enterprise the city undertook was electric lighting, purchasing a plant for that purpose from a stock company which had had poor returns on the money invested. The city was bonded for \$5,000 for the purchase of the plant in 1899. In 1901 a water-works plant was installed by the city at a cost of nearly \$50,000, and \$8,000 also expended upon the electric light plant. In 1903 the telephone exchange was bought and enlarged by the city, which was bonded for \$31,500 to meet this additional expense. When the city had in a former administration, granted a franchise to a local corporation, it had provided that the city should have a right to buy the exchange within a certain length of time. The telephone exchange is on a paying basis and gives service to four hundred residence telephones, over eighty business telephones and is also the exchange for long-distance and rural lines, it getting a percentage of the business for making connections, furnishing assistance and the like. In 1903, also, the city established municipal heating and now many of the business blocks and the school buildings are heated from the central plant and as steam pressure had to be kept up during the day it was thought best to utilize the exhaust steam in this way from the power plant. At the present time the water-works system is being completed at an expense of \$20,000 and a complete sewer system being installed. Of this latter \$15,000 of the expense is being met by an issue of bonds and the remainder, \$75,000, is to be raised by direct taxation as provided by state law. The city allows the water-works fund a rental for each hydrant of \$75.00 per year. This more than covers the interest on the entire water-works plant; the city also allows the electric light fund \$3,000 per year for street lighting and this more than pays the

interest on its indebtedness. The electric light and water-works systems are more than self-sustaining by receiving the usual rentals. The sewerage system is cared for by the municipality as is customary. The heating system has not been developed far enough to predict its financial success but it has been giving great satisfaction to its users.

Grove City, Pennsylvania.

THE PEOPLE of Grove City, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, have voted to install a municipal electric light plant. The town has owned its own water-works plant for some time, and although the plant cost but \$25,000, it has been so successful and flourishing that there is a standing offer to sell the plant to private corporations for \$100,000. By analysis the water has been proved to be the best in the state, and costs the average family of seven persons but \$5 per year for an eight-room house, with bathroom, laundry, and hot and cold water in the kitchen. All streets in the town have water privileges and the borough has accumulated a sinking fund. The electric light plant can be installed for about half of the amount it would cost a corporation, as the power to operate it is ready, and also a building which can be utilized. The city council is not required to install the plant at once, but the probabilities are that it will be built in the early spring.

Electric Rates in Iowa.

AN INVESTIGATION of electric lighting rates in Iowa cities of from 2,000 to 5,000 population was made during 1906 by Hon. J. P. Minchen of Carroll, Iowa, and his report in *American Municipalities* brings out some vivid contrasts between rates charged by private and public plants.

In the city of Atlantic (population 4,890) a private company lights the streets with 15 arcs at a cost of \$72 per year each; while Webster City (population 4,797) owns its own plant and lights its streets with 15 arcs

under practically the same schedule at a cost of \$4 each, the expense being covered by the profits on light furnished to private consumers by the city's plant.

Funerals in Paris.

ON THE first of January, 1907, the municipality of Paris took upon itself the operation of its own funerals. Previous to this the disposal of the dead had been entrusted to a corporation under municipal control. The municipality deals directly with the undertakers, of which there are about forty in the city, who obtain from the municipal bureau coffins, bearers, transport wagons, carriages, pallbearers, and material for draping houses of mourning. The prices paid for these commodities are fixed by ordinance. There is a crematory where bodies may be cremated at from \$10 up, with \$6 fees, a two-dollar coffin and an earthenware jar for \$2.50. The city furnishes all these, and also sells a five-year grave for \$10. At the end of five years it is ready for a new tenant.

Dr. Herezeg's View.

DR. HEREZEG, special commissioner of the royal Hungarian Government, has been in this country several months investigating railroad methods. He has been quoted as saying: "There is both danger and injustice in giving over to any man, group of men or class the railways of any country." Naturally, he is an ardent advocate of government-ownership of all transportation facilities.

For Government Telegraphs.

THE Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Norfolk, Virginia, recently, created a fund to promulgate the idea of government-ownership of telegraph lines, and requested President Roosevelt and Congress to make investigations regarding the cost of buying up the telegraph lines for that purpose.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

Santa Barbara, California.

A STRONG campaign has been made by the friends of direct-legislation in Santa Barbara for the adoption of the initiative and referendum and recall as an amendment to the city charter. The petition to secure the placing of this amendment upon the ballot for the election in December was signed by 25 per cent. more voters than necessary, and there is every reason to believe that Santa Barbara will follow the other progressive cities of California in ratifying the amendment, although the "push politicians" are making a strong opposition and the paper which is known to be the organ of the Republican city machine is making itself grotesque in its efforts to cast discredit upon the reform. A similar effort to amend the city charter was defeated a few years ago by this same political ring, but Southern California has seen direct-legislation at work since that time and the situation is consequently greatly changed in favor of the measure. The initiative and referendum are in operation now in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Riverside, San Diego, Long Beach, Santa Monica, Fresno, Vallejo, Alameda, Eureka, and Sacramento, and in all these except the last two the recall is in effect.

The Initiative on The Port of Columbia.

THE Supreme Court of Oregon has ruled that the act of the recent legislature creating the Port of Columbia as a municipal corporation was unconstitutional. The purpose of the act was to include the counties of Multnomah, Clatsop and Columbia in the Port to improve the towage and pilotage service on the lower Columbia River. The suit was friendly and merely formal. The disappointed citizens however have a way to get what they want. They can overcome the constitutional obstacle by having recourse to the initiative which is provided for in the Oregon Constitution in the following terms:

"The initiative and referendum powers reserved to the people by the constitution are

hereby further reserved to the legal voters of every municipality and district, as to all local, special and municipal legislation, of every character, in or for their respective municipalities and districts."

The initiative petition which will put the new act on the ballot will contain 1,800 names.

Oregon Referendum This Year.

THE Oregon Supreme Court has reversed the decision of the Circuit Court which had declared all of this year's referendum petitions invalid, and the referendums will be voted upon at the coming election. The measures in question are:

1. The University of Oregon bill, appropriating \$125,000 annually.
2. The compulsory pass bill.
3. The act giving the sheriff of Multnomah county custody and control of the prisoners in the jail.

The petitions demanding referendums on these bills were filed in May but were held up by injunctions sustained by the lower court. This decision of the Supreme Court is one more victory for the Oregon law.

U'Ren for Senator.

REPORT comes from Oregon that Mr. W. S. U'Ren, "father of the initiative and referendum" in that state, is a much talked of man in connection with the United States Senatorship. No better selection could possibly be made and every democratic Democrat as well as every democratic Republican in the country will rejoice in the event that Oregon does herself so great an honor. When interviewed on the subject Mr. U'Ren said:

"For the present I have other things to occupy my attention and to which I am devoting my spare time. There are three measures that failed of adoption by the last Legislature which I hope to see submitted to a vote of the people at the next election, and I am now working to get these ready. They are the corrupt practices act, the proportional representation amendment and the recall.

The corrupt practices act is to regulate the expenditure of money in political campaigns. The proportional representation measure provides for expression of first, second and third choices at elections, so that a minority party can secure representation in proportion to its numbers. The recall gives the people power to depose unfaithful public servants. When these three measures have been adopted I think it will be beyond the power of any man or set of men to build up a political machine.

"Of course I would like to go to the United States Senate from Oregon. I think I would enjoy working there with such men as La Follette. I have no doubt that Mr. Bourne and myself could work together in the Senate in harmony and for the best interests of the State.

"But whether I shall be a candidate at the next election remains to be determined."

The Chicago Charter Killed.

THE CITIZENS of Chicago have again spoken through the referendum on the right side in a great public issue. That perfect piece of plutocratic word-juggling known as the New Chicago City Charter, prepared by a ruling majority of traction ring henchmen, duly passed by a Republican legislature of the same sort of misrepresentatives, and praised to the skies by the *Busse-Tribune* crowd of school-land grabbers and "financiers" was buried by a majority of over 62,000. One of the chief purposes of these charter boomers was to stop or at least limit the use of the referendum which becomes more and more obnoxious to them and their purposes.

Oklahoma Constitution Ratified.

THE NEW Oklahoma Constitution with its splendid provisions for direct-legislation which has been detailed in previous issues of *THE ARENA* was ratified by an overwhelming vote of the people on September 17th. President Roosevelt's "butting in" and Secretary Taft's plutocratic opposition and semi-official threat against this feature of the constitution did not avail either to terrify the voters nor to befuddle them as to the nature of a truly representative government. It has been officially announced from Washington that President Roosevelt will sign the constitution.

Grand Rapids Power Franchise.

THE VOTERS of Grand Rapids have de-

manded a referendum on the franchise that was given to the Grand Rapids-Muskegon Power Company by the Common Council in July. Among the signers to the demand were many of the most prominent business men of the city.

Contest Over Wilmington's Law.

THE LIQUOR dealers of Wilmington, fearing the city will "go dry" at the next election, are attempting to establish the unconstitutionality of the law providing for the referendum on the liquor business.

An Oregon Tax Initiative.

THE Oregon Tax Reform Association, H. D. Wagnon, president, 603 Sixth street, Portland, Oregon, asks advice from all sources as to which of the following questions to submit to popular initiative at the next State election: (1) Local option in taxation; (2) exemption from taxation of manufacturing plants; (3) exemption from taxation of household furniture and all improvements upon residence and farm property.

New York Towns Voting.

IN SPECIAL elections held Monday afternoon in Fishkill Landing and Matteawan the proposition to combine the two villages was defeated. In Fishkill Landing there was a majority of 84 against uniting. Matteawan gave a majority of 14 in favor of consolidating. For the proposition to become effective it was necessary that both villages vote in favor of it. Women were not permitted to vote.

Suffragists on The Right Track.

"MEMBERS of the State Equal Suffrage Association, assembled in convocation, decided to-day not to urge the insertion of an equal suffrage clause in the new constitution, but to endeavor to secure a clause providing for the initiative and referendum. The association will maintain a lobby at the 'con-con' to work to that end.

"If we secure the insertion of such a clause," said one suffragist to-day, "we will have taken a long step in the right direction."

"It was announced to-day that Rev. Anna Shaw of Boston will address the constitutional convention speaking in favor of the initiative and referendum."—From the Battle Creek, Michigan, *Enquirer*, September 21, 1907.

Ohio Grangers.

! AT Orewell, Ohio, September 19th the County Grange held a big meeting at which by a unanimous standing vote it passed a resolution endorsing the Initiative and Referendum for governmental affairs and requested representatives of the district in the Legislature to vote for it. A committee was appointed to present the resolution to the state senators and representatives.

Direct-Legislation Speakers.

PUBLIC speakers for the initiative and referendum are requested to send in their names and addresses, for publication. In eastern Pennsylvania Professor J. W. Riddle, Jr., of the Political Science Department of Ursinus College, Collegeville, an experienced platform speaker, can be secured.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

Oregon.

THE IMPORTANT news comes from Oregon that an initiative petition has been prepared and will be launched this autumn, providing for Proportional Representation in all legislative and municipal elections throughout the state, including the primaries, also for preferential voting on the absolute majority plan for the election of all single officers, primaries included.

It was thought that the system chosen ought to provide for a uniform method of voting both for single officers, such as governor, and for representatives, such as members of the legislature. A very simple system was also desired. These requirements are met by the Gove plan, which accordingly has been chosen as the one to be submitted to the people. It is provided for in a schedule. The amendment proper provides only for the principle of proportional and preferential voting.

Briefly put, the provisions of the schedule are as follows:

Within three days after nomination each candidate may file a list of not more than two other candidates to whom he requests that any votes be transferred from him which cannot be used for his own election. These two candidates may be put second and third in order of preference, or as equal second choices, in which latter case the one having himself the larger number of votes is preferred. The list of each candidate is printed on the ballot along with his own name in the space allotted to him.

Each elector has one vote only.

In single officer elections, the votes for each candidate are first counted. If no candidate has a majority on first count, the lowest candidates are successively eliminated, and their votes transferred according to their lists, until some one gets a majority.

In other elections a "quota" is got in the simplest way: that is, dividing the number of votes by the number of seats to be filled. The surplus of any candidate above a quota is transferred according to his list. Then the lowest candidates are successively eliminated and all their votes similarly transferred, until there remain only enough candidates to fill the seats.

Following the schedule is a statement of facts and reasons for the adoption of proportional and preferential voting, concluding with two illustrations of the working of the new methods.

Great Britain.

THE Proportional Representation Society has printed in pamphlet form Lord Courtney's speech in the House of Lords when introducing the bill giving municipalities the option of using Proportional Representation in their elections.

MR. Keir Hardie, the popular labor leader, is a member of the Proportional Representation Society.

THE Metropolitan Counties Branch of the British Medical Association has adopted the Hare system for the election of its four vice-presidents and six delegates to the Council, and the system was used for the first time

recently with full success. About eight hundred members voted.

A BLUE BOOK of 144 pages has been issued by Parliament, the title of which is: "Reports from His Majesty's Representatives in Foreign Countries and in British Colonies respecting the application of the principle of Proportional Representation to Public Elections." These Reports were sent by British legations in response to a circular letter from Earl Grey, and contain much valuable and authentic data. The Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League (10 Harbord street, Toronto) has spare copies.

Australia.

MISS SPENCE writes:

"I am getting inquiries for Proportional Representation literature from West Australia. A journal there, the *West Australian*, is strongly advocating effective voting, and both by editorials and correspondence is keeping the Proportional Representation question before the public. The *West Australian* is edited by a man who was in the office of the *Adelaide Advertiser*, with Mr. Young, and he got well indoctrinated in the paramount importance of electoral reform.

"I was asked for literature for a lecture and test election at a township in the district of Stanley, 166 miles north of Adelaide. The former member of parliament, a good Proportionalist, died recently, and the by-election resulted in the election of Kenneth W. Duncan, who is also a good Proportionalist, and a liberal like his predecessor.

"The labor party has been so successful lately that Proportional Representation is not very popular with them. They seem to think that the bridge that carries them triumphantly over must be an excellent bridge. Proportional Representation was always an open question with all our political parties, but the conservatives are more disposed to favor it now than they were."

Finland, Sweden, Holland.

THE LITTLE state of Finland has passed through a general election, based, however, upon a system of Proportional Representation, with the result not merely that every party has received neither more nor less than

its due share of parliamentary influence, but that the bitterness of political strife has been attenuated and its sincerity increased. As our Helsingfors correspondent pointed out in an article some weeks ago, under the old system of single-member constituencies the Finnish Parliament would have been given up to a barren war of nationalities instead of to the fruitful work of social reform.

THERE is every probability that Sweden and Holland will soon follow in the footsteps of Finland, Belgium and Switzerland. The Swedish Parliament is already engaged in considering a comprehensive measure which includes provisions for Proportional Representation, while in Holland—which this year has been passing through a constitutional crisis owing to the unrepresentative character of its upper house—an electoral commission has reported in favor of a like reform.

Four Election Reforms.

HIS HONOR, Judge Ruppenthal, of Russell, Kansas, a member of the American Proportional Representation League, is the author of an article entitled *Election Reforms: The Trend Toward Democracy*. It was first delivered as a paper before the Kansas Bar Association before Mr. Ruppenthal's elevation to the bench.

The author refers to four recent lines of advance in election reforms:

1. Securing the voter against fraud and intimidation;
 2. Extension of the franchise.
 3. The Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, and direct primary nominations.
 4. Proportional Representation.
- The third of these subjects, itself in three subdivisions, occupies most space.

In Illinois cumulative voting is in use now for the election of members of the House of Representatives of the state, and has been since 1870, three-member districts being used.

Preferential voting for the election of single officers is also referred to. The last foot-note in the book gives a striking instance of the need for this reform, together with some equally convincing figures showing the unproportional results of elections in Kansas since 1890.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Can.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America

Italian Co-operation in Missouri.

IN THE outskirts of St. Louis there is a settlement of Italians from Northern Italy who have a coöperative provision store, shoe store, a club, an insurance company, and a band. The grocery store, which has the ponderous title of the North Italian American Coöperative Store, was organized nearly eleven years ago by Cesar Oldani, who persuaded about 200 of his fellow-countrymen to organize the store company, each paying in a fee of \$3, and with the resulting \$600 they opened the coöperative store. The members, of which there are at present 950, buy on credit but are required to settle their accounts twice a month. They elect their own officers and store manager, have a sick benefit, and share in the dividends, which amount yearly to \$12 or \$15 a family. From the beginning the store has been a great success and the average business is about \$11,000 a month. Thirteen clerks and a manager, all of whom are share-holders, are kept busy from early morning until late at night. The prices of meats and vegetables are much lower than the average prevailing prices, and in speaking of the business integrity of the store a representative of a St. Louis grocery supply house said: "I always know that I am going to do a big business when I come to the coöperative store. They pay the house the day required and never in any way cause trouble. From my point-of-view it is a model establishment."

The success of the grocery store inspired the Italians to further efforts, and but a short time after the organization of the store the Coöperative Club was formed, composed of a saloon and dancing hall. A shoe store was added, and also the insurance company, which has a sick benefit, and in the case of the death of husband or father \$500 is given to the family. The coöperative band, which is known as the North Italian America Band, is an organization of twenty-six instruments. It gives free concerts Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons, and makes

many trips to small towns around St. Louis. The band is supported by the colony.

Only the natives from Northern Italy subscribe to the coöperative store. Others can buy at the store and at the same price, but are required to pay cash.

The N. O. Nelson Company Plans a New Co-operative Town.

THE N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company of St. Louis is planning to build a second city for the use of its employes, the other city at Leclair being well known to interested coöperators. The venture is to be made in the suburbs of St. Louis, where the company has purchased a tract of twenty-three acres of residence property, just west of the beautiful Delmas Garden. No factory is to be built on the new site, nor will one be allowed on the grounds, as this city is to be exclusively for residences. Houses to accommodate the mechanics and workmen of ordinary means will be built and sold on the monthly installment plan, with practically no interest. There is room on the tract for about 100 homes, each on a lot with a frontage of 50 feet. All lots are to be sold to the employes, based on the price of \$600 per acre, which was the price paid for the tract by the Nelson Company; and this price, with the actual cost of the construction of the houses, is all that the purchasers will be required to pay.

Producers' and Consumers' International Equity Union and Co-operative Exchange.

AN ORGANIZATION known as the Producers' and Consumers International Equity Union and Coöperative Exchange has been effected in Chicago, the purpose of which is to form a large central association with which the various other coöperative farmers' associations will affiliate. The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, with 2,000,000 members, the American Society of Equity, with 300,000, and the Granges, with 700,000 members, are expected to coöperate with the

new company. It is incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, with a capital stock of \$1,000,000, in shares of \$1 each. Rev. John F. Tuohy of St. Louis, who is connected with the American Society of Equity, is secretary of the Union and holds 1,900 shares. The president is George W. Wickline of St. Louis; the vice-president and organizer, John Mulholland of Indianapolis; and the treasurer is Thomas Emmerton of Wisconsin. The Union aims to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor and subordinate unions and to provide representation in city, state, national and international orders of organized workmen.

Co-operative Insurance in Minnesota.

THE Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Minnesota Insurance Commissioner bears witness to the great growth made by township mutual insurance companies since 1878 when the amount of insurance in force was \$923,678, with an average cost per \$100 of fourteen cents, as against a total amount of \$199,979,610 insurance in force in 1906, and a cost per \$100 of seventeen cents. There are 145 of these companies in the state, insuring a property valuation of more than \$200,000,000. The figures showing the cost of insurance in mutual companies as compared with the cost in the joint companies are exceedingly interesting, the rate in the mutuals being 24 cents per \$100 and the rate in the other companies being \$1 for each \$100.

Co-operation Between Farmers and Labor Unions.

THE PLAN advocated by the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America and the American Society of Equity, for industrial coöperation between the farmers and the labor union men, is finding its way into the Eastern states. The farmers in the vicinity of Newburgh, Orange county, New York, have organized themselves into an association called the Orange County Union, and their purpose is to sell direct to the consumers and thus eliminate the middleman. In order to secure the coöperation of the labor interests the farmers have asked to join the Central Labor Union. The union men of Newburgh are enthusiastic over the project, but are not a little perplexed as to the proper way of labeling the products of the farmers' organization.

News Notes.

A PEOPLE'S Coöperative Brewing Association has been organized at New Orleans, Louisiana, with a capital stock of \$100,000, divided into 20,000 shares of \$5 each. No subscriber may take more than two shares.

THE POPULARITY of coöperative apartment houses seems to be constantly increasing. Several new buildings have been erected on the west side of New York, which are to rent for about \$2,500 per year on an average. The houses are said to rival in architecture, comfort and finish anything of similar style produced for the same amount of money.

A NUMBER of educators, newspaper men and business men recently met in Nashville, Tennessee, and organized the Coöperative Educational Association for the purpose of arousing public sentiment in favor of better schools and in generally promoting the educational interests of Tennessee. The Association has formally asked all the county superintendents and boards of education throughout Tennessee to aid in organizing a branch of the Coöperative Association in every county in the state.

A MUTUAL insurance benefit association has been formed in Washington, District of Columbia, in the interests of the government employes, which is known as the Employes Relief and Coöperative Association. A membership of 3,000 is enrolled. A novel feature of the organization is the bonding of the officers in sums varying from \$10,000 to \$50,000.

A CO-OPERATIVE bank and trust company has been organized at Guthrie, Oklahoma, membership in which is limited to farmers' coöperative societies and labor unions. It has been chartered with a capital subscribed of \$200,000 and its managers claim that it will conduct the business of 100,000 farmers. It is expected that by distributing all the earnings it will noticeably lessen the interest rates to the stockholders.

The Republic Belting and Supply Company of Cleveland, Ohio, has recently instituted a coöperative and profit-sharing plan, by which the employes are given the opportunity to subscribe to the company's preferred stock at the rate of \$1 per month, and in addition an annual bonus is paid to employes based on the wages paid and number of years employed.

At No. 444 West 23d street, New York City, is a house known as the Coöperato for working girls earning salaries under eight dollars. The girls contribute half their wages to the house, for room and board, and in addition assist coöperatively in the work. The Coöperato was started fourteen years ago, with four girls, the largest of whose salaries was four dollars, and at present it accommodates forty persons.

A NEW company to be operated in behalf of the striking miners of the iron range has been organized in Duluth, Minnesota. It is to be known as the National Coöperative Mercantile Company and has an authorized capital of \$100,000.

THE Farmers' Coöperative and Educational Union in convention in Arkansas fixed the prices to be paid for their cotton and grain. It is an encouraging sign of progress when farmers learn that by coöperation they may demand their own price, and then do so.

THERE is a Retail Merchants' Association in York, Pennsylvania, that is employing a system of coöperatively shipping small packages and thus evading excessive charges by the express companies upon small individual packages.

THE Brooklyn Central Labor Union is intending to follow out the plan of the American Society of Equity in bringing farmers and fishermen in direct touch with its members, and so bringing the products to the consumer with as little cost of transaction as possible. This plan is coming to be more and more generally adopted throughout the United States, chiefly in the vicinity of Chicago. The promoters of the plan in the Central Labor Union are very desirous of extending it further and instituting coöperative garment workers' shops, shoe shops, carpentering and paint shops under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

THE Boston Coöperative Building Association is managing several tenements in one of the poorer sections of Boston, on Harrison avenue. These dwellings have inner courts of trees and grass and a few shrubs, and are so arranged as to give the greatest possible

amount of fresh air, so welcome to the inhabitants of the more crowded sections of the city. The buildings are most carefully cared for and are kept in a clean and wholesome condition.

A UNIQUE venture into the field of coöperation is being made in Chicago, where a coöperative theater has been opened at Twenty-second and Troy streets, by the Actors' Union for the benefit of stranded players, the number of which in Chicago is said to be four thousand. The enterprise is such a great success that the Union is planning to engage more halls and establish a circuit of coöperative playhouses in the city.

THE Coöperative Boot and Shoe Company of Brockton, Massachusetts, is doing a very enterprising business. Their factory is crowded in every department with fall orders, and the output is taxed to its fullest capacity.

THE MEMBERSHIP of the Coöperative Guild of Washington, District of Columbia, still continues to increase, and the plan is meeting with marked success. One of the pleasing results thus far reported is the reduction in the price of coal from the prevailing rate by local dealers who have put in bids to supply the members of the Guild with their winter's supply. The only paid officer of the association is its auditor, who receives compensation only for the time spent attending to the accounts. The profits are shared *pro rata*.

THE MEMBERS of the local cigarmakers' union of Albany, New York, are planning to start a coöperative cigar factory. The men have been on strike for several months, and no settlement is apparent. The secretary of the Union states that there are twenty or more men in the Union who are ready to combine their capital in starting a factory.

A CO-OPERATIVE savings and loan association has been organized in Trenton, New Jersey, at the suggestion of the Trenton Board of Trade. The fifty-five shares were taken at the first meeting. The association is intended to be particularly helpful in providing for coöperative home building for persons of moderate means.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

MARK TWAIN'S ATTACK ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

PART I.

MARK TWAIN is preëminent among the living humorous writers. No mirth-provoking author has contributed so much to the genuine pleasure of the reading public as the author of *Innocents Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. He has also enriched our literature not a little with serious contributions, chief among which is his really fine work on Joan of Arc.

But in the realm of serious literature he has labored under a double handicap. I remember, a number of years ago, after Mark Twain had written some serious essays on automatic writing or telepathy, subjects which at that time engrossed his attention, I was discussing some favorite authors with a well-known young writer, and he remarked that the unrivaled humorist felt keenly the fact that the reading-public was loath to take him seriously. The great majority of readers had become so accustomed to look for humor and satire in anything that came from his pen that they refused to take him seriously when he was in earnest. This is a penalty all humorists have to pay if they step beyond the field in which they have made their reputation. The people, accustomed to look for the ridiculous, mistake the gravity of the author for an assumption of seriousness, or veiled satire, or they turn from him as unprofitable, for they are not willing to regard their witty or humorous favorite as an oracle.

To this drawback must be added a fault on the author's part that impairs his work with deeply thoughtful, conscientious and discriminating readers when he attempts serious writing, and especially when he assumes the rôle of a critic. From long indulgence in exaggeration, hyperbole and a certain reckless handling of words for

surprising or picturesque and amusing effects, our author has, perhaps naturally enough, contracted a pernicious habit that manifests itself in license or intemperance in expression, that when employed in other than humorous compositions is to say the least extremely unfortunate. His sense of moral proportion at times seems seriously impaired. He often lapses into exaggeration and hyperbole that though picturesque in effect does grave injustice to earnest, high-minded men and women or to the subject with which he is concerned. In other words, he carries into his serious or critical writing some of the most striking characteristics of his humorous composition.

Professor William L. Phelps of Yale College, in a recent exceedingly laudatory article on Mark Twain in the *North American Review*, points out leading characteristics of his subject's writings, among which are the following:

"The essence of Mark Twain's humor is incongruity. . . . Exaggeration—deliberate enormous hyperbole—is another feature. . . . He is doubtless sometimes flat, sometimes coarse."

It is perhaps not strange, but it is regrettable, that all these faults, inadmissible in a serious critical work, should be glaringly present in Mark Twain's latest work, in which he discusses Christian Science. This tendency to intellectual lawlessness, though not particularly objectionable in fiction, written simply to amuse—impersonal matter not concerned with actual persons or with any weighty theme—becomes little less than morally criminal when the subject of attack is a venerable woman through whose writings tens and hundreds of thousands of people claim to have been brought from the lowest hells of physical and mental suffering and moral degradation, to the plains of happiness, peace, contentment and moral and mental sanity, or the religious belief of a multitude of serious-minded men and women. And it is this lack of discrimination, which is probably due chiefly to the influence of habit

*"Christian Science." By Mark Twain. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price, \$1.75. New York: Harper & Brothers.

formed by the author's long years devoted to humorous writing, that constitutes one of the gravest criticisms of his volume on Christian Science in which a sweeping attack is made and the subject is frequently treated in a flippant and humorous manner.

The introductory chapter in this volume appeared a few years ago in a well-known magazine, and at that time Herbert E. Cushman, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in Tufts College, in commenting upon this attempt to ridicule the new religious belief, said:

"The question naturally arises, after reading such a caricature, Can not any thing, any body, any doctrine, be caricatured? Is there any existing thing that does not have apparent inconsistencies? A caricature is always merely negative, and therefore is not convincing. Indeed, if one is not on pleasure bent, but is seeking serious information on any matter, intentional levity, especially in the case of a deep religious concern, is resented.

"We must remember that we cannot afford to deal with a matter of this sort other than seriously;—if for no other reason, because to a large number of earnest-minded people it is a matter of religion. For our own sakes, indeed, we can never afford to treat any religious or philosophical belief in other than the mood in which the devotees themselves accept it."

This is one of the grave charges that can be justly brought against the work in question. It ignores the fact that this religious message has transformed the world for tens of thousands of weary, heavy-laden and disease-bound mortals; that it has brought a new and great hope into their lives, changing night into day, bitterness into sweetness, despair into sure and abiding hope and trust.

Of all works that have appeared in recent years, this is, we think, the strangest admixture of levity and seriousness, of flippancy and buffoonery and apparent earnestness and conviction, of honest admission and reckless attempts to fan into flame the religious prejudices of the people. Here we are constantly confronted with amazing and illogical appeals unworthy of any sound reasoner, but advanced with consummate literary skill, and with a wizard's power in manipulating words so as to make less apparent the impiricism and sophistry that mark its pages.

The book abounds in what may be characterized as intellectual antitheses which are bewildering in their influence on the mind. Thus, for example, before an attack on the Christian Science organization and a frenzied alarmist cry indulged in for the palpable purpose of awakening the fears and arousing the religious bigotry and prejudice of the older churches, Mark Twain admits the tremendous work that Christian Science is doing in changing for its tens of thousands of believers the world in which they live, making them well in body and happy and contented in mind. He even goes so far as to express his deliberate belief that Christian Science can banish four-fifths of the pain and disease of the race;* that no other organized force that he knows of could do this; and that to do this would be to make a new world—a pleasanter one for the well people as well as for the sick. He further declares that as a rule they (the Christian Scientists) "seem drunk with health, and with the surprise of it, the wonder of it."[†]

Again he quotes a Baptist clergyman and comments favorably on his contrast between the ordinary orthodox Christian and the Christian Scientist.

The Baptist clergyman, says our author, "gives us this true picture of 'the average orthodox Christian'—and he could have added that it is a true picture of the average (civilized) human being:

"'He is a worried and fretted and fearful man; afraid of himself and his propensities, afraid of colds and fevers, afraid of treading on serpents or drinking deadly things.'

"Then he gives us this contrast:

"'The average Christian Scientist has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. He does have a victory over fear and care that is not achieved by the average orthodox Christian.'

"*He has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet.* What proportion of your earnings or income would you be willing to pay for that frame of mind, year in, year out? It really outvalues any price that can be put upon it. Where can you purchase it, at any outlay of any sort, in any Church or out of it, except the Scientist's?"[‡]

A little further on in his work we find the author strenuously attacking the Christian

*See *Christian Science*, by Mark Twain, p. 53.

[†]*Ibid.*, p. 55.

[‡]*Christian Science*, p. 54.

organization or the governing board of the Christian Science church, that is so successfully directing the great work of the organization. And next we see him in the rôle of an alarmist, conjuring up fearsome bogies and dangling them before the great orthodox churches. True, the organization which according to Mark Twain, if left alone, would rid the world of four-fifths of its pain and disease, is not yet formidable enough to arouse the ever-sensitive fear of the great body of conventional religionists to such a degree as to fan into flame religious bigotry and intolerance and that unreasoning religious prejudice which as organized opposition has fought every advance step in the history of the world; that opposition which brought Jesus to the cross; that lit the fires of the Inquisition; that persecuted and put to death the Quakers; that banished the Baptists from Massachusetts Colony; and that so bitterly fought the discoveries of Galileo and Copernicus, of Newton and Darwin.

Our critic, seeing the futility of attempting to marshal the opposition of the older churches against Christian Science by confining himself to facts or describing things as they are to-day, indulges in prophecy, and from the conclusions based on this prophecy he appeals to the religious fears and prejudices. The cloud which to-day is small as a man's hand he believes will rapidly spread until it covers the earth. Thus he predicts that Christian Science by 1920 will have ten million adherents in America, and three million in England; that by 1940 the organization will dominate the religious situation in America and be "the governing power in the Republic, —to remain that, permanently."*

What a fearful prospect Mark Twain here unfolds before his readers, picturing the rapid growth of a power that the author declares would rid the world of four-fifths of its pain and disease, that would make the people drunk with health, that would fill their hearts with contentment and happiness instead of with bitterness and inharmony.

Perhaps our author felt that this sketch of the rapid growth of this church, which he had thus described, would fail of its desired purpose, for he next presents a dire spectacle of the church as he conceives it would be, as the "most insolent and unscrupulous and tyrannical politico-religious master that has

dominated a people since the palmy days of the Inquisition."†

Here is an organization whose mission is to make life pure, sweet, happy and contented and which can, according to our author, take from the world four-fifths of its pain and disease,—a church whose master appeal to men is to live a just, pure and loving life,—represented as being irresponsible, tyrannical, unscrupulous, sly, deep and judicious; and more than that, with all these evil attributes apparent to as casual an observer as Mark Twain, it will nevertheless sweep the land and become the dominant religious order before our century reaches its meridian.

Let us look at this question calmly and fairly and also consider the unique course of special pleading by which Mark Twain arrives at his astounding conclusion. If a religion is to make any great headway in a land of universal education, or even where there is a reasonable degree of intellectual activity, it must possess certain great factors or make powerful appeals to life on some of its chief motor planes. True, after a religion has won over a great proportion of the people and become a large and influential factor in national life, the power of environment and deep-seated inherited religious prejudice is a tremendous factor to be reckoned with. Thus, for example, if we were considering the probable growth of the Methodist, the Baptist or the Catholic churches, each of which numbers many millions of adherents in the Republic the question of environment would have to be considered as one of the powerful factors, and hand in hand with it would be the deep-seated prejudice imbibed from the cradle. But in considering a new religious organization and its appeal to the public, we find the vast weight of environment naturally and inevitably arrayed against it, so as a factor to be taken into consideration it must be reckoned *against* and not *for* the new religion.

Now let us consider the factors that must be dominant in any effective appeal made by a new religion to the intellect and conscience of an enlightened people.

(1) It must appeal to the spiritual or moral sides of life. It must answer the hunger of the soul by satisfying the cravings and aspirations of the higher nature. It must appeal to the moral idealism, that mighty fulcrum for

**Christian Science*, p. 72.

†*Ibid.*, p. 72.

human upliftment. It must give peace, happiness, contentment, and carry a conviction of truth with it; or (2) it must appeal with irresistible force to the rationality of man as a system of thought dealing with life, its development and laws of conduct as probably true and helpful for the best interests of men and nations; or (3) it must powerfully appeal to the esthetic, dramatic or purely emotional sides of life, as does the gorgeous and impressive ritual of the Roman church on the one hand, or as did the message proclaimed by Wesley and Whitefield in the early days of Methodism.

Now in regard to this last factor, it will be clearly seen that it has no important bearing on Christian Science, for the latter church makes no strong appeal to the esthetic and dramatic tastes. Indeed, it does not even offer the attraction of pulpit eloquence, which is a strong influence in most Protestant denominations. The service is severely plain, —next to the Quakers probably the plainest of that of any religious organization. It indulges in no revival meetings or appeals to the emotional side of life, so that the only two factors that can be legitimately considered as exerting an overpowering influence are those of its appeal "to the spiritual or the intellectual sides of life."

True, the healing which follows is probably one of the chief factors, if not the chief influence, in drawing outsiders to the church, but this is a part of the religious teaching of the church, it being insisted upon that the Founder of Christianity clearly and unmistakably declared that His disciples should be known by the sign that they carried, or by their power to heal the sick: and it is one of the fundamental teachings of the church that the promise of health and happiness is only to those who incorporate the Christian ideal of love, justice and duty into their daily lives.

It would seem, therefore, that if Christian Science is to make any masterful strides, it must do so by virtue of its appeal to the spiritual or conscience side of life, or to the reason.

We think it will be admitted on all hands that Christian Science has spread because it has proved a present help to those bound by sin, sickness and misfortune, and in helping them it has lifted their eyes from the plane of sense perception to that of spiritual or ethical idealism. While its philosophic concepts strongly suggest much of the thought of Plato

and the great German transcendental thinkers, its appeal has been made to the people in language that they could comprehend.

It is preëminently idealistic. Professor Cushman points out the fact that on its theoretical side it has much in common with the philosophical concepts of St. Paul, Plotinus, Spinoza, Thomas à Kempis, Luther, and even Whitman. "It will thus be seen," he says, "that Christian Science is akin to many mighty theories." He holds that as a movement, it is "not only a reaction against ecclesiasticism, but, as its name indicates, against materialism as well. Ecclesiasticism and materialism are not of necessity companions, but in the present period of civilization they happen to be such."

"Looked at from a social point-of-view," continues Professor Cushman, "the Christian Science movement is a social reform. It represents the protest of the individual. It finds its counterpart in many epochs in history. —as in the revolt of Luther from the Roman Catholic Church, in the revolt of Wesley from the English Church, and in many other ecclesiastical crises. . . . The individual's religious life has been starved, and now we find the individual rising to a full consciousness of his power. The central doctrine of Christian Science, to wit: that God is *the real* in the life of every individual, although, as we shall see, it is a very old doctrine, has given to the modern man a new sense of his immortality and greatness."

With these facts in mind, let us return to our critic. Mark Twain has a case to make out, and the logical conclusions that are inevitable from the given premises must be overridden or his object will not be attained. Hence, while *assuming* that the governing board of the church will become "insolent, unscrupulous and tyrannical," that it is "deep, sly and judicious," he finds it necessary to admit that the lay membership is entirely sincere and they are full of zeal. But what has awakened the earnestness and zeal of these tens of thousands of intelligent people who are not of a frivolous class, but are intensely sincere, if not the fact that in every instance the religious truths or the message have proved helpful to the needs of their minds and bodies,—something that has answered the hunger and yearning of their souls and which the sleeping churches have not given them? Intelligent men and women do not go with zeal, consecration and earnest-

ness into an unpopular cause, one that offers no material advancement, unless it proves a vital help and appeals to their reason and conviction of truth. Neither do Americans blindly follow insolent, unscrupulous and tyrannical officials, such as Mark Twain in his broad and comprehensive ignorance (to give him the benefit of the most charitable possible presumption) represents the governing board of the Christian Science Church to be. All persons of extensive acquaintance with the members of this church know that the Christian Scientists are an intelligent body of people. Among their numbers are to be found scores and hundreds of men who are profound thinkers,—men who are trained to observe critically and think judicially, who would not stand for action that is at variance with all the teachings of the church.

But, as we have said, Mark Twain has a case to make out, and he attempts to prove the probability of his assumptions by advancing two amazing propositions, and by citing one historic case as a parallel.

(1) To establish his theory he finds it necessary to assume that the American people are so hopelessly ignorant that they cannot reason intelligently on religious matters.

(2) In environment he claims to find the master factor that will make Christian Science dominant in the Republic in less than a life-time.

In the first place, he holds that there are not more than ten persons in five hundred who can intelligently or competently examine a religious plan. Here are his declarations:

"In a church assemblage of five hundred persons . . . four hundred and ninety of them cannot competently examine either a religious plan or a political one. A scattering few of them do examine both—that is, they think they do. With results as precious as when I examine the nebular theory and explain it to myself."*

Now here we have twenty persons in a thousand competent to examine religious questions, and nine hundred and eighty ignoramuses incapable of thinking intelligently on religious problems; so if Mark Twain be correct the advance of Christian Science cannot be through rational methods or intelligent intellectual and spiritual apprehension. Hence it becomes necessary for him to find a factor that will be overwhelming in influence, other than something that will

appeal to the brain or the enlightened spiritual apprehension, for these he necessarily wishes to rule out of court.

In this dilemma, what does he do? Something that gives added emphasis to his frank contempt for the intelligence of the American people. Let us quote his own words:

"If the four hundred and ninety got their religion through their minds, and by weighed and measured detail, Christian Science would not be a scary apparition. But they do n't; they get a little of it through their minds, more of it through their feelings, and the overwhelming bulk of it through their environment.

"*Environment* is the chief thing to be considered when one is proposing to predict the future of Christian Science. . . . A Presbyterian family does not produce Catholic families or other religious brands, it produces its own kind; and not by intellectual processes, but by association."†

There we have it! Environment! Could the intelligence of the reader be more gratuitously insulted by an assertion more glaringly absurd and illogical? We have already seen that with the Catholics, the Methodists or the Baptists, or with any other denomination having millions of adherents, environment would be a positive factor, and we have also seen that in the very nature of the case Christian Scientists have the overwhelming preponderance of environment arrayed against them. Mark Twain continues:

"It is not the ability to reason that makes the Presbyterian, or the Baptist, or the Methodist, or the Catholic, or the Mohammedan, or the Buddhist, or the Mormon; it is *environment*."‡

While we incline to believe that the author over-values environment, for the sake of argument we grant his contention. But what does it prove in its application to Christian Science? Simply this: that at every step this all-powerful factor is bound to bar the progress of the new and unpopular faith. Thus, for example, in a town of one thousand Catholics, twelve hundred Methodists, one thousand Baptists, eight hundred members of other denominations, and ten Christian Scientists, what has the religion of the ten to expect from this factor, which Mark Twain, presuming on the ignorance of his readers, would have us believe

†*Christian Science*, p. 93.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 93.

**Christian Science*, pp. 90 and 92.

the master influence that will make Christian Science formidable? Here we have four thousand people whose environment, associations and religious prejudices make them hostile to Christian Science, and ten Christian Scientists. Yet by advancing this factor as the master influence, he seeks to justify his assumption that Christian Science will dominate America in 1940, and we are gravely told that while the Christian Science church "makes no embarrassing appeal to the intellect,"* yet it will sweep the nation because of environment. "Environment is the chief thing to be considered when one is proposing to predict the future of Christian Science."

Mark Twain, in speaking of *Science and Health*, says:

"For of all the strange and frantic and incomprehensible and uninterpretable books which the imagination of man has created, surely this one is the prize sample."†

We submit that among all recorded attempts to justify a claim by advancing conclusions other than the logical and obvious ones, Mark Twain's forced effort to account for the spread of Christian Science on the hypothesis of environment stands in proud preëminence, whether considered as a gratuitous insult to the intelligence of his readers or as an exhibition of absurd, irrational and illogical conclusions from facts involved.

Mark Twain's attempt to show that Christian Science is creating an environment to work in is pointless, because there is the environment of the hundred antagonistic to it where there is one family circle that is hospitable to the new belief. This whole miserable exhibition of sophistry is patently an attempt to fan into flame the blind, irrational but deep-rooted religious prejudice that has in past ages been responsible for so much misery, torture, persecution and inhumanity.

But our author seems to have felt that he must have an historic parallel to help him out. His logic is lame, or rather his argument is innocent of logic, so he resorts to the device of an alleged historic parallel. He points to Mohammedanism, "the cult which in our day is spreading with the sweep of a world-conflagration through the Orient."‡

**Christian Science*, p. 96.

†*Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡*Christian Science*, p. 98.

"The Christian Science Church," he assures us, "like the Mohammedan Church, makes no embarrassing appeal to the intellect."¶

And again:

"Christian Science, like Mohammedanism, is 'restricted' to the 'unintelligent, the people who do not think.' There lies the danger. It makes Christian Science formidable. It is 'restricted' to ninety-nine one-hundredths of the human race, and must be reckoned with by regular Christianity."||

Here is a fair example of the recklessness that marks this book. Men like Judge Works, formerly of the Supreme Bench of California, Judge Ewing of Chicago, Judge L. H. Jones of Louisville, Kentucky, ex-Attorney-General Buskirk of Indiana, Judge S. J. Hanna, W. D. McCrackan, A.M., the historian, Professor Joel Mosley, Ph.D., and hundreds of other highly intelligent men whose minds have been trained to reason closely and look on all sides of a question, are classed among the "unintelligent who do not think" by this new judge.

Now when a man assumes to judge, it is reasonable to demand that he be competent and fair. Let us examine Mark Twain's comparison in the light of the facts involved. Mohammedanism has spread among the ignorant masses of Western Asia and Northern Africa. In some cases it quickly impresses the ignorant minds of the people groping for some religious light to meet that universal soul hunger of the aspiring human animal. But in many instances the sword of force has marked the advance of this militant church. All opposition was crushed. The savage chieftains and leaders joyed in a faith that justified war and pillage in the name of religion. The standard of holy war was raised and wholesale murder, pillage and rapine followed. How rich was the spoil of cities sacked and of peoples crushed; how bountifully did the fair maidens of the conquered tribes minister to the lust of the leaders and replenish the harems to overflowing. The Mohammedan is taught to believe that he who dies fighting after the holy standard was raised goes immediately to Paradise. He also knows that if he lives he has the prospect of rich booty as a return for his service. And these things naturally appeal powerfully to the imagination of

¶*Ibid.*, p. 94.

||*Christian Science*, p. 96.

warlike peoples. The spread of Mohammedanism has been due to the sword of force quite as much as to missionary zeal among the ignorant masses of Africa and Asia; for though it must be remembered that India has long been a home of philosophy and a cradle of great religions, we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by unconscious comparisons with Western civilization. There are, and have been for centuries on centuries, a great number of profound introspective thinkers and philosophers in India, but where there is one such, there are thousands of miserable creatures as hopelessly ignorant as they are desperately poor,—wretched human ants who are born in dire poverty and who toilsomely creep through life, enveloped in ignorance, to find rest only in the grave. The great teeming millions of India, unlike our people, have not had the advantages of education. Like the children of Northern Africa, they are pitifully ignorant, and unlike the fierce African heathen, they are bound and fettered by the degrading curse of caste. They suffer much. They are ever struggling with flood, fever, famine or pestilence. Any religion that offers them a definite sensuous heaven, like Mohammedanism, naturally appeals to them. And where the cause has not been hastened by the conqueror's sword, the missionary has found the field fruitful soil.

But it may be argued that the Indian rajahs and men of rank and position have often accepted Mohammedanism. True. And why? Let us see. If Mohammedanism, like Christian Science, opposed all war, even as did the great Nazarene, and held out no lure of plunder, spoil, or fair women to the daring chiefs and warlike leaders; if, like Christian Science, Mohammedanism not only refused to sanction polygamy or wholesale sensual gratification, but required her disciples to live lives of purity and fidelity to the demands of austere morality; if, like Christian Science, it taught the supremacy of the spiritual and inculcated altruistic love, justice and loyalty to duty and truth, how many of the ruling class in those Oriental despotic lands, think you, would have embraced Mohammedanism? Few, if any; for the great philosophical religions of India are diametrically opposed to the sensuous, militant and materialistic religion of Mohammed.

Now to compare Mohammedanism to Christian Science, or its spread in Africa and Asia to the growth of Christian Science in

enlightened America under the full blaze of popular education, of scientific research and of growing intelligence, is as absurd and unfair as the author's environment hypothesis was shallow and illogical.

In this paper we have only noticed the content matter of the first section of Mark Twain's work. If time permits we will in a future issue notice some of the many absurd charges that abound in the second division of the work. The chapters we have noticed, however, illustrate how reckless and untrustworthy is the work.

Mark Twain's claim that Christian Science is rapidly spreading is doubtless true, and he gives an example which he vouches for, in the following:

"Four years ago there were six Christian Scientists in a certain town that I am acquainted with; a year ago there were two hundred and fifty there; they have built a church, and its membership now numbers four hundred. This has all been quietly done; done without frenzied revivals, without uniforms, brass bands, street parades, corner oratory, or any of the other customary persuasions to a godly life."*

And yet he claims that this religion, which its advocates hold is reawakening the people to the vital meaning of the message of the Nazarene, is formidable because its appeal is restricted to the ignorant. Christian Science has a definite system of religious teachings. That its ethics are lofty we think no one will deny, even though he may fail to agree with its theory of creation or its explanation of those profound questions which have engrossed the most serious thought of the master minds of every land and age. Yet while one may not accept its philosophical explanations, which are intensely idealistic it is well to remember that throughout all the historic past there have been master thinkers who have held ideas much akin to those which are here enunciated. The author of *Ideas That Have Influenced Civilization*, in speaking of the religious philosophy of the ancient Indians, well observes that "it gradually reduced the many gods to one, identified the world with that one, and that one and the whole world with the self of the individual, thus arriving at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man. It believed, too, that the future of the soul depended upon this knowledge."

**Christian Science*, p. 96.

This is not the teaching of Christian Science, yet it is more akin to its philosophical concept than that of the dominant materialistic evolutionary theory of our day or the doctrine of an anthropomorphic God, who remaining outside of his creation, arbitrarily produced the world and all living things. The philosophic concepts of Plato and of many other idealistic philosophers, including Kant, are more in accord with those of the materialistic evolutionary philosophy.

Hence, while one may find the evolutionary theory more convincing than the idealistic or transcendental concepts, when one remembers how those concepts have enthralled and appealed to so many of the mightiest intellects of the ages, he will hesitate to sneer at views seriously advanced relating to the most profound and masterly of all problems—that of creation and the development of life.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

"THE KINGDOM OF LOVE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

ONE DAY in New York, early in the eighties, we bought a copy of the New York *Graphic*, then the only illustrated daily published in the world. In this particular issue was a portrait and sketch of Henry Frank, a young liberal clergyman who was creating quite a stir in Jamestown, New York, if we remember correctly. We read the sketch carefully, and especially the views expressed by the young minister, and were impressed at the time with the sincerity of the man. His words had the ring of truth; his ideals were high and fine. We felt at the time that however short he might fall of compassing the labors he hoped to achieve, his influence would be cast on the side of progress, and that the world would be better for his having lived. For whenever a man is earnest, sincere, broad, tolerant and just, his influence makes for human upliftment and enduring progress. For many years we lost sight of Mr. Frank, but he was not forgotten, and after we founded THE ARENA he was among the army of earnest men and women who became active supporters of this review. Since then we have followed him in his public work with deep interest. Later he became a valued contributor to THE ARENA. It has been especially gratifying to us to note a steady development in his work toward that full-orbed excellence that marks maturity in thought and expression.

*"The Kingdom of Love." By Henry Frank. Cloth. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.00. New York R. F. Fenno & Company

II.

The Kingdom of Love is the ablest work that has come from the pen of Mr. Frank. It deals with love from the view-point of a critical scientist, an introspective philosopher and an imaginative poet, and is thus, we think, the broadest and most comprehensive study of the master dynamic force of creation that has been written.

The volume is introduced by a little poetic waif entitled "Love is God," from which we take the following stanzas:

"Love is God—the king of power,
Soul of seed and stem and flower;
Force that sways the world as one,
Balancing the stars and sun.

"Love inspires vernal breath,
Rescuing earth from winter's death;
Shapes the perfect crystal form
Of snowy flake in frigid storm.

"Love weaves the leaves and builds the trees;
Soul is he of symmetry;
Shapes the vast anatomy
Of cosmic frame with unity.

"Love is Lord of Heaven and Earth,
Satisfying want and dearth.
He who fears, has yet to learn
E'en the least he does not spurn."

The volume is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to "The Kingdom of Love" and containing six chapters in which love is considered as "A Cosmic Principle," "The Mother Principle," "The Social Principle," "The Deific Principle," and "The

Healing Grace." Part Two is concerned with "Contemplations of Life's Ideals" and contains thirty-seven brief chapters, each rich in truths presented in the short, bright, epigrammatic style which marks Mr. Frank's compositions. Something of the wide range of thought embraced in this division and the grave importance of the subject matter may be gained from the following titles of some of the chapters: "The Wings of Hope"; "Fathoming the Depths of Self"; "The Law of Altruism"; "Social Sympathy"; "Desire—The Human Magnet"; "The Teachers of the Race"; "The Power of the Poet"; "The False Plaint of the Pessimist"; "Nearing the Divine"; "Where Love Reigns"; "The Mystic Meaning of the Resurrection"; "The Call of Eden"; "How to be Happy"; "Faith, Born of Knowledge"; "Sunrise in the Soul"; "Ideal Possibilities of Society"; "The Song of Truth"; "The Sin of Self-Deception"; "Earth's Crowning Glory"; and "The Mystery of Self."

III.

Mr. Frank possesses in a marked degree the modern searching or scientific spirit, blended with the introspective intuitional gift of the metaphysical philosopher, while these qualities are complemented by the imaginative spirit of the true poet. This union is as rare as it is pleasing when it comes to the treatment of a great subject like that with which this volume is concerned. Usually love has been abandoned to the sentimentalists and the poets. When it has come under the cold critical analysis of the psychologist or materialistic scientist it has been treated in a manner far from satisfactory, because the most vital and real essence eludes the materialistic philosopher who is wanting in the penetrating power of the poet. But here the subject is treated in turn as a scientist would view it, as a philosopher apprehends its meaning, and as a poet feels its magic and power, the result being a full-orbed view of the greatest thing in the world.

In the opening pages the author shows how absurd is the shallow concept that love makes a man a weakling or a coward. It is "Nature's most potent force," possessing "an energy whose possibilities are beyond imagination." "As a force it reveals its cosmic nature."

"As all the forces in Nature are but the

transmutation of a single energy so love is itself but the transmutation in human and vital experience of gravitation and attraction in the material world.

"As gravity establishes the poise and integrity of the cosmic spheres so love maintains the intergity and permanence of the social spheres.

"Love is a cosmic principle, pervading the entire universe. We may speak of the love of atoms, without the violation of scientific verity. The cosmos is primarily a drama of primitive atomic affections, unconsciously evincing the supreme force that sustains the world.

"In the theory of world-evolutions from primal nebulae, the dream of the nebular hypothesis, we read the first love-story played upon the infinite stage of existence. The power that combines is the mother-heart of the universe that inspires and sustains all her manifold offspring.

"This is the principle that establishes and coordinates the order of the universe, the logical procession of events. By its exercise alone have evolved all the wonder worlds of space.

"Were not this principle persistent and preëminent in Nature, all substances would instantly dissolve, the starry spheres disintegrate and universal ruin follow. It is the ridge-pole that holds and balances the entire structure pinning together firmament and foundation in indissoluble unity.

"Studied from the cosmic view-point, Love is not mere sentiment; it is the underlying, sustaining, supreme principle of all existence."

The scientific searcher considers the great law of attraction or affinity and notes how precise and inexorable are its demands. Then he traces the gradual unfoldment of this basic principle, the broadening and out-blossoming of love as life rises higher and higher, till it is consummated in the splendid bloom of humanity.

From the scientific aspect our author turns to the philosophical and idealistic concepts. Here we find "love demands no sacrifice not made for higher ends and loftier attainments." Love demands harmony.

"Whoever loves his brother and the race will never be contented till the last discord is

corrected in the orchestration of the social forces that make the melody of individual and collective life."

He finds love to be "the inspiration of the poet, the wisdom of the philosopher, the courage of the warrior, the hope of the hero, the devotion of the mother."

"Love is the forgiving judge, the succoring king, the redeeming saviour, the creating God.

"Love indeed is God, if power, authority, supremacy, be qualities of God. Love is God if omnipotence, omnipresence, invariableness and justice are attributes of divinity.

"Not Eros, nor Venus; not love of self or selfish love, not love of association or mating passions of the breast; not these are God of love, though deflected emanations of his presence.

"But that divinity that yields never an inch to wrong nor dwells one instant with disharmony, but spreads the mantle of mercy over all and invites humanity to peace, plenty and prosperity; this be the Deity we recognize in love and beseech for happiness and help!"

"The fingers of love everywhere weave the meshes of life's fabric."

From a consideration of love as the cosmic principle, Mr. Frank passes to a deeply thoughtful examination of "Love, the Mother Principle," and from this to "Love, the Social Principle." This chapter will be of special interest to those who are battling for a juster and truer economic order, and our author, though strong in faith as to the ultimate triumph of the good over the evil, though believing that harmony will follow the discord of the present, is not blind to the fact that this consummation is as yet far off.

"When the existing bond of fellow sympathy—the colorless affection which now pervades the race—shall have become as strong and indispensable as the bond of present mother love, society will evolve to social brotherhood.

"When the social love shall crown the mother love—or, shall we say, when in that far off paradise the mother love shall be dissolved in the universal and all-absorbing social love,—then will come the millennium and the apotheosis of aspiring humanity.

"To realize how far removed we are as yet from 'that far-off, divine event' we need but review the social conditions that are extant to-day. How unequally yoked is man with man! The pauper clings with the

grip of hunger to the prince. Rags are still the emblem of woe for more than three-quarters of the race; the gilded purse is still the proud insignia of the ever-acquiring few.

"The stately homes of wealth rear side by side with the vermin-eaten dens of the rag-picker and the thief. The resplendent mansions of our social princesses are outdazzled by the false glare of the *maison doree* of the *demi monde*. The jewelled fingers of the princely plutocrat clip his fabulous coupons, whilst an army of shivering wretches beg at private bakeries for a coveted loaf of bread!

"In our great city—the city of marvels and magnates, of buildings rivalling in height the Tower of Babel, of mansions whose possessors a Croesus might well envy—into whose narrow coffers the wealth of the world is ever pouring—in this great world-metropolis—and in all the world-metropolises of all the nations—what travesties of human hope and perversions of earthly ambition we behold!

"Here, as everywhere throughout the globe, are still witnessed in human form the ferocity of the lion and the cunning of the fox. Where the lion cannot claw and gnaw his victim, some cunning 'Reynard' easily entices him to ruin and destruction.

"What wonder we hear of social wars and rumors of wars! Howbeit, there is hope in human progress.

"The time will yet come when *love shall be recognized as a social principle*: not as a sentiment or a prophecy, but a principle and a realization.

"We shall sometime learn that love is the one and only force that can finally readjust the social discrepancies and reinstate the status of harmony for which all earnest souls have ever yearned. So long as the attitude between capital and labor—employer and employed—is one of mutual mistrust, intrigue and deceit—envy on the one hand rivalling fear on the other—so long will the existing social disharmonies continue and disastrous results ensue."

In his chapter dealing with "Love, the Healing Grace," the author does not hold that love will cure every ill, or rather, he holds that conditions may be such that love fails of its high potency, and the laboratory of nature is required to help the ailing human. Still he believes that:

"The soul is the realm of harmony. Within its abysmal deeps abides an undisturbed and unknown calm."

"The mind and body are the realm of

action, and oft of perturbation. Thought is the mediator 'twixt soul and body. When with Love's force thought sways the wires of the nervous system, it stirs the body, thrills each atom, radiates from its surface, and like a divine energy—a living principle—compels the physical organs to function in unison, and restore the normal situation. The mightier the flow of love the more effective its potent presence.

"Such is the power of the presence of love over the human frame. When man is oppressed with disease he absorbs the damp atmosphere of discouragement and despair. The gloom of the night is upon him. His thoughts are vicious; his breath is poison.

"But when Love—like a golden sun—warms him with its enswathing beams, light seems to penetrate the very cells of his blood, radiate from his veins, glow from his eyes, gladden his cheeks, and illuminate his being with a splendor whose presence is peace, whose power is overmastering.

"It is a remarkable but undeniable fact that even semi-conscious animate natures respond to the ministrations of Love. Every flower, every grass blade, every insect, every bird and quadruped is instantly responsive to the presence or absence of this mystic minister.

"Love is the fulfilling of the law in every plane of nature. She is not more potent in giant than in insect, in mountain than in ant-hill, in a star than in a seed; but in all alike her puissance is assertive, and betimes supreme,—man's chief source of energy, conservator of harmony.

"Following love we enter into port with flying colors. As yon pole star guides the mariner across the pathless deep; as the far goal of victory entices the runner till his feet are fleet as the wind; so Love forever guides, inspires and assures.

"Blessed is he whose God is Love, for if he be faithful, and faint not, his days shall be full, his blessings plentiful, and his courage amid trials indomitable."

The volume, as we have indicated, deals with love scientifically, philosophically and poetically, and indeed the work is studded with prose poems that are fraught with lessons of helpfulness for aspiring natures. Take, for example, these paragraphs from "The Wings of Hope":

"Dull eyes and sunken cheeks, deep sighs

and pitiful expressions, are not the symbols of success.

"He wins who dares. The world loves a hero, and deplores a coward.

"Go forth to the battle of life each day, with a bold breast, a lofty brow, a heart mettle for any fate.

"Walk with firm, elastic tread upon the bounding earth; sway the shoulders backward and drink in long draughts of freedom's air, swelling the chest with resolution's proud impress!

"Fear not. Whatever thou hast done; abide therein. If wrong, it will in time adjust itself, if thou art true. If right, the world must see it in the end, though blind and stolid now.

"Justice balances the scales of fate. Time heals all wounds. Truth at the last must conquer, though oft beset with ambuscades of error.

"Far above the gloom of suffering and the grime of toil, high in the heavens of night, where not a cloud bedims, hangs the Star of Hope, emblazoning the midnight of our pilgrimage.

"And what though the dusk invite thee to frugal fare and coarse-clothed bed, to hapless solitude and uninvited grief?

"Alone, by resolution's aid, thou canst arise self-mastered, and prepare another day for victory's glad advent.

"Upon the wings of hope ascend, borne in imagination to the plains of triumph, and undespairing strive on till the dream be realized in fact.

"Commune with Nature; behold, she faints not nor expires, but struggles and survives.

"Hope wings her way to where the sun forever shines, and dark despair ne'er shades the night with mantling gloom.

"Trust her awakening inspirations, nor falter but toil on, till triumph crown the struggle, and peace will smooth the wrinkles that care and age have carved upon thy face. Happiness, the fruit and just reward of faithful effort and obedient virtue, at last shall prove her benediction in the lustre of the eye and the laughter of the lips."

Very rich in suggestive truth is the chapter on "The Teachers of the Race," from which we take the following extracts:

"To attune one's life to the age in which one lives is a genial occupation. But to rise above the age, and forestall some future

epoch, is the calling of the prophet, the task of the hero.

"He who forces men to think, becomes the victim of the mob. He who comforts the world with palliative policies and theories of smug contentment, wears the obsequious crown that flattery bestows.

"But he who is indifferent to the songs of praise and defies the shouts of condemnation, mindful only of the convictions that inspire him, becomes the man of sorrows, dishonored in his day, howbeit immortalized thereafter.

"Earth engenders but few seers who pierce the veil of time, and behold the dissolution of temporal motives before the indissoluble ideals of the race.

"Most men are cast in molds of clay and have but stony eyes. In the lair of their hearts still lurk the beasts of prey, and beneath their skins grovels the swarthy savage.

"Mankind are still but gross animals wallowing in the mire, feeding on husks of ignorance, burrowing in bogs of bigotry, and cowering in forests of fear.

"Men flee the hand that would caress, and kiss the hand that flays. They love their masters and hate their redeemers. They slay their prophets and exalt their despots. They mistake their task-masters for their saviours and time-servants for their teachers.

"Mankind are slow to think. Millenniums are necessary for the growth of a single idea. Suffering is the source of knowledge. The heart must be crucified before the brain is roused.

"In the School of Human Life a thousand years are but as a day when it is passed, and a century affords but time for a single lesson.

"Hence the Great Teachers of the race can be counted almost on the fingers of the hand. From the beginning of time to the present hour they have sought to inculcate a few simple precepts and deathless truths, which are still caviare to the masses,—but vain enigmas and babbling verbosity.

"The Avatars and Christs have come and gone through the rolling years, each repeating and emphasizing what his predecessor taught, and yet man has not eyes to see, or ears to hear; for ignorance comforts him while knowledge irritates and pains him.

"To live in the past is to sleep. To live in the future is to dream. We are awake only in the present.

"He who learns so to adapt the experiences of the past, that the dreams of the future

which they awaken are somewhat forestalled in the passing epoch, is the sage whose wisdom guides the affairs of men.

"Not like that Chinese philosopher, Confucius, whose mind was fastened in the stocks of dead customs and vanished centuries, must be the leader of our day; but like one whose eyes are in his forehead, whose feet are on the Highway.

"Such a teacher is one in whose life are garnered the fruits of the world's gardens of wisdom."

Though from time to time the reader may question the author's position on some points, no one can, we think, read this work without being materially helped, not only by having his intellect stimulated and his field of vision broadened, but also by being encouraged, inspired and strengthened in all high and true purposes. The volume is not without its faults. At times one regrets the employment of commonplace terms in a volume keyed to a far higher pitch than the expressions that seem alien to the work, though they might be apt in a book written in a different vein. One illustration will suffice. In a fine description of the law of affinity and the inexorable precision that marks the coming together of elements to make various well-known compounds, our author drops from a high and dignified plane of discourse to utter a commonplace truism: "'Thus early in cosmic experience," he tells us, "the law is uttered: 'Two are company; three are a crowd!'"

There are times, too, when the use of the same word with different significations may prove confusing to the reader. Thus we have seen how our author regards love in its broad significance as the mighty dynamo of life and growth,—the moral fulcrum by which life is lifted; yet elsewhere he says, employing love in a narrower signification:

"Dying hate merges in love: exhausted love relapses into hate. Both are opposite phases of the same emotion.

"The perfect man neither loves nor hates; for both are phases of selfishness. He abides in peace, beyond emotion or desire, and is therefore neither selfish nor unselfish."

The faults of expression, however, are merely blemishes in an exceptionally valuable work,—a book so full of food for mind and imagination that one finds it difficult to refrain from extensive quotations. But space renders it impossible for us to do more than give our readers a few lines in closing from

the chapter on "The Dream of Death":

"Death is not, life only is! Death is an apparition, life is reality! Death is ephemeral, life is eternal! Death passes, but life is forever!

"The Dreamer never despairs.

"Dream on, O Heart of hope and Soul of Sight!

"The heavens may yet be cleaved, the grave traversed, by more than thy simple

dreams, more than thy spendthrift fancy. The soul is ever herald of the sense. The spirit first sees what the flesh but late discerns.

"See on, O Soul, till sense is spiritualized, and flesh yields to ethereal essence.

"Dream on, O Dreamer, thou that knowest not despair; thou, that knowest not death, live thou forever!

"The Dreamer never despairs!"

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Thoreau's Selected Works. Bijou Edition, comprising five volumes: *Cape Cod, Excursions, The Maine Woods, Walden, A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Each volume bound in cloth, stamped in gold, with gilt top. Sold only in sets. Price, \$2.50. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

AMONG the newly issued works that will prove a delight to lovers of good literature that is at once restful and yet informing in character, are the selected works of Henry D. Thoreau, published in five handy-sized volumes. Interest in the work is materially increased by an admirable preface to each volume, dealing with the life or writings of Thoreau, by persons eminently fitted to speak authoritatively. The volume entitled *Excursions* is prefaced by Ralph Waldo Emerson's biographical sketch of Thoreau, a classic in itself; *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* is introduced by a sketch from the pen of Nathan Haskell Dole, marked by keen insight and a fine discriminating spirit; *Cape Cod* and *The Maine Woods* are prefaced by excellent sketches written by Annie Russell Marble; while *Walden* is introduced by Charles G. D. Roberts. This series of five essays constitutes in itself probably the best critical estimate of Thoreau and his writings that has appeared.

Thoreau occupied a unique place in that distinctly unique and never to be duplicated Concord group of distinguished Americans. After his graduation from Harvard he drifted to the woods, was enamored of nature, and became a faithful worshiper at her shrine.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

He was perhaps the most perfect type of the philosophical anarchist that this country has produced. Of him Emerson says:

"He interrogated every custom, and wished to settle all his practice on an ideal foundation. He was a protestant à l'outrance, and few lives contain so many renunciations. He was bred to no professions; he never married: he lived alone; he never went to church; he never voted; he refused to pay a tax to the State; he ate no flesh, he drank no wine, he never knew the use of tobacco; and, though a naturalist, he used neither trap nor gun. He chose, wisely, no doubt, for himself, to be the bachelor of thought and Nature. He had no talent for wealth, and knew how to be poor without the least hint of squalor or inelegance. Perhaps he fell into his way of living without forecasting it much, but approved it with later wisdom. 'I am often reminded,' he wrote in his journal, 'that, if I had bestowed on me the wealth of Croesus, my aims must still be the same, and my means essentially the same.' He had no temptations to fight against,—no appetites, no passions, no taste for elegant trifles.

"He was a speaker and actor of the truth,—born such,—and was ever running into dramatic situations from this cause."

He was not an altogether agreeable companion, owing to his habit of controverting almost every observation made. His war on convention and his contempt for the foibles and follies of society carried him to the extreme in the opposite direction. He had little love for Europe.

"No truer American existed than Thoreau," declared Emerson. His preference of his

country and condition was genuine, and his aversation from English and European manners and tastes almost reached contempt. He listened impatiently to news or *bon mots* gleaned from London circles; and though he tried to be civil, these anecdotes fatigued him. The men were all imitating each other, and on a small mould, Why can they not live as far apart as possible, and each be a man by himself?"

Emerson was especially attracted to Thoreau's metaphysical ideas.

"I must add," he says, "the cardinal fact that there was an excellent wisdom in him, proper to a rare class of men, which showed him the material world as a means and symbol. This discovery, which sometimes yields to poets a certain casual and interrupted light, serving for the ornament of their writing, was in him an unsleeping insight; and whatever faults or obstructions of temperament might cloud it, he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."

But though a man of fine brain power, a man who from a metaphysical discourse could turn to things practical,—“plan a garden, or a house, or a barn,” who “would have been competent to lead a ‘Pacific Exploring Expedition,’” and who “could give judicious counsel on the gravest private or public affairs,” Thoreau was never so truly at home as when *en rapport* with nature and her wonder world.

“It was,” says Emerson, “a pleasure and a privilege to walk with him. He knew the country like a fox or a bird, and passed through it as freely by paths of his own. He knew every track in the snow or on the ground, and what creature had taken this path before him. One must submit abjectly to such a guide, and the reward was great. Under his arm he carried an old music-book to press plants; in his pocket, his diary and pencil, a spy-glass for birds, microscope, jack-knife, and twine. He wore straw hat, stout shoes, strong gray trousers, to brave shrub-oaks and smilax, and to climb a tree for a hawk's or a squirrel's nest. He waded into the pool for the water-plants, and his strong legs were no insignificant part of his armor. . . . So much knowledge of Nature's secret and genius few others possessed, none in a more large and religious synthesis.”

According to Charles G. D. Roberts, this child of the woodland was preëminently a liberator.

“If,” says this author, “we call Thoreau the ‘Liberator,’ we remember him by what seems to me the prime function of his genius. What he chiefly sought for himself was freedom. What his life and writings chiefly do for others is to arouse them, slap cold water in their faces, prod and hustle them on toward freedom. To Thoreau freedom meant escape from the bondage of petty and pinchbeck gods, the chance to live life fully, the leisure to think, and ripen, and enjoy. His best work is full of the suggestion of escape. It invites and urges the reader forth from his thralldom. It makes for emancipation,—spiritual, mental, moral, physical. In no other of his books is this liberating and arousing force so active as in *Walden*.”

The writings of Thoreau possess a peculiar charm. They are richly laden with information for nature lovers, and the content matter is marked by a simplicity and directness very pleasing, and a restful quality that is refreshing and hardly to be expected from one of a naturally combative temperament.

This set of works merits wide circulation and should be numbered among the few works selected by all persons engaged in making libraries.

The Evolution of Modern Liberty. By George L. Scherger, Ph.D., Professor of History, Armour Institute of Technology. Cloth. Pp. 284. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

IT IS HARD to realize that a few centuries ago there was no such thing as a great republic on earth, that democracy was scarcely even a dream, and that the despotic right of rulers was taken as a matter of course. Now one of the greatest world powers is a republic, and there are many others less powerful, while the democratic spirit is becoming more and more a force to be reckoned with in all national calculations. What has brought about the change? What has carried people on and up from the despotism and barbarism of the middle ages to republican North America and the growing democracies of Europe and the far South? Where did the idea of democratic freedom originate and who forced it on the attention of mankind and made it effective?

Those interested in the answers to these questions should read Professor Scherger's book. It is his declared purpose to trace the

genius and development of the political theories embodied in the Bills of Rights and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and to show that these documents are the results of long development. He confines himself to a historical treatment of the subject.

The following statements are extracted from the book and used without quotation marks:

In the despotisms of the Orient, personal liberty was entirely unknown, the life, actions and property of the individual being completely at the mercy of the ruler. The Greeks possessed political liberty but lacked personal freedom in the modern sense. There was no sphere of life to which the interference of the government might not be extended. The despotism of the state prevented the growth of private rights. The Greek existed for the state, not the state for him. The degree of liberty and security a people enjoy will profoundly influence their progress. Degradation has been the rule in despotisms.

England led the way for all other countries of modern times in establishing and protecting the liberty of the individual. Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights are classic examples of declarations of popular rights. The people of the American colonies drew up declarations of certain rights to which they claimed to be entitled as men. While the political principles involved in these declarations of rights were not entirely new and did not even originate on American soil, the idea of embodying them in a political program was a distinctively American notion.

This idea was adopted by the French people during their great Revolution. In Germany the Parliament of Frankfort which met in 1849 and attempted prematurely to form a united empire, drew up a similar declaration of fundamental rights. The constitutions of many civilized nations now contain similar declarations.

These declarations of the rights of man mark a new era in the history of mankind. The humanitarian spirit underlies them. The conception that each individual citizen is entitled to the concern of the state; that his personality is of infinite worth and is a purpose of creation; that he should be recognized as an individual, as a man. The nineteenth century was preëminently the century of liberalism. Perhaps no other century

witnessed greater and more numerous reforms and a greater extension of individual liberty. This century is marked by the abolition of slavery in all civilized countries, by the extension of the elective franchise, by the emancipation of woman, by the popularization of government, and by countless other reforms.

The foregoing from the author gives us a starting point. The history of the evolution of modern liberty is now taken up in more detail and is traced to its philosophical and spiritual sources. Part first treats of the development of the theory of natural law; part two of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; part three of the American bill of rights; and part four of the French Declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen.

In a work so solid, so full of facts, we can do no more than to select a few examples of the influence of ideas on the evolution under discussion. Thus we find the author saying:

"Individual liberty never had a more devoted champion than John Milton. He advocated the separation of church and state. His principles were thoroughly republican. He was the forerunner of American ideas of government and personal freedom."

The Americans did not import their ideas from France, but they had learned them primarily from English authors such as Milton, Locke, Harrington and others, for these English authors had exerted a wonderful influence upon such French writers as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Holbach and Turgot. Another English writer whose work was widely read and who exerted a powerful influence in both Europe and America was Blackstone, the celebrated author of *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.

But now comes a statement which will surprise that class of readers who have been led by many insinuations and direct charges to believe that Christianity is the foe of liberty. That the church has at times been used as the instrument of tyranny is true, but Christianity is peculiar in this, that from the very nature of its internal forces it has always worked itself free from its shackles. Its emancipation has always come from inside the church, never from the outside.

Professor Scherger fully realizes the power Christianity has exercised in the interest of liberty and states the facts in the case in strong terms. He says:

"Christianity plainly teaches the equality of all men before God, a notion which has again and again proved to be a levelling force to which no other can be compared. Christianity taught that God is no respecter of persons; that in His sight all men are equal; that every individual is accountable to a personal God for all his actions; that there is no human mediator between God and man. Christianity tore down the barriers between Greeks, Romans, barbarians, and created a feeling of human brotherhood which supplanted and exceeded in strength the patriotism of the old nations. It contained the germs of a new social and political order. Whenever there is a revival of primitive Christianity a renewal of the democratic spirit is observable."

The form in which aggressive protestant Christianity found itself in the early days of the colonization of North America was known as Puritanism, and, says the author, "that Puritanism gave rise to democratic political doctrines is shown by the fact that the first republicans in America were Puritan ministers, namely Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker and John Wise." These facts should be remembered by those too apt to mistake modern church tendencies for the real doctrines of Jesus.

But while giving due credit to Christianity, the author does not neglect any of the forces that have made for liberty. He notes the natural love of freedom peculiar to the Teutonic races, takes into account the work of philosophers, statesmen and writers of all countries,—in fact has made a concise yet exhaustive treatise on a vital theme. Its reading will give courage to all who hope for the evolution to continue till freedom, justice and equality are established among all nations.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Industrial Problem. By Lyman Abbott. Cloth. Pp. 196. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THIS volume is made up of four lectures delivered by Dr. Abbott before the Philadelphia Divinity School on the William Levi Bull foundation. This foundation was established for the purpose of securing lectures before the Divinity School on the application of Christian principles to the "social, industrial and economic problems and needs of the times." The only restriction on the

lecturer is that he shall be a believer in the moral teachings and principles of the Christian religion as the true solvent of said problems.

The author of the volume under review was the lecturer for the year 1905 and chose for the subjects of his four lectures: *The Industrial Problem; The Political Solution—Regulation; The Economic Solution—Reorganization; The Ethical Solution—Regeneration.*

Dr. Abbott is not a socialist, but he ventures on socialistic ground more than once. His arraignment of present conditions is hardly less severe than that made by leading socialistic writers. "Individual industrialism," he says, "has not only impoverished man; it has degraded him; it has promoted and developed inhumanity to man. It has set class against class and individual against individual. While in our churches we have been praying the good Lord to deliver us from envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness, we have been pursuing in our industrial life a system whose tendency it was to produce envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness."

He further declares that the organization of both labor and capital marks a necessary step in the progress of the human race; that this progress is scientific, economic, industrial and ethical; that it is impossible to return to the individualism of the past; that the solution of our labor problem lies in moving forward toward a larger liberty, because of a better organization of the industrial forces of society.

But Dr. Abbott fears that state socialism would result in despotism. "How far," he says, "the nation, the state, the city or the village should go in the conduct of industries, it is certainly difficult and perhaps at the present time impossible to state. The community should not assume the administration of all industries, but should leave to private enterprise those industries which can be carried on better by private enterprises; by so doing it will secure the benefit of that initiative which individual competition stimulates." On the other hand, "the community should assume the administration of those industries, the organization and uniform direction of which are important, if not essential to its welfare as a community whenever experience indicates that it can administer those industries for its own benefit better than they will be administered by private enterprise. For example, a city cannot live a prosperous life

without a well organized system of furnishing water and light, but it can live a prosperous life without a well organized system of furnishing meat and bread."

Capitalism then is not to be done away with as the socialist demands, but is to be limited, democratized, refined, regulated by wise laws, and be brought into subjection to the Golden Rule.

"The final industrial solution," according to this author, "is to be sought for in such a development of human character, and such a development of industrial conditions founded thereon, that the distinction between tool owners and tool users will disappear. The tool users themselves become the tool owners, the laborers will themselves become the capitalists, and in so far as there are still capitalists who are not laborers, the conditions of individual industrialism will be reversed. Under individual industrialism labor was a commodity which the capitalists hired; under democratic industrialism capital will be a commodity which the laborer will hire."

Dr. Abbott is always clear, and sometimes logical. This is one of his best books.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Bossism and Monopoly. By Thomas Carl Spelling. Cloth. Pp. 360. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

THIS is one of the strongest pleas for the government-ownership of railroads that has ever been published in book form. The great monopoly is that of transportation. Others are great and oppressive, but this is the worst of all, the most fraught with menace to the Republic. The Interstate Commerce Commission has all the statutory powers it needs but is helpless against the ruthless and insolent combination of capitalists who control the railroads. No rate bill that can be devised by Congress will amount to anything except to delay government ownership while its ineffectiveness is being demonstrated. This may take fifteen years. The purpose of monopoly is extortion. It will always increase the price while it renders inferior service. Regulation and rate fixing by government must be a failure. The only remedy is government-ownership. This will improve the service, dethrone the boss, give business-men an equal chance, decrease the cost of travel, make life safer, and add to the public revenue. A saving of \$45,000,000 a year can

be made on carrying the mails alone. This would pay interest on a large part of the actual cost of the roads.

Such, in brief, is the claim of the author. The book is loaded with statistics, legal facts and quotations. He shows why the law cannot reach monopoly as organized to-day, but with government-ownership of transportation, with the removal of rebates, protective tariffs and other special privileges competition would do the rest and the monopoly evil would soon disappear.

But just how far the monopoly evil would disappear no one can in reality say. The radical socialist insists that the entire capitalistic system must be done away with, that while we have only a part we in reality have nothing. The Single Taxer pleads against private-ownership in land. The exact truth must be ascertained by experience. Meanwhile those who read Mr. Spelling's book will be aroused and informed if not absolutely convinced.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Satan Sanderson. By Hallie Erminie Rives. Illustrated in color. Cloth. Pp. 400. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is incomparably the best romance that has come from the pen of this author. It is cleverly conceived and well executed. True, the author lacks the genius of the novelists of first rank,—the power to make her characters at all times seem to be living, moving human beings. There are certain times when this power is present, but at other times the characters are not so convincing as one could wish; but the author's thought, the construction of the plot, and the weaving into the story of certain facts that have been proved to be possibilities by modern psychological research, show much skill and a remarkable advance on the part of the writer.

In this story, Jessica, the heroine, develops into a really strong and convincing character, and in lesser degree this is also true of Satan Sanderson and Hugh Stires. The novel opens with a scene in the home of a wealthy invalid named Stires. Besides the invalid, there are present the lawyer who has drawn up the old man's will; Jessica Holme, a blind girl who is the adopted daughter of Mr. Stires, a wonderfully gifted young

woman whose talent for sculpture amounts almost to genius; and the Rev. Harry Sanderson, the eloquent and popular young rector of St. James church. The will is being read, and it appears that the old man has disinherited his son Hugh, transferring the fortune to Jessica. The young woman remonstrates and appeals to the old man not to commit the contemplated act, and from the invalid she turns to the minister, who seconds her appeal. He tells the old man that Hugh, who startlingly resembles Harry in outward appearance as frequently to have been taken for the latter, and who was called Harry's shadow at college, had merely followed the wild lead of Harry himself, who in the university was known as "Satan" Sanderson or the "Abbot of the Saints," he being the ring-leader in wildness and dissipation of a fast set. Hugh had imitated the stronger man, and though Harry had reformed, Hugh had steadily gone down. The old gentleman refrains from signing the will for a time, and later Hugh appears on the scene. Both the young men fall in love with Jessica, who finally recovers her sight. Hugh wins her and on the wedding day the father disowns Hugh, having found that his son has forged his name for five thousand dollars. Hugh is driven from the home, and the elder Stires takes his adopted daughter and journeys for a time in foreign lands. Hugh returns to the city and appeals to the clergyman to help him to funds. The clergyman hopes to reform him, and in so doing resorts to a desperate expedient that leads to the clergyman's undoing. Then comes a succession of exciting events during which Sanderson meets with a terrible accident, loses his memory and is taken for Hugh Stires. He is discovered by Jessica, who imagines he is her husband and in many ways aids him. At length she reveals to him the supposed fact that she is his wife. The joy of the two lovers is short-lived. The real Hugh returns, but finds he is wanted for a murder he has committed and escapes, while the supposed Hugh is arrested. The trial and the succession of rather melodramatic events that crowd upon each other, and which are often marked by improbability, make the strongest part of the romance from the view-point of character studies. The story closes as readers want love stories to end,—with the light of dawning day succeeding the midnight darkness that has enveloped Sanderson and Jessica.

Empire Builders. By Francis Lynde. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is one of the best romances of the year. It is strong, virile and convincing. The characters are real flesh and blood creations and the story has a swing, snap and go, characteristic of the life with which it deals.

The hero, Stuart Ford, is an ambitious young railroad man who battles with almost every conceivable obstacle. He is opposed by his superior officers, some of whom are capitalists; others, men who have faith in the grafting contingent. He confronts timid capital when daring and liberality offer the only salvation for the situation. Secret enemies are at work in his own camp. Corrupt contractors in league with the hostile superior officers hamper him and finally seek to murder him. And natural obstructions incident to an attempt to do a record piece of railroad building over a barren and rugged stretch of Rocky Mountain territory, are some of the things that Stuart Ford has to deal with. But during his trip East he has met this fate in the form of a beautiful American girl who loves the modern knight of the rail as ardently as did the grand ladies of older days love the daring ones who went forth to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the Turk; and the influence of this girl, the steadying power of her steadfast love, and the help of her brother, ever loyal to Ford, are ever-present helps and a tower of strength in the most crucial moments of the battle.

The novel abounds in stirring incidents and situations. Sometimes the melodramatic element dominates, as in the siege of the Nadia, but for the most part the credulity of the reader is not unduly taxed.

Successful Teaching. Fifteen Studies by Practical Teachers, Prize Winners in the National Educational Contest of 1905. With an Introduction by James M. Greenwood. Cloth. Pp. 200. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

AMONG the subjects treated in this volume are: personality as a factor in teaching; the value of psychology in teaching; how best to develop character in children; how best to gain and keep control of pupils; the art of story-telling and its uses in the school-room

advantages of memory work; nature studies; the place of biography in general education; and how to teach children to think. All these subjects are treated entertainingly and with common-sense. It is one of the best small books on education that has come to our notice.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Modern Poets and Christian Teaching. By David G. Downey. Cloth. Pp. 184. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: Eaton & Mains.

THIS little volume contains brief and sympathetic studies of the lives and the message, together with indications of the Christian influence, in the writings of three well-known conscience poets of our time,—Edwin Markham, Richard Watson Gilder and Edward Rowland Sill. The writer is a Methodist clergyman, and though he naturally gives special emphasis to the religious side of his subject's message, the sketches of the lives and his interpretation of the message, accompanied as they are by liberal quotations from their writings, are marked by breadth of spirit and fine insight or ethical perception.

We hardly think that Mr. Downey does full justice to Edwin Markham; not that he criticizes his life or work unfavorably, but he does not seem to appreciate the essential greatness of Markham as a poet and his unique and preëminent position as the master living poet of democracy.

The sketch of Richard Watson Gilder, and especially the study of Mr. Gilder's verse, is charming.

We were, however, especially pleased with the consideration given by the author to the poetry of Edward Rowland Sill, one of America's fine conscience poets who left us all too soon and whose work is too little known to the public.

The volume is written in simple language, intended as a message to Christian people, and it cannot fail to be helpful and inspiring. We think the author, especially in his closing pages on "The Supremacy of the Spiritual," falls into an error which is common to many clergymen and public teachers and writers,—that of placing undue emphasis on the optimistic signs of the times and ignoring the sinister and ominous evils that strike at the heart of free institutions, pure government

and Christian civilization. In all ages the cry of easy-going conventionalism has been, "Prophecy to us smooth things!" and he who glosses over or ignores evils that strike at the heart of individual rectitude or national health has little to fear from the powers that be. The forces that make for egoism have no quarrel with the prophet who denounces evil in a general way while striving to make the people see that all is well and that there is no need of earnest, persistent agitation to correct specific evils of the time and place. But the man who, like Nathan, faces the sinning Davids in high places and says to each: "Thou art the man"; the man who shows just how injustice is working the impoverishment of bread-winners and the enrichment of an ever-narrowing feudalism of privileged wealth; the man who shows how the attempt to centralize power in irresponsible individuals or to invest office with a power from which there is no appeal, no matter how unjust or despotic the exercise of that power, strikes at the vitals of free government; the man who shows the essential criminality of war and the barbarism of a social order that permits child slavery—that man is sure to be denounced and in a thousand ways assailed. And as a result of this condition many earnest men become timid. They go so far, and then pause. They strive to quiet their consciences by indulging in glittering generalities and by placing special emphasis on the good that is present. Now the result is that they drug the conscience of the reader when it should be aroused, and what is equally unfortunate, they confuse the public mind in regard to fundamentals of right and wrong, of democracy and class-rule, of justice and injustice.

We believe most profoundly that ultimately the right will win, but we are more and more convinced that unless each man earnestly agitates and does the duty that lies nearest him, as did the olden prophets and the Great Nazarene, the night of reaction, militarism and commercial materialism will be prolonged and dark and terrible days will come ere the people come into the kingdom of justice and equity; while if we all unite in a determined educational agitation and dauntlessly persist in battling for the fundamentals of justice, freedom and fraternity, progress will be achieved without the shock of force and at an early day.

The Ministry of Beauty. By Stanton Davis Kirkham. Art Boards. Printed on deckled-edged paper. Pp. 180. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work has the imagination of a poet, the brain of an ethical philosopher and a felicity of expression that invests his writing with peculiar charm. The subject-matter of the work in the hands of one thus gifted naturally becomes of special interest and value. The author is a teacher who possesses the seeing eye of the poet, which enables him to lure the reader, even though he be somewhat careless of the graver things of life, from page to page, suggesting a world of truth vital in its influence on life, in such a way as to charm the imagination. For here is a wealth of imagery which robs the lessons of didactic suggestion, and at the same time the reader's eye will be trained to see, his ear to hear and his brain to take cognizance of the beauty the harmony, and the ever-recurring miracle of nature.

The work contains thirteen chapters, in which the author discusses such subjects as "Beauty," "Life," "Religion," "Philosophy," "The World-Message," "The Tendency to Good," "Work," "Health," "Happiness," "The Teacher," "The Preacher," and "The Poet."

The author is an optimist,—a sane, practical, normal optimist, and the wine of good cheer and the inspiration to faith, hope and love are found in generous measure. It is a volume that will radiate a helpful influence while wonderfully adding to the vital culture of the reader and increasing his happiness by making him see and appreciate new beauties and wonders all around him—beauties and wonders that unhappily few persons have more than dimly recognized. We take pleasure in recommending this book to our readers, as it is one that is worthy a place in a well-chosen library of helpful and inspiring works.

Bisocialism. By Oliver Trowbridge. Cloth. Pp. 428. New York: Moody Publishing Company.

TO THE world have been offered many remedies for the economic evils of the established order. Ten or twelve years ago we were repeatedly told that more money was the only thing needed. Give the country more money and all monopolies would be dissolved and economic troubles would fade

like the shadows of night before the rising sun. More money came, and with it more monopoly, more oppression, and a greater difference between wages and the cost of living. The trouble was then charged to the protective tariff and to discriminations in transportation, and the cry for the government of railroads with free trade is now in the air. That this will certainly make things right is the claim of many able thinkers. Others demand a single tax on land, with the abolition of public franchises, a kind of semi-socialism. Meanwhile the omnisocialist smiles and says, "You may try all these, but so long as the profit system exists, even in part, it will endanger the whole economic structure. In the meantime many thoughtful economic writers assert that it is impossible to draw the line between public and private-ownership and industry. Experience alone must be our guide, and time, perhaps generations, will be necessary to determine the points through which this line must run.

One fact, however, in this connection should be noted. All writers whose opinion is worth anything, that is, all who are not manifestly hired by the capitalistic powers to write things which they know are not true, all independent, earnest seekers after the welfare of mankind, agree on certain phases of the problem and its solution. There is enough in the world for all, but there is great inequality and injustice in its distribution. The problem, then, is a problem of state; of, not merely more laws, but of enlarged state functions. The solution is to be found somewhere along the line of socialism. Just where is the question.

At last we have an exact scientific solution of this problem in this book entitled *Bisocialism*. It is clear, original and consistent, and yet difficult. The difficulty arises from the introduction of so many new terms and definitions. In fact, the very purpose of the book is in danger of being defeated thereby. The world is impatient with being forced to learn so many new things in order to understand a writer's meaning. The author talks of utility and disutility, of the marginal labor-form, of differential values, of credit forms and land forms, of the dollar *versus* the dollar, of value and disvalue, and many other things representing minute shades of meaning, all of which seem correct in themselves, but which the world can scarcely be blamed for not taking time to learn.

Even the meaning of the term "bisocialism" is difficult to grasp as the author uses it. Semi-socialism would seem to fit the case better. From his definition of omnisocialism he certainly cannot mean by bisocialism a double socialism, but rather a half-socialism. However, the main thing is not in the term, but the thought, and the author's thought is grasped when it is seen what this bisocialism is supposed to do. Here is the program; "It will destroy all monopoly values; socialize all ground values and all public utility franchise values; individualize all labor values and all capital values, and it will create and maintain an economic system which will permit the fullest coöperation in industry and the freest competition in exchange." In other words, there are five differential values of product, a labor differential, a land differential, a capital differential, a franchise differential, and a monopoly differential. These five differentials are the only ones which it is possible to create or acquire under any economic system whatever. In the established order all these differentials exist and all are left practically to private-ownership. Omnisocialism would socialize them all. Bisocialism would destroy one, socialize two; hence the name, and leave two entirely to the individual. This is the true, just and eternal remedy for all the economic evils of the established order. Scientifically it seems correct. The only question is, will it work?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Panama, The Isthmus and Canal. By C. H. Forbes-Lindsey. Cloth. Pp. 368. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

MR. FORBES-LINDSEY is the author of *India, Past and Present*; *The Philippines Under Spanish and American Rule*; and *America's Insular Possessions*. In this volume he discusses canals in general, gives the history of canal construction, sets forth their commercial value, and gives many interesting facts about countries which have been benefited by these artificial water-ways. With particular reference to the Panama Canal, he gives a complete history of the Isthmus since its discovery by Europeans, speaks of the search for a strait across it, tells of the early dreams of a canal, discusses the Nicaragua route, and then adds the history of the attempt to dig the canal now under construction. That part of the history which treats

of De Lesseps and his disastrous failure is especially interesting. Scarcely less so is the history of the proceedings which led up to the final adoption of the Panama route, the Panama revolution, the adoption of plans for resuming the work, and the progress up to date of the publication of the book.

The author thinks that the opening of the new gateway to the Pacific will give a tremendous impetus to the industries of the South. Its raw cotton, the products of its mills, its coal and iron, will find an enlarged market under much more favorable freight conditions. It will also be of immense benefit to our Pacific states in affording them increased facilities for shipping lumber, fruit and fish to the eastern market. The book is optimistic, the author evidently believing in our ability to dig the canal and make it a great source of commercial strength to ourselves and a blessing to mankind in general.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Pure Gold of Nineteenth Century Literature. By William Lyon Phelps. Cloth. Pp. 40. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THE TITLE of this work is misleading. One would naturally suppose that the author in sweeping the field of nineteenth century literature, would touch upon the writings of masters who lived beyond the borders of Britain. Especially is it surprising to find a professor in an American university ignoring his own land when writing of a period that produced men like Ralph Waldo Emerson. Titles so misleading are unfortunate for the author, as they are unfair to the reader, for they naturally tend to prejudice the reader against the writer.

Aside from this criticism, however, this little work merits strong words of praise. In it Professor Phelps has given brief but on the whole discriminating appreciations of those whom he considers to be the masters of nineteenth century literature in the British Isles. He is especially happy in his characterization of the poets. Here we have Keats, Wordsworth, Browning, Byron, Shelley and Tennyson described in an admirable manner, the appreciation of Browning being particularly fine. When he comes to consider and grade the prose writers he is not quite so satisfactory, from our point-of-view. Still, the work is on the whole an exceptionally

fine brief appreciation of the chief British contributors to the literature of permanent value during the nineteenth century.

Morning. A Volume of Miscellaneous Verse.

By James Whitcomb Riley. Cloth. Pp. 162. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a volume of verse made up largely of poems written for special occasions. Many of them are personal in character, that on Longfellow being one of the best. The lines entitled "The Quest of the Fathers," from which we take the following stanzas, are among the best verse in the work, which is marked by great variety in its content matter:

"What were our Forefathers trying to find
When they weighed anchor, that desperate hour
They turned from home, and the warning wind
Sighed in the sails of the old Mayflower?
What sought they that could compensate
Their hearts for the loved ones left behind—
The household group at the glowing grate?—
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"Faces pallid, but sternly set,
Lips locked close, as in voiceless prayer,
And eyes with never a teardrop wet—
Even the tenderest woman's there!
But O the light from the soul within,
As each spake each with a flashing mind—
As the lightning speaks to its kith and kin
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"And yet, befriended in some strange wise,
They groped their way in the storm and stress
Through which—though their look found not the
skies—
The Lord's look found *them* ne'ertheless—
Found them, yea, in their piteous lot,
As they in their faith from the first divined—
Found them, and favored them—too. But what—
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"Numb and agasp, with the frost for breath,
They came on a frozen shore, at last,
As bleak and drear as the coasts of death,—
And yet their psalm o'er the wintry blast
Rang glad as though 't were the chiming mirth
Of jubilant children landing there—
Until o'er all of the icy earth
The snows seemed warm, as they knelt in prayer.

"For lo! they were close on the trail they sought:—
In the sacred soil of the rights of men
They marked where the Master-hand had wrought;
And there they garnered and sowed again.—
Their land—then *ours*, as to-day it is,
With its flag of heaven's own light designed.
And God's vast love o'er all. . . . And *this*
Is what our Forefathers were trying to find.'

Under the heading of "Imitations" there are some clever lines. The Following example entitled "Ef Uncle Remus Please Ter 'Scusen Me," is especially good:

'Dey wunce wuz er time which I gwinter tell you
'bout it—
An' it 's easy ter believe it sho'ly es it is ter doubt
it —
So des you pick yer 'ruthers' whilse I tell how ole
Br'er Rabbit
Wunce know de time when he git de fightin' habit.
Co'se he ain't no bragger, des a-rippin' an' a-rarin'
An' a-darin' all de beestus an' a-des a-double-
darin'
Sich ez Mr. Jonus Lion, er Sir Mr. Twister Tagger,
Er Sister Hisstopottomus, er A'nt Ferginny
Ja'gger
Yit, des de same, he layin' low an' know he got de
muscle
What sho' ter s'prise mos' any size what crowd 'im
fer a tussle.—
But speshully he 'spise de *Dawg*, an' sight 'er one
des make 'im
Fergit hisse'f an' run 'em down an' grab 'em up
an' shake 'em —
An' mo' 'n dat, ef 't wuz n't fer de *Dawg-law* den
ag'in it,
He 'd des a-kilt off ev'y *Dawg* dat 's chasin' him
dis minute "

The work as a whole, however, is far inferior to most of Mr. Riley's books, and we doubt the wisdom of the poet publishing many lines found in these pages, which, however apt and pleasing for some special assemblage that probably called them forth, have no permanent value and are not really worthy of publication.

The Best Man. By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 208. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

ALL OF Harold Macgrath's stories may be fitly described as light, bright and entertaining. For those who wish pleasantly to while away the time without being compelled to think seriously, his tales will prove attractive. He seldom indulges in serious writing, but in the present volume there are some things that are calculated to make one think. The volume contains three short, pleasing tales that deal with the old, old story and all end much as the reader would desire. We do not think the volume equal to *The Man on the Box*, but it is decidedly superior to *Enchantment*, Mr. MacGrath's previously published volume of short stories.

Poor Richard Jr.'s Almanac.

Good Stories From The Ladies' Home Journal.

The Bachelor's Guide to Matrimony. By Reginald Wright Kauffman.

Thro' the Rye. By Herman Lee Meader.

Illuminated boards. Price, 50 cents each.

Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

OF THESE little works the first two, *Poor Richard Jr.'s Almanac* and *Good Stories from The Ladies' Home Journal*, are exceptionally bright, entertaining and wholesome, and they are often helpfully suggestive. Of *The Bachelor's Guide to Matrimony* it can be said to be a clever work, full of witty and well-turned observations, but it is distinctly light

and frivolous. The atmosphere is not morally stimulating; rather the reverse, from the tendency to make light of those things that should be ever regarded as most sacred in life's relations. The fourth volume, *Thro' the Rye*, we cannot recommend to any class of readers, for the reason that the atmosphere is distinctly unhealthy. It reeks with the world of "wine, women and song"—the world in which all that is divine and noble in life is pushed aside for sensuous gratifications that press downward and that end in sorrow and bitterness, and which at best is a counterfeit world where every so-called pleasure contains a sting and poisons the soul, and where every joy is as essentially ephemeral as the fleeting days.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GOVERNMENT BY FEDERAL JUDGES: No more timely or important paper has appeared in an American periodical during the present year than the powerful and statesmanlike contribution by the Honorable WALTER CLARK, LL.D., Chief Justice of North Carolina, which we publish in this issue of THE ARENA, dealing with government by Federal judges. Mr. CLARK has been on the Supreme Bench of North Carolina for many years. When the people demanded that he be elected to this most important office within the gift of the state, because of his able rulings and the fidelity with which he had administered his high trust as Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench, the tobacco trust and the railroad corporations, who had found that in this statesman of the old-time order, this man of the WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON spirit, there was a public servant who could not be seduced, sought to defeat him. Judge CLARK, however, was elected by the largest majority ever accorded to a public servant in the state. He is one of the ripest scholars of the South and a man whose rulings have been marked by an eminent degree of fairness and justice. The present contribution is bound to attract general attention and occasion much comment. To the upholders of class-rule, the reactionaries and the enemies of free institutions it cannot be otherwise than extremely distasteful, as it so clearly exposes the untenable character of their position; while to the friends of a democratic republic it will be a clarion call to duty,—a call to cast aside their indifference, close ranks and rally to the defence of fundamental and vital popular rights that are being placed in deadly peril by class interests operating through money-controlled machines and reactionary statesmen who while professing fidelity to free institutions

are secretly striving to foster a condition that would make the feudalism of privileged wealth, the political boss, the money-controlled machine, and the politicians that serve the interests the masters of American political institutions. No more important paper has appeared this autumn than Judge CLARK's able contribution to this issue.

Municipal Art in Southern Cities: In this issue we publish a beautifully illustrated paper on New Orleans, from the scholarly pen of GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, who acting as special commissioner for THE ARENA recently made a careful study of several typical southern cities for the present series of papers. This is the opening contribution of Mr. JAMES' articles on municipal art in southern cities and it will be followed by other contributions on Galveston, Houston and San Antonio. The series will be an extremely valuable contribution to the vital literature relating to modern municipalities.

Political Economy and Present-Day Civilization: A Criticism: We desire to call the special attention of our readers to WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG's brilliant paper on political economy, which appears in this issue. Mr. ARMSTRONG is the author of *Heroes of Defeat* and has for many years been a prominent figure both in political and literary circles. He is a bold, incisive thinker, a brilliant orator and a man absolutely devoted to the cause of justice and the rights of man. Seldom has the essentially vicious character of the *laissez faire* theory been so clearly exposed as in this thought-compelling contribution. The people have slept over-long. The ends of democracy have been largely defeated through the failure to safeguard

the interests of all the people. This failure has enabled the shrewd, cunning, unscrupulous, daring and masterful few in our great Republic to become as much the masters of the many as the Crown and the hereditary aristocracy are of the people in limited monarchies. Popular government in America has in many instances in city, state, and at times in the nation, ceased to be truly representative of the people and is at all times, excepting during periods of general exposure and public indignation, more responsive to privileged wealth and monopoly interests than to the interests of the millions. This condition can only be overcome by practical measures which will insure to the people a really representative government—measures like the initiative, referendum and the right of recall, which have in every instance where they have been introduced resulted in a truly representative government in place of misrepresentative rule.

New Zealand: A New Democracy: THE ARENA is, we believe, presenting more vitally constructive papers from authoritative writers dealing with popular government in a practical way and illustrated by experiments that have proved successful, than any other American review or magazine. In this issue we present another contribution from Mr. A. A. Brown, dealing with practical democratic advance as seen in the dominion of New Zealand. This clear, lucid and inspiring paper is not the theory of a visionary or the utterance of some one who writes of matters about which he has no personal knowledge; for the author's present contribution is the fruit of a personal visit to New Zealand, during which he made an exhaustive study of the actual workings of the government. He therefore speaks from knowledge and his paper will appeal to all earnest men and women who think for themselves.

The Federation of the World: In *The Federation of the World*, by WALTER BARTNETT, a prominent member of the American Society of International Law, our readers will find a broad, statesmanlike paper in which the author shows how mighty forces are rapidly making for world federation. His own position is that of an enlightened statesman who has thought deeply upon the great subject which he discusses. He holds that the true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes; that the great enlightenment of the people of all lands must ultimately result in the greater stability of government; that the principle of government of the people, by the people and for the people is becoming universal; and that the nations are beginning to realize the self-interest that lies in cooperation; while in the various movements already inaugurated which look toward world union along various lines, we have a warrant for believing that "in the course of a few years we shall see the shaping of a true world-movement . . . toward the effectuation of an international understanding embodied in a permanent institution of universal scope." The paper is one that should challenge the attention of all lovers of humanity and human progress.

An Impressionist on the Photographic Art: In this issue we give a finely illustrated interview with PAUL FOURNIER on the photographer's art as

conceived by the impressionistic artist. Mr. FOURNIER, though one of the youngest of the well known impressionistic photographers, has won an enviable place among his brothers who seek, in so far as possible to catch nature in her varying moods and who, when they fail in their efforts to surprise the great Mother, strive to succeed by manipulation of plates and mechanical efforts, so to imitate her as to achieve their desired ends. The photograph of HORACE TRAUBEL is a remarkably fine piece of work of its special kind, as are some of the landscapes.

Stevenson in San Francisco: Our readers will enjoy the bright and interesting sketch of ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON in San Francisco, by JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN. There is a particular interest and charm attaching to almost everything relating to the life and thought of Mr. STEVENSON, and Mrs. VROOMAN, as an enthusiastic admirer of the great English author, is able to invest with special charm any pen-picture of this great man.

Mr. Shibley's Paper: We call special attention to the excellent short paper by GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, President of the National Federation for People's Rule, in which he so admirably exposes the shallow pretenses and thoroughly unrepugnant attitude of Secretary TAFT and Senator LODGE in regard to the fundamental principles of popular government and the necessary and practical measures which the people are everywhere taking to wrest the government from the control of the corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines, which have defeated the ends of popular government in the interests of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

The Idealism of Kant: Readers of THE ARENA who followed with interest Judge JONES' deeply thoughtful paper on the idealism of PLATO and KANT in the October ARENA will find the paper which we publish this month from the scholarly pen of Judge JONES even more striking and interesting than the former contribution. In it the author in a remarkably lucid manner shows the extremely radical stand taken by the most profound of all German transcendental philosophers in regard to the creation and laws governing the physical universe.

Daniel's Vision: In this issue we give the concluding part of the paper by GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS on *Daniel's Vision*. While it is probable that few of our readers will agree with the author in his unique interpretation of this passage, it will doubtless serve the excellent purpose of stimulating thought and inquiry. The author has spent many years of patient study of certain passages of the Old Testament, and in his printed works as well as in this paper he gives the fruit of his conclusions,—what appears to him to be the truth that explains passages that long perplexed him as being hidden and unintelligible. And as progress waits on the hospitable attitude of the human mind to any thoughts that are the fruit of long meditation, it seemed but right to give a hearing to these conclusions which represent the fruit of so many years of study.



TOM L. JOHNSON.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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THE COMING ELECTRICAL HOME FOR AMERICA'S MILLIONS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

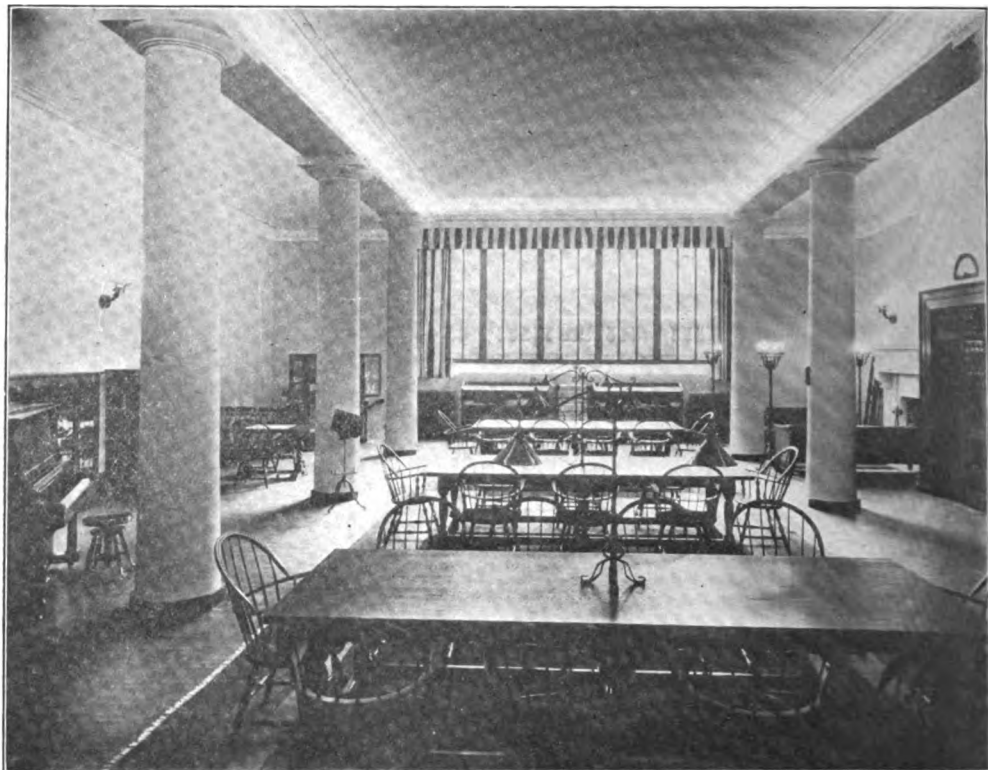
I.

THE OLD-TIME truism, that the dream of yesterday is the reality of to-day, was never so strikingly illustrated as in our own age. The nineteenth century was the wizard era of marvelous surprises and transformations. But one period in the history of European civilization can compare with it, and that was the wonderful dawning days of what we call Modern times, when through Gutenberg's invention, books were for the first time being printed from movable type, thus ushering in the age of general enlightenment; when Italy was blossoming with the greatest art the ages have beheld; when north of the Alps the New Learning was quickening the intellectual impulses and the Reformation was arousing the moral idealism of men and nations; when Spain and Portugal were being intoxicated with the wonder tales of the ocean pioneers; of Columbus returning from the discovery of the New World; of Vasco da Gama, who had found the ocean high-

with gems, precious stones and fabrics of marvelous beauty; and of the sailors of Magellan's ships, that had belted the world, returning to tell of far-away lands inhabited by red, brown, black and yellow men.

The first century of Modern Times was a rebirth and a reawakening, and the nineteenth century in another way was quite as wonderful, quite as fecund and germinal in character and results. There were no material continents to be discovered, but science, discovery and invention found the key to Nature's age-long secrets,—found and used the key so that the subtle forces of the universe have been made the docile servants of man, working transformations and revolutions quite as great as those that marked the epoch in which Copernicus gave to civilization a new heaven, Columbus a New World, and in which Gutenberg became the dispenser of the light of knowledge for the millions.

During the nineteenth century physical science has turned page after page



CLUB-ROOM AND LIBRARY.

the story of life's advance writ in stone and imbedded in strata. It has scanned the starry ether, marvelously extending our knowledge of the worlds above. It has weighed the spheres and measured the distances from star to star, unfolding a new world of knowledge pertaining to the universe that surrounds this tiny speck we call the world.

The revelations of chemistry have been a veritable fairy tale, fascinating, wonderful, even almost incredible in the marvels that through its revelations have been given to the world; while the discovery and utilization of the subtle or hidden forces and wealth of Nature have wrought a transformation scene before the vision of the age, bringing remote regions into hailing distance, binding continents together and establishing intimate relations and intercourse between lands hitherto remote and little

tionizing conditions throughout the civilized world.

The advance made all along the line under the ægis of inventive discovery is well illustrated in the changes that have taken place in the lighting of cities and the homes of the people. First the torch, the rush-light, the candle; later petroleum with its more brilliant light, followed by gas, a distinct improvement, which in turn pales before the brighter illuminant, electricity.

II.

Nowhere perhaps in the wide field of utilitarian and material activity have greater or more potentially beneficent achievements been wrought than in the domain of electricity. We are all more or less familiar with its multitudinous and varied uses as a motor power and an illuminant: while as an aid to the sci-

important factor and for the progressive members of the medical and dental fraternity its office appliances have already served to materially reduce drudgery and otherwise assist the worker while giving him more time to achieve better results than would otherwise be possible. In the factory, the general office and the home its spheres of usefulness have extended so rapidly in recent years that few persons not actively engaged in its manufacture are aware of the scope and variety of service now possible of realization in these haunts of labor and of life.

The electric age has dawned. Its potentialities have been clearly demonstrated. All that now remains is to cheapen its production so that it can be brought within the reach of the millions, and to quicken and develop the civic and humanitarian spirit in man and society so that they will be great and wise enough to see that the blessings of electricity shall become the heritage of all instead of being held from the many for the abnormal enrichment of the privileged few. This two-fold consummation so desired by all high-minded citizens who understand that the true happiness, development and well-being of each can be best conserved by equality of opportunities and of rights that insure absolute justice for all, will soon be accomplished. The hour is hastening when through cheapening in the cost of production and the wisdom of an en-



ELECTRICAL WASHING-MACHINE.

lightened public spirit the people will enjoy in the home the wonderful blessings of electricity. Of this he who is acquainted with the history of inventions and discoveries adapted for general use, and who is also a close student of history since the democratic epoch, can have little doubt.

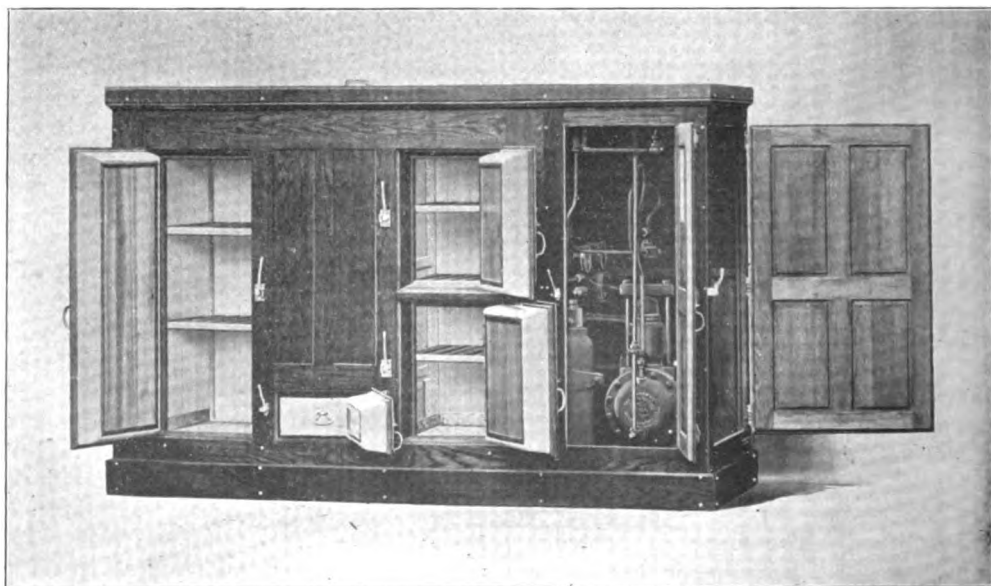
In the first place, all great discoveries and inventions that involve much cost in production are expensive while in their infant stage of development and before their general introduction and use warrant extensive manufacture. But as time passes there is, under anything like normal or reasonable conditions, a steady reduction in price. Thus, for example, gas that at one time cost the consumer \$1.50 and \$2.00 can to-day



ELECTRICAL IRONING.

be furnished at half that price and still yield as great or greater profits on the money employed in its manufacture,

because of the extension in its use, the discoveries that have resulted in cheapening its cost of production, and the utilization of by-products once thrown away as refuse. With a number of the finest intellects in the world engaged in efforts to reduce cost, utilize by-products and extend the use of anything for which there is a general demand, the cheapening of the cost at which it can be profitably produced is steady and marked. The recent successful demonstration of Professor Thaddeus S. C. Lowe's process, which was described in the November ARENA, by which the by-products resulting from the manufacture of gas from crude oil are made into the finest coke in the world, has made it possible and practicable, as we have before pointed out, for small municipalities in regions where there are oil wells, to realize enough from the coke produced to enable the gas to be utilized for generating electricity at a cost that will enable the people to enjoy all the blessings of electricity in the home at a price well within the reach of the masses, especially when the labor-saving features of electrical appliances are considered. And this is typical of the discoveries and



ELECTRICAL REFRIGERATOR



COOKING AND BAKING-TABLE.

inventions that are continually being made and which will potentially reduce the cost of electricity for the people.

In the second place, no one who has studied the growing interest of the people in the question of municipal government and who is acquainted with the splendid results of municipal-ownership and operation of public utilities in Great Britain, Continental Europe, and in America where the people have gained sufficient power in municipal government to break the control of the corrupt and corrupting public-service corporations that have been the master influence in debauching American municipal life, can doubt that the hour approaches when the people will take over the great public utilities and operate them so that they shall become a source of public enrichment and personal benefit to all the citizens, instead of, as now, being the great gold mines which are enormously enriching already over-rich chiefs of the feudalism of privileged interests and Wall street high financiers. And with this change the people—the millions of wealth-creators—will be able to enjoy the comforts and blessings of electricity. Then will come the electric city of which so many have dreamed, and the electric home that will promote the happiness and comfort of the

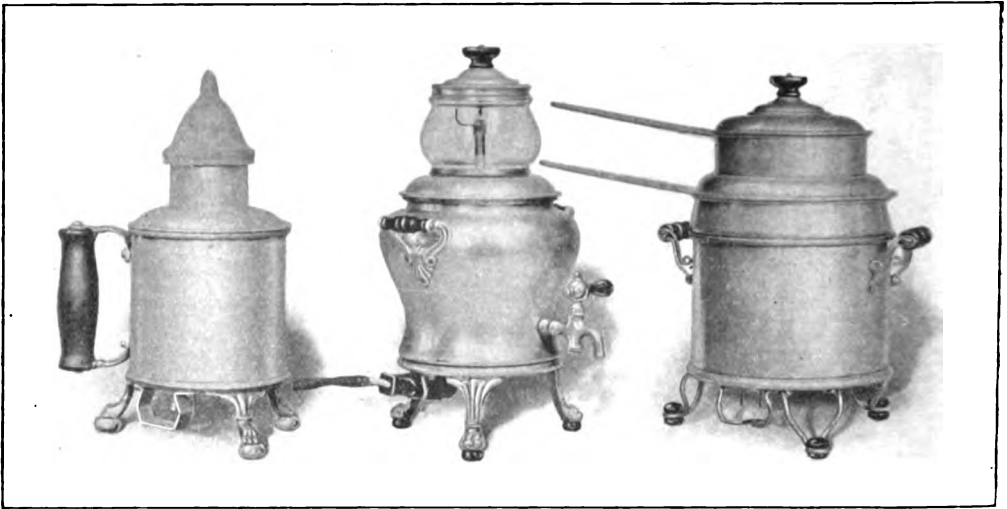
masses. It is the practical certainty of this splendid realization awaiting the millions of America that gives to the true democrat a vital interest in the conditions of what has already been achieved in preparing the way for the electric home for the wealth-creators of the Republic.

It was this potentiality that led us recently to visit the magnificent new office-building of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston for the purpose of carefully examining the practical workings of scores upon scores of inventions that are now in use in the homes of the wealthy and which wherever they are employed are revolutionizing housekeeping and robbing it of the greater part of its drudgery while adding immensely to the comforts of the home life.

In passing we desire to say a word about the model office-building of this company, which is the home of a remarkably interesting permanent electrical exhibit. The entire structure is devoted to the



ELECTRICAL COOKING.



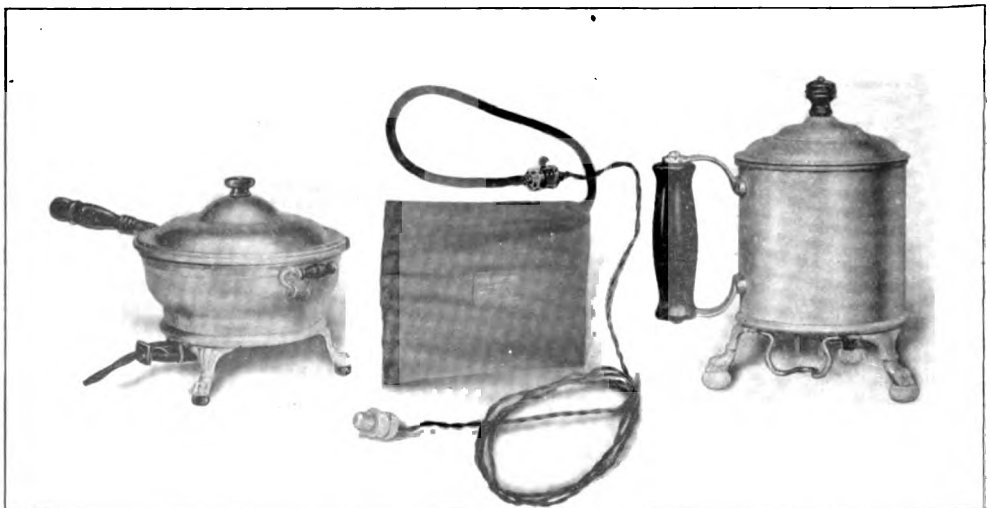
BABY MILK-WARMER.

COFFEE-PERCOLATOR.

CEREAL-COOKER.

company's business. In it electricity is employed in almost every conceivable way. The air of the great building is forced into a chamber through great canvas filtering tubes. Here it is warmed in winter before being driven through the building by electric power. At the top of the structure is exhaust machinery that is all the time carrying away the vitiated air. The great elevators are run by electricity. The lighting of the building affords opportunity for the

display of various kinds of illuminating lamps and devices, the most interesting of which, perhaps, is the lino-lyte (tubes) concealed in the curved recesses above the columns and extending around the four sides of the central ceiling panel, both outside and inside, of the club-room and library, which occupies the third floor of the building. This club-room is a model room, fitted up magnificently for the use of the employes of the company, and here is found a fine



CHAFING-DISH.

WARMING-PAD.

HEATING-PAIL.

technical library. From basement to roof the building is a model, admirably adapted to illustrate the various ways in which electricity is now employed in general offices and public buildings as well as in the home.

The inventions for the utilization of electricity in the home that we are about to describe we witnessed in operation during our recent tour of investigation to which we have alluded. Nor is this all. Space renders it impossible to even briefly notice numbers of inventions to which our attention was called and which are also now in practical use in the homes of many users of electricity. We shall confine our attention to what seemed to us the principal inventions which greatly increase the comforts of home and those that reduce household drudgery to a minimum, often even making what has hitherto been irksome and burdensome a pleasant pastime.

III.

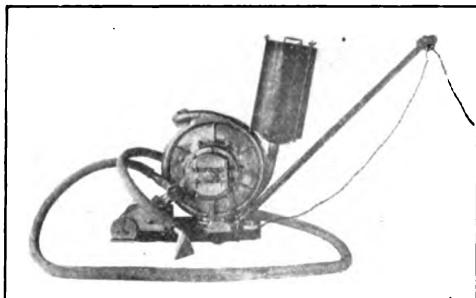
To bring before our readers a fair idea of what the electric home, as developed up to the present time, means, and what it will we believe mean to the millions within another generation, we will let our imagination carry us forward two or three decades, to the time when our children who are now little tots at our firesides, will be building homes of their own. We will enter the domicile



ELECTRICAL BREAKFAST-TABLE.

of a young couple starting in life and who possess fine, sturdy democratic ideals,—young people who have learned the joy of work and the dignity of honest toil. They wish to get all the happiness possible out of their little home. They have determined not to be forever haunted by the nightmare of the servant-girl problem, and yet they wish to avoid the drudgery and to enjoy the comforts of their home to the fullest degree.

We enter this house and begin our pilgrimage in the laundry. Here we find that the young housewife has placed her washing in the tubs to soak over



ELECTRICAL CARPET-SWEEPER.

night. The clothes are now lifted into the twentieth-century electric washer. A plug is inserted and the electricity is turned on. Instantly the washer, a marvel of mechanical simplicity and efficiency, commences to perform a labor that for generations has been one of the most arduous and irksome connected with housekeeping. In a short time the clothes are thoroughly cleansed and ready to be rinsed and wrung out. Now the wringing out of clothes has been another exhausting labor, and here again electricity has come to the aid of the housewife. Another plug is inserted and the electricity is again turned on and the wringer commences to work. The clothes are quickly run through and are ready to be dried. From the electric washer and wringer we turn to the electric irons, something of special value in the summer and a wonderful promoter of comfort, as by simply attaching the iron to a wire an even heat is maintained throughout the entire ironing. The fact that the irons can be used at any time without making a fire, and wherever in the house it is most

convenient to do the necessary work, adds much to their usefulness.

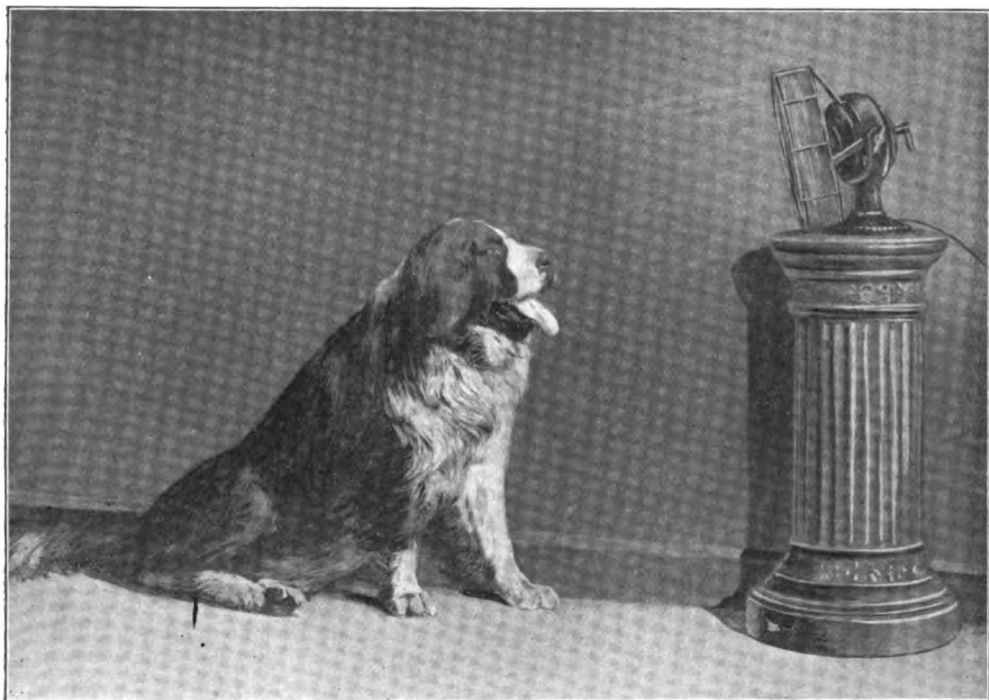
Stepping from the laundry into the basement, we are shown an ingenious clock arrangement by which at any desired hour the drafts of the furnace are automatically opened. Thus, if set for six A. M., the drafts will open at that hour, so that by the time the family is ready to rise the house will be warm. Here also our attention is called to the electrical ice-cream freezer, by means of which ice-cream making is robbed of drudgery and waste of muscular strength.

Before entering the kitchen we are attracted to the ice-making and refrigerating machine, where ice may be made from any water preferred and a pure, dry refrigeration is insured. This machine, being automatic, can be run by any one by simply turning on the electric switch. The machine equals in refrigeration 250 pounds of ice per day.

Next we enter the kitchen, one of the most attractive spots in the electric home. The cooking and baking-table



ELECTRICAL SEWING-MACHINE.



AN UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIAL.

is a delight to behold. No ashes, dust, smoke or odor, such as come from gas, coal or wood. The cooking in the oven and on the cookers is uniform and perfect. The specially manufactured coffee-percolator is a treasure to the coffee lover, insuring a most delightful cup of coffee; while the broiler is superior to any with which we are acquainted, as besides evenly broiling the meat, it conserves all the juices that usually occasion smoke and unpleasant odors. These juices run along grooves in the floor of the broiler and are emptied into a cup at the lower end.

Another thing that adds to the comfort of the electrical home is the ease with which a vessel can be heated in any room in the house, by disconnecting a lamp and attaching a cord connected with the electric stove or base of the cooker. By the aid of one of the two excellent baby-bottles now in use it is possible to heat milk for the baby in a few moments at night without the parent having to get up.

From the kitchen we pass to the dining-room, and here the young housewife proudly displays the electric chafing-dish. She also shows how she often gets breakfast at the table, on which the coffee is made and the eggs boiled as she and her husband discuss the morning papers.

But she insists that it is not until we reach the bedrooms that the full value of electricity in the home is appreciated. En route to the chambers she pauses to call our attention to one of the most important and useful of all devices for the housekeeper,—the electric carpet-sweeper, which takes up all dust, dirt and small trash, like matches, pieces of paper, etc., and cleanses the carpet until it looks almost like new. A similar arrangement is used for cleaning the walls and furniture.

In the sewing-room we see something that means more than most men realize to women who have considerable work to do on sewing-machines. It is the electric device which runs the machine,

so that all the operator has to do is to guide the fabric and start or stop the machine.

In the bedroom there is a number of inventions that contribute very much to the comfort of the sleepers. Thus, for example, the lamp at the head of the bed that can be lighted or turned out by merely raising the arm. Below the lamp is a key that connects with the comfort-promoting electric heating-pad. Turn the key half around, and this pad throws off a gentle and delightful heat. It can be placed at the feet or wherever desired. If greater warmth is desired, for the purpose of breaking up congestion or for any other reason, all that is necessary is to turn the key completely around. Another key within easy reach communicates with an electric radiator. Ten or fifteen minutes after this is turned on the room will be warm. Elsewhere is a device for generating a breeze and giving comfort during sultry days in summer. Indeed, turn in any direction, and we find inventions that add to the comfort and convenience of the home-builders and which so reduce the drudgery and irksome parts of housework that it now becomes as never before a joy to labor and make beautiful the dearest and most hallowed spot in all the world, the home.

And all these things are coming—surely, swiftly coming. True, we may not all live to enjoy them, but if we are faithful and true to the trust democracy imposes upon us, our children or the little loved ones at the firesides of our friends will rejoice in the fuller life they will render possible. Everything that contributes to the comfort of the home helps civilization in its most vital center. True, the first and most needful thing is that education that teaches the husband and wife the holy and sacred character of the home life; teaches them the high meaning of love and how much their deepest and truest happiness and that of their children is bound up in their making the interest and happiness of each other a master consideration. But after this come the important environing conditions that contribute in so large a way to making the ideal home of love a radiant, happy, comfort-diffusing center. The true home is the vital dynamic center of civilization. That which tends to further make it the joy and ever-drawing magnet for husband, wife and child helps to bulwark civilization and develop that full-orbed manhood and womanhood that under the compulsion of moral idealism is the hope of democracy.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

UNREST IN INDIA: ITS GENESIS AND TREND, AS AN EXPATRIATED EAST-INDIAN SEES IT.

BY SAINT NIHAL SING,

Contributor to "Indian Review," "Indian World," "Modern Review," etc., India.

IS THERE unrest in India? Is it of dimensions vast enough to be worthy of engaging the attention of the thinking world? If so—what is its genesis, what its trend? These are pertinent questions which, intelligently answered, doubtless will shed light upon a vital topic of the day.

The present paper is an attempt at a free and frank discussion of these queries. It neither is an animated appreciation of East-Indian genius from the pen of a strongly biased partisan; nor a vicious denunciation of British character by a disappointed candidate for India House honors. The writer, by parentage, birth and education is an East-Indian. His chief claim consists of the fact: That he does not belong to either of the East-Indian races—the Hindus and Mohammedans, which are said to have cross-purposes and constantly to be warring with each other. Having voluntarily expatriated himself and chosen another continent for future residence, he is able to get a dispassionate focus on present-day affairs in Hindostan.

News narratives of the unrest in India which so far have found entree into the American press are woefully insufficient and in many instances one-sided and conflicting. The enterprising daily papers in large American cities have printed brief and somewhat distorted snatches, deplorably shorn of details and vaguely suggestive of tense and chaotic conditions in Hindostan. How deep and widespread is the uneasiness that prevails in India, the cable despatches and the supplementary special articles that hitherto have found their way into American periodicals have

Current literature from across the ocean leaves the reader in a similar predicament. English accounts of Indian unrest are calculated to impress one that a magnitudinous rebellion against the constituted authority of Great Britain in India, something on the order of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, only on a much larger and fiercer scale, was perilously imminent.

To study the details of this bogey of an armed revolt is interesting. English newspapers are wildly enthusiastic over their compatriots in India, who, in time, detected the conspiracy and sounded the alarm; and are profuse in praising the farsight and bold statesmanship of the Britishers at the helm of Indian affairs in England who, by a decisive and sagacious coup—by deporting seditionists, jailing agitators and censoring newspapers—nipped the plot in the bud.

English statements regarding this fancied insurrection in India betray a frenzied fright. British panegyrics on the sagacity and intrepidity in dealing with it follow these nervous reports with a rapidity that invests the whole performance with a comic interest. It shows the British officials in the rôle of a fragile, weak-minded woman suffering from hysterics—nervous tremors followed by convulsive fits of laughter.

Native newspapers in India blandly smile over this tempest in a teapot. Even those native editors and publicists who are being persecuted by panic-stricken British officials take this viewpoint.

A term in the penitentiary under no circumstances is a pleasure which or would look forward to with de

may be gathered from the following quotation from an Indian newspaper:

"For the crime of possessing a conscience, the law has sent Bepin Chander Pal whither felons go. His silk chaddar, his country dhoti, his country shirt (with no buttons because of their being British) have been taken off his body and the jail striped-jacket and striped-pants are upon him now. The head of the hero has been shaved clean, according to jail rules, and one of the greatest patriots of the age is eating his meals out of iron dishes and tin cups and grinds India's roughest rice between his teeth. Such is the condition Bepin Chander Pal is reduced to now."

Not unoften the East-Indian political prisoners, who usually possess soft, white hands, come from castes which look upon manual labor as being beneath their dignity and invariably are persons who never have performed physical work, are obliged to grind corn with hand-mills, or make twine. A few friends went to interview Balu Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the editor of *Lajpatpur*, who now is confined in the Calcutta jail on a charge of sedition. "They say," writes the Lahore, the Punjab, *Panjabee*, "that young Dutt has got boils on his hands because he was made to work hard at the oil-mill. . . . With men accused of grievous hurt, rape and robbery, Mr. Dutt is huddled up."

No wonder, the average East-Indian agitator does not consider it much fun to be made the subject of mad pranks of terror-stricken aliens. The alarmist reports by frightened English officials in Hindostan and the frenzied outpourings of British "yellow" press, touch him too vitally to permit him to enjoy the jest. If by nature he is inclined to indulge in a lighter vein over the nervousness shown by the British lion, the severity of jail life, the corporal punishment and flogging make it impossible for him to relish the joke.

If this fancied revolution ended in

mere academic discussion, if it was just a banter gotten up by good-natured young folks for diversion, it would have been different. But as it is, the glamor of this impending rebellion has been instrumental in making the British government—which even by Englishmen is characterized in normal times as "a despotism"—rule India with a high hand and pursue a policy of repression and retrogression.

Thus we find that every native East-Indian publicist and publication openly and emphatically denies the rumors of an armed revolt against the English in India. In the British House of Commons we hear an Honorable M.P. ask "My Honorable friend, the Secretary of State for India," to take some active steps to prevent the dissemination of false telegrams, that were causing cruel consternation to countless Britishers, regarding an imaginary revolution impending in His Britannic Majesty's Indian Empire; in answer to which John Morley expresses his regrets and inability to rectify the evil.

A little journey to the Fortress of Rangoon, the capitol of Burma, is not needed to convince the reader that Lala Lajpatrai, the Punjab lawyer-leader, and Sirdar Ajit Singh, his so-called accomplice and lieutenant, who are compelled to abide there against their will, away from friends and relatives; and who, *without trial*, were kidnapped from their Province and smuggled into another more than a thousand miles distant, do not look upon their imprisonment as a huge joke. The father of one of these men stoutly refutes the charges that his son was in any wise connected with the hatching of schemes to bring about England's downfall in India. The "accomplished lawyer," as the signer of the writ of deportation once called Mr. Lajptarai in the British Parliament, himself evidently takes a stern view of the entertainment being provided for him at the expense of the British-India Government. He is beseeching the

Emperor of India for justice, protesting his innocence and bewailing the summary and unconstitutional manner in which he has been treated. There is reason to believe, *a priori*, that Mr. Ajit Singh is of the same mind.

Honorable Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who looms large on the political horizon of Hindostan, whose statesmanship, probity and uprightness are enthusiastically admired by all the congeries of nationalities populating India as well as by the foreign rulers, says anent the dangerous imminence of this dreadful political revolution:

"I have been following events in the Punjab with close attention for some time past. . . . Brushing aside the wild stories to which the *Civil and Military Gazette* has thought fit to give currency, viz., that Lala Lajpatrai had a hundred thousand desperate men under him and that he was contemplating an attack on the Fort of Lahore on 10th of May, the impressions I have been able to gather are as follows: (1) That there has been serious and widespread dissatisfaction among the peasantry owing to recent land legislation and the enhancement of canal rates; (2) that this dissatisfaction has spread to some Indian troops in the Province owing to their being drawn from the ranks of the peasantry; (3) that some thoughtless individuals have probably endeavored to take advantage of this dissatisfaction and have tried to tamper with the loyalty of the troops; (4) that the military authorities grew anxious in consequence and probably Lord Kitchener insisted on strong measures being adopted; (5) that the relation between the European community and the Indian civil population have been steadily growing worse and they have been further embittered by the prosecution and conviction of the editor and proprietor of the *Panjabee*; (6) that a vague feeling of nervous apprehension prevailed at the beginning of this month, especially among the European community, that on the 10th of May, the fiftieth

anniversary of the Indian Mutiny, there would be a fresh outbreak of mutiny in the Province; (7) that the feeling was strengthened by demonstrations and acts of rowdyism in Lahore and Rawalpindi in connection with the conviction of the *Panjabee* and the extraordinary notice issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi on certain leading members of the bar; (8) that the local Government, therefore, thought it necessary to make an impressive show of force before the 10th of May so as to repress any mutinous tendencies that might exist, and they struck at Lala Lajpatrai simply because he was the most prominent political worker in the Province. . . . I think the Government have entirely misjudged the volume and character of the unrest prevalent in the Punjab. . . . But the people of this country believe and will continue to believe that there never was any real chance of a second mutiny and that Lala Lajpatrai has been sacrificed to the nervous apprehension that suddenly seized the authorities."

In the light of what precedes this, a fair-minded person cannot but dismiss as untenable the hypothesis that Britain stands in imminent danger of an armed insurrection.

In the chase of this phantom, however, Britain has created great unrest. England started out to suppress this supposedly threatened armed revolt. To-day she finds that the "sun of the British Empire" is losing some of its warmth and vitality. One result of this pursuit of a will-o'-the-wisp is that several scores of Hindus are being tried in Rawalpindi, the Punjab, India—which the writer of these lines owns as his birthplace—for complicity in a riot which took place in that city a few months ago. Many districts in different parts of India are under the ban of a regulation which prohibits the discussion of politics in open assemblies. Several cities and towns in Hindostan are under the surveillance of punitive police. European magistrates all over the country are

engaged in "gagging" the native press. Native editors are finding themselves "persecuted, prosecuted and convicted."

The "sun-dried bureaucrats" into whose hands England has relegated the fates of 300,000,000 East-Indians are weak-sighted and it is given to them only to owlshly peer through smoked spectacles. They fail to realize that 150,000 foreigners cannot govern 300,000,000 East-Indians by British bayonets. The exertion of brute force, the deportation of East-Indian leaders without trial, and the incarceration of native writers after farcical inquiries, they refuse to see, are impotent to allay uneasiness. They are endeavoring to suppress agitation and sedition by clapping into jails the agitators and seditionists—not by removing the cause of the unrest.

The English officials declare that they are adopting these methods in order to stop disloyal people from disaffecting the masses. The so-called agitators retort that these merciless measures are creating unrest and manufacturing seditionists. Which is right—which is wrong—is largely a matter of opinion, chiefly the result of temperament and emotion. The fact that cannot be gainsaid is: That there is friction—between the rulers and the ruled.

Count Tolstoi defines revolution as: "A change in the attitude of the people towards established authority."

Such a "revolution" already is on in India.

Educated East-Indians declare that India should be for the Indians. They feel that the personnel of the Government of East-India should consist of natives. They contend that the affairs of their country should be administered for the good of the millions that inhabit it; that India is the poorest country in the world and that England bleeds it cruelly to the extent of over one hundred million dollars a year, for which India gets positively no return; that the Indian cultivator of land groans under excessive taxation: that the Indian workman

lives under the "poverty line"; that Indian industries have been ruined so that Indian markets could be exploited for the benefit of industrial England; that the preserves of India have been used for the fattening of "English nin-compoops"; that plague, from which over 5,000,000 East-Indians have died during the last decade, essentially is a disease of poverty and that the 19,000,000 natives who, during the last quarter of a century, have perished from famine, died on account of poverty which was the direct outcome of the maladministration of Hindostan; that either India's resources have been exploited for England's gain, or woefully neglected; that an Arms Act, depriving the natives of the right to carry arms, is emasculating the nation, making cowards of even the warrior races; that through lack of exercise, Indians are losing their genius for administering their own civic, provincial, national and foreign affairs; that the British boast that England has brought peace and prosperity to India is empty; that the Indians are off their soil in their own country and are economic and industrial slaves to foreign usurpers.

Lala Lajpatrai, the deported lawyer, once said: "The man of any country who pretends that foreign domination is for his good, is either a knave or a fool."

Barring the people whom Mr. Lajpatrai characterizes as "knave or fool," all educated East-Indians have in their platform the above-mentioned planks. Some of these have for their slogan, an autonomous India under British protection. These are called, in India, "moderationists." Others there are who believe that Britain has wrought nothing but ruin in India, and have for their watchword, "an independent India." These are known in Hindostan as "extremists" or "home-rulers."

Both of them stand for revolutionizing the present form of Indian government and, according to the definition of Count Tolstoi, are within the meaning of the appellation "revolutionists."

These East-Indians have the coöperation and sympathy of influential Englishmen who hold similar views. Burke, Macaulay, Bright, Bradlaugh, Caine, Cotton, Digby, Hyndman, Wedderburn, to mention a few, have written more or less bitterly against the exploitation of Hindostan by Britain.

But the average English official in Hindostan or in India House, London, holds pronounced views of his own. His standpoint in every detail is diametrically opposed to that of the educated East-Indian and pro-Indian Britishers. He answers every argument by calmly asserting that English rule is for India's good—that India, if left alone, would perish “within two weeks.”

The natives of the land allege: That “Grit” or Tory, Radical or Conservative, Englishmen treat East-Indians and East-Indian topics identically the same. Says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta: “Scratch a modern Liberal and you find him only a Tory, that is to say, a full-fledged imperialist. Scratch an Indian magistrate and you will find him only a policeman.” Mr. H. N. Hyndman, himself an Englishman, the writer of a pamphlet entitled *The Ruin of India Through British Rule*, and perhaps the greatest British authority on East-Indian affairs, trenchantly observes: “Liberal and Tory, and Tory and Liberal, spell exactly the same thing with different letters.”

East-Indians point out that England provided shelter for the Italian patriot, Mazzini, and for Prince Kropotkin—that England is the best friend of Russian refugees; but they charge up to Great Britain that she claps into dungeons dark-skinned Mazzinis. By way of specification the case of Lala Lajpatnai is mentioned. He translated the life of Mazzini and adopted the Italian's slogan: “My quarrel with you [meaning the government of his day] is that you are not the national government.” John Morley, they point out, bitterly denounced not long ago, the detention,

without trial, of an Englishman. Shortly after that he signed the writ deporting Lajpatnai. The action of Mr. Morley is criticized by East-Indians in his own language: that it is not only “illegal, unconstitutional and arbitrary, but it is on the face of it impudently absurd and preposterous. . . . It is really a wanton arbitrary, tyrannical and absurd proceeding.”

It is not within the legitimate domain of the present paper to discuss whether England has brought prosperity or ruin to India. The writer will content himself with the statement that: The Britishers assert that they have evolved cosmos out of chaos and benefited India in many ways and the Indians retort by pointing out the havoc wrought in India by the selfishness of Britain, declaring that they want not “a good government, but a government of the people, by the people and for the people.” Accordingly there is much friction, unrest, agitation, and sedition, disloyalty, resentment. The unrest is India-wide. It is the result of clash of interests between the foreigners and those East-Indians who want them to continue in power in India, on the one hand, and the East-Indians who are working for “India for the Indians” under British suzerainty or without British protection, on the other. Wherever in India these parties are found, there is unrest. The greater the clash between them, the greater the volume of the unrest. It is acutest in Bengal, chiefly because the number of educated people is greatest there. Mohammedans, Sikhs, Gurkhas are less affected by it because education has not yet touched their inner consciousness—inspired within them the yearning for “Liberty or death.”

At this stage the question may be asked: “Is it only the educated minority that is in the grip of this unrest?”

“Society is an organism,” wrote Herbert Spencer. Indian society is no exception to this dictum. What is the weal of the uneducated is the weal of the educated East-Indians. At least they act and

react on each other. Moreover, the masses all over the world derive their principles of life and thought from their educated leaders. The East-Indian masses are no exception to this rule. The foreigners are ignorant of their language, habits, traditions, history. In the last analysis, "blood is thicker than water." The educated leaders have the moral backing, the following of the uneducated. British magistrates send to captivity Indian leaders. The uneducated East-Indians look upon them as martyrs for their cause—in the cause of "religion"—for everything in India has a deep religious significance.

Were this not so, there are other causes to create unrest amongst the Indian masses. The death of 5,000,000 Indians within ten years, of plague; of 19,000,000 East-Indians within 25 years, of starvation; these in addition to the ordinary mortality through normal causes; and the life of penury and want in normal years that is the portion of the average East-Indian, cannot but produce unrest—uneasiness. East-Indians are patient—fatalists; but what crust of fatalism is thick enough to resist being pierced by this abnormal mortality and poverty?

It may be pointed out here that there is no essential difference between the unrest that holds in its clutches the educated and the one that enthralls the uneducated. At the bottom both are the same—it is caused by the desire that East-Indians should get "more" out of India than they do at present.

There is, however, another kind of unrest prevalent in India. It is due to the strife between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities—the two largest communities in India. Hindus are four times as many as the Mohammedans. Hindus were in possession of India when the Mohammedans conquered the country. A very large majority of the Mohammedans are the descendents of those who were Hindu once, and to-day the sting of the conquered and the conqueror is lost, inasmuch as both the

Hindu and Mohammedan are the slaves of a foreign nation. Hindus and Mohammedans possess different religions, but the sensible East-Indians, through Western culture, are being broadened. Toleration instead of religious feuds, is the keynote of the life of educated natives.

Within the memory of the present writer there was a time when the Hindus hated the Mohammedans for having been tyrannical to the Hindus while they were in power. To-day, Mr. R. C. Dutt and other Hindu writers are engaged in proving that the Hindus were better off, in many respects, while under the Muslims, than they are now. At any rate, Mr. Dadhabai Naoroji sums up the opinion of the really educated Hindus as well as Mohammedans when he says: "It would be better for the people of India to be governed by their own 'corrupt' countrymen than by the how-ever angelic European 'leeches.'"

Such is the growing sentiment. Hindus as well as Mohammedans are realizing the community of interest. This realization is bringing home to them the trite principle: "In essentials, Unity: in non-essentials, Liberty: in all things, Charity."

The mustard-oil lamp is largely used in India. When the oil is entirely exhausted, it sheds a brilliant effulgence of light just before it altogether goes out.

Probably the present tension of feeling between the Hindus and Mohammedans in certain parts of India is at the worst, and may be considered a token of the abatement of the storm and the coming of calmness.

Be this as it may, the noteworthy fact is this: The Bengalis stoutly resisted the dismemberment of Bengal on the ground that it was meant to weaken the Bengalis by "dividing" them—by setting Hindus and Mohammedans by the ear. In the history of India, no other move of the Government ever created more adverse comment, was offered more resistance. When the bill was enacted,

to show their resentment the Bengalis organized a boycott of British goods. Mr. Bepin Chander Pal went to the length of saying: "We have not only tried to boycott British goods, but also . . . all honorary association with the Government. . . . That is the meaning of boycott which will move from point to point until God knows where. . . . The thing was not only useful economically but politically as well." Lawlessness and disorder prevail in Eastern Bengal. The Hindus in the Province are characterized by British observers as a "hot-bed of sedition." The Hindus call the Mohammedans in the Province "rowdies," and blame them for the confusion and chaos prevalent in the Province. There is hardly a Hindu newspaper in either of the Bengals that does not accuse the Government of creating the disturbance prevailing in parts of India by treating the Mohammedans as "the favorite wife."

Succinctly stated, the causes of unrest in India, as the writer sees them, are:

I. Penury and starvation, rack-rents, plague and morbid mortality have made uneasy the masses. They are unlettered and ignorant. The wolf of hunger constantly stands sentry at their doors. They live below the poverty line—at least in fearful poverty—and the financial stress has "got on their nerves."

II. Between the educated East-Indians and the Britishers there is friction. Each party is reaching out for the loaves and fishes. It is a class-fight, to the finish—with all its attendants—hate, confusion, bickerings, jealousy and corruption.

III. The East-Indians are off the land in their own country. They pay rent and taxes to foreigners and the native allies of those foreigners. Educated East-Indians cannot help but feel aggrieved to be political serfs. The English people in India are overbearingly haughty and snobbish. Says Sir William Wedderburn:

"The Indian people are like their native elephant, whose mighty power may be controlled and directed on the

right path by moral influences wisely exercised. But what is to be said of the political hooligans who think it clever and patriotic to tie crackers to the elephant's tail—who by persistent insults to Indian sentiment, produce national exasperation?"

The unrest is most acute in certain parts of India—in Eastern Bengal, the Punjab and Madras, for instance. In other places the flames still are invisible, but unmistakable signs are present that the fire is smoldering.

The present repressive policy of the British Government may succeed in forcing the natives to quit discussing political affairs in the open and petitioning the Government regarding their grievances. But they will criticize the actions of the Government in their sanctums, only with more bitterness and hostility. What, in the open, now is criticism will become "conspiracy" when it takes place in secret.

Armed revolt has not been attempted, but the trend of the unrest unmistakably is toward revolution.

There can be no mistaking the drift of this unrest. It is making the people of India feel the impotence of the British rulers in India. Repressive measures on the part of the Government cannot but impress upon the people that Britain is incapable of governing India by an appeal to higher sentiment. Defiance is becoming the keynote of Indian "agitators." Not long ago Mr. B. Tilak said:

"Fifty years of petitioning [the government] have produced no result. The people had entered the strongest protests against the Government land revenue policy which made the people mere tillers of the soil. Absolutely no notice was taken by the Government. Numerous instances are available where Government was approached for redress of grievances, but there was total disregard by Government of public representation. . . . Undaunted by fear of harrassment, prosecutions and deportations, we must

pursue all the lawful methods of agitation to the bitter end to better our condition. I should even prefer the extinction of a nation to its wretched existence."

Natives of India have become so calloused to government prosecutions that they are growing to look upon them as a sort of necessary evil they have to tolerate for the evolution of the nation. Recently a so-called Indian agitator returned from completing a term in an Indian jail, and on being presented with a laudatory address uttered these sentiments:

"As regards my experience in the prison, the days I spent there were certainly not very pleasant. But the hardihood they have given me constitutes an invaluable asset. The task to emancipate the mother country is not a soft one. It is accompanied by such difficulties as a jail-bird alone can surmount. All should go to the prison and learn how to subsist on coarse meals and to bear exposure. Indeed, imprisonment is a blessing in disguise."

The spirit of revolt, which is the direct outcome of this unrest, is of a very turbulent character. It is of the kind that repression fails to suppress. The editor of *Sandhya*, in the statement he handed to the prosecuting magistrate, said in part:

"I accept the entire responsibility of the publication, management and conduct of the newspaper, *Sandhya*, and I say that I am the writer of the article . . . forming the subject matter of this prosecution. But I do not want to take any part in this trial because I do not believe that in carrying out my humble share of the God-appointed mission of Swaraj [home rule for India] I am in any way accountable to the alien people who happen to rule over us and whose interest is and must necessarily be in the way of our true national development."

"Tit for tat" seems to be the lode-star of the Indian agitators. Brute force is being met by active resistance. The Government circular prohibiting Indian

students from taking part in political meetings on pain of expulsion from the university, is 'not only being passively ignored but active steps are being employed to combat it. Writes *The Englishman* in this connection:

"It would seem, however, that presently there will be no students for the government to control or check, for 'national' schools having no connection with the University are springing up all over the country. Moreover, it would seem that the National Council of Education has, in spite of prophecies of failure, managed to attract to itself an extra amount of support. It is intended to replace the University and if matters continue in the way they are, it may even succeed in doing so. The greatest difficulty, that of funds, seems to have been overcome."

Regarding the character of the students who are restrained by the Government from discussing politics, the Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., remarked in a recent lecture on "Student Types—Bengali, Scottish, German," at the Calcutta University Institute Hall:

"The Bengali students, on the average, are the most orderly in the world; they show all the respect to their teachers that can be desired."

East-Indians are beginning to look upon holding Government appointments as ignoble—against the interests of their country. Says the *Indian Sociologist*:

"Mr. Har Dayal, a most distinguished M.A. of the Punjab University, who was some time ago selected a Government of India Scholar, and who is now a member of St. John's College, Oxford, has just resigned his scholarship, as he holds that no Indian who really loves his country ought to compromise his principles and barter his rectitude of conduct for any favor whatever at the hands of the alien oppressive rulers of India.

"We commend Mr. Har Dayal's example to the flower of India, and we trust that the demoralizing effect of the Government of India Scholarships,

which are offered as a bait to our best men at the universities, will be perceived by all who wish to see their country rise in the scale of nations."

Gradually unrest is strengthening the spirit of revolt in India—investing it with a religious sacredness—which, in a conservative country like India, by no means is a small thing. By slow but sure stages the uneasiness is bringing to a focus the class hatred, aversion to foreign exploitation and the yearning for self-expression. In the Tolstoian sense of the word—resistance of the constituted authority—the unrest in India is strongly heading for revolution.

Every revolution fundamentally is psychological. The psychological state depends upon the material conditions and necessities of life; it depends upon the man's relations to his fellow-men and his ruler. Every revolution has its inception in changes in these conditions. It may work slowly, it may ferment out of sight in the dark recesses of the mind; it will probably be unconscious both to the individual and the race; but just as surely as man's environment and his rulers change, the man will change. And this spells revolution.

Ancient India was a land of plenty, peopled by a gentle and industrious race, dominated to an extreme degree by religious ideals. Religion and caste system together with an unaggressive character, combined to render the race inert, submissive and docile.

Princes fought for dominion, and priests maneuvered for control; but the great mass of people labored on undisturbed. They tilled the soil and gathered their crops, they wove the cloths

and turned the potter's wheel contentedly; and one century was much like another.

The Mussulman projected himself into this peaceful situation about the year 1000, and then, indeed, something very like a social revolution occurred. The Mohammedan introduced new objects of contention and an element of ferocity new to the Hindu; but still, he was an Oriental. His was a religious enthusiasm, if his methods were rough. He was a sore affliction, but an Oriental one, after all. In the main, life was pretty much the same centuries after his invasion.

But when the European arrived, there was an utterly new, an entirely strange element in life. Gradually and very slowly his influence began to move. It is four centuries since that time, and only now Hindostan has become conscious of her changed personality.

When a revolution is psychologically complete, nothing under heaven can keep it from coming into manifestation. India has shaken off nirvana. The Orient is pulsating new with a life. India has wakened from her lotus-dream—and her educated people are telling her she is bankrupt, her industries dead, her Princes degraded, her splendor a memory, her people in beggary. And, with new consciousness has come new courage. With a realization of her condition has come the determination to be free; to regenerate herself; to claim her birthright.

Such appears to the writer to be the trend of Indian unrest.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

Chicago, Ill.

territory of seventeen other states* and large sections of at least eighteen† of the remaining twenty-four.‡

3. The five Prohibition states now have a population in excess of 7,000,000, and it is estimated that 25,000,000 others live in the local Prohibition territory of thirty-five other states.

4. The state Prohibition movement is now spreading rapidly in at least eleven states, especially in those states where local option has already driven out the open dram-shop in large sections. These states include (1) Delaware, the three political divisions of which voted separately on license or no-license, November 5th; (2) North Carolina, Florida and Mississippi, where state Prohibition campaigns are under way led or warmly endorsed by the Governors themselves; (3) and popular movement for statutory or constitutional state Prohibition in Alabama, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Iowa, Nebraska.

In addition to this it is freely conceded that Arkansas, Kentucky, South Dakota, New Hampshire and Vermont will no doubt adopt state Prohibition policy within the near future, the last three repudiating license policies which were themselves substituted for former state Prohibition laws through the alliance of the liquor traffic and old-party politicians.

5. One of the most interesting developments of the day is the long list of Governors now in office who within a few months in public addresses or otherwise have openly attacked the saloon or endorsed the Prohibition reform or both more or less completely. This list includes of course the governors of the

*Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Iowa.

†Alabama, Rhode Island, New York, Maryland, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, California, Washington, South Dakota, Delaware, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania.

‡States with little Prohibition territory: Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming, Utah, and New Jersey.

five Prohibition states, Governor Cobb of Maine; Governor Hoch of Kansas; Governor Burke of North Dakota; Governor Smith of Georgia, and Governor-Elect Haskell of Oklahoma, and besides that, Governor Dawson of West Virginia; Governor Harris of Ohio; Governor Hanly of Indiana; Governor Beckham of Kentucky; Governor Glenn of North Carolina; Governor Broward of Florida; Governor Campbell of Texas; Governor-Elect Noel of Mississippi; Governor Folk of Missouri, and Governor Comer of Alabama.

THE RESULTS OF PROHIBITION.

In noting the following typical facts it must be borne in mind (1) that, although the state Prohibition law is thoroughly backed and supported by a large majority of the voters in each case, the party machines and officials whose duty it has been to enforce the law have in all cases been members of parties which stand nationally for license and opposed to Prohibition.

(2) That, however true to the law individual officers of the law may be, they are all the time subject to both open and secret pressure from the licensed liquor business in surrounding license states, and that

(3) So far, intimidated by the brewers' lobby, Congress has refused to pass the protective legislation known as the Hepburn-Dolliver bill, which is now demanded by every Prohibition section in the entire country, because until that becomes a law all Prohibition territory is at the mercy of outside brewers and distillers, who use the C. O. D. express method of nullifying the law under the present inter-state regulations.

With these qualifications in mind, let us look for a moment at the effects of Prohibition in the state of Maine.

WHAT PROHIBITION HAS DONE FOR MAINE.

The Prohibition law is thoroughly enforced in nine-tenths of Maine and

would be in the rest were it not for liquor politicians who control the Republican and Democratic parties in Portland and a few other cities.

The administration of Sheriff Pearson in Portland, 1900 to 1902, the only Prohibition party law-enforcer Maine ever had, proved that Prohibition will prohibit, wherever there is an honest man in office behind the law.

General Neal Dow testified that Maine, at the time of her adoption of state Prohibition in 1855, "was," to use his own words, "one of the most drunken and poorest of states in the Union, there being seven distilleries and two breweries in Portland alone."

In 1855 there were only five savings banks in Maine, with less than \$90,000 deposited,

In 1902 there were 57 savings banks, 22 building and loan associations, and 37 trust companies with deposits aggregating more than \$113,000,000.

Maine has more savings banks and \$22,000,000 more money deposited in them than the great manufacturing license state of Ohio with six times as many people.

In 1901 statistics showed that while her population since 1850 had increased only 20 per cent., her valuation per capita had increased 252 per cent, Maine had in her savings banks in the same year \$95.22 for every inhabitant; Illinois \$13.43; Kentucky, none; Ohio, \$10.71, and Pennsylvania, \$16.72.

Turning to educational figures, Maine has in its public schools the largest percentage of the total population of all the North Atlantic states, including New York.

Maine has more school teachers to every ten thousand of her people, and more teachers in proportion to her school population than any other of the forty-six states of the Union.

In a recent issue of *Printer's Ink*, the well-known publishers' periodical, it was stated that Maine newspapers have a larger circulation in proportion to popu-

lation, than any other state. Only one of these permits the insertion of liquor advertising.

The figures for crime in Maine show that the commitments to the jails and prisons of Maine have steadily decreased from a total of 6,105 in 1896 to 4,483 in 1906, a shrinkage of more than 25 per cent.; and that the total commitments for drunkenness for the whole state in 1896 were 3,049 while in 1906 they were only 1,980, a decrease of 35 per cent.

On the other hand, *the commitments for liquor-selling* rose from 179 in 1896 to 571 in the year 1905 and 429 in 1906, which gives an illuminating proof as to the direct results of more and more efficient law-enforcement during the past decade.

Of the 9,350 murders and homicides in the United States in 1906, Maine furnished but three!

Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, Congressman from Maine, in a detailed comparison of Maine and Massachusetts, published June 13, 1907, gives pointed refutation of the common slur of the liquor advertising daily press that men get drunk as often in Maine (under state Prohibition) as they do in Massachusetts (under well-enforced license and local option), and that "if the prosperity of a state is rightly measured by its increase in wealth and population then Maine ranks as one of the least prosperous of all the states."

The population of Massachusetts is four times that of Maine. The figures quoted are either from the United States census or other authoritative sources:

From 1880 to 1902 Maine decreased her indebtedness exactly \$10 per capita while Massachusetts increased hers by the same amount, per capita.

From 1880 to 1900 Maine increased by \$124 the average amount paid her wage-earners, while Massachusetts made an increase of only \$87.

The average percentage of families that have free and unencumbered homes in the north Atlantic states and New

York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, is 23.3 per cent. Maine has 49 per cent., Massachusetts only 18 per cent.

Exactly 69.2 per cent., of the farm families of Maine own their farms unencumbered. In Massachusetts but 53.8 per cent. do.

In 1903 Maine had 885 insane in her hospitals, 125.3 for every 100,000 people. Massachusetts had 8,679 or 288.5 per every 100,000.

In Maine almshouses, December 31, 1903, there were 1,152 paupers, or 163.1 per 100,000, while Massachusetts had 5,934 or 197.3 per 100,000.

There were 512 prisoners in Maine, June 1, 1890, or 77.4 per 100,000; in Massachusetts, 5,227 or 232.5 per 100,000, *three times* as many as Maine.

June 30, 1904, there were in Maine 120 prisoners who had been committed for drunkenness, while Massachusetts had at the same time 2,110 a proportion of more than 10 to 1, when if parallel it should be but 4 to 1.

Hon. F. L. Dingley, editor of the *Lewiston Journal*, in a letter written this year (1907) to the *Georgian* of Atlanta, said:

"There is but one city in Maine where the saloon is tolerated and there the saloon is not an open bar in the sense in which bars prevail in license states.

"There is less drunkenness on public occasions in Maine than in any part of the world in which I have traveled, and I have knocked about a little in the old and new world."

United States Senator from Maine, Eugene Hale, writes this year:

"The policy of Prohibition which has been the rule in Maine for more than forty years has generally worked well. There are different statutes under this policy, and some have worked better than others, but the general principle has been good for the state."

United States Senator from Maine, William Frye, writes August 19, 1907:

"Our statute has driven from all the

country portions of the state the sale and use of alcoholic drinks. In the cities enforcement is more difficult, but in those where popular sentiment is behind it, violations are infrequent. In my opinion a good majority of our people stands pat for the law."

Congressman Llewellyn Powers, who admits that he is personally so conservative on the Prohibition issue that he has frequently been opposed by strong elements in his own party, writes, (1907):

"The selling and the public drinking of intoxicating liquors is decidedly under the ban of public opinion, and the law has prevented absolutely any selling in more than four-fifths of the towns of Maine and it has taken away very much of the temptation for young men to indulge in alcoholic drinks. I do not believe that the people of the state of Maine will ever permit the licensing of the saloon in their midst again."

HOW PROHIBITION WORKS IN KANSAS.

What about Kansas? Governor Hoch says: "A quarter of a million people have been born in the state who have never seen a saloon or a joint and have grown up to believe as a part of their creed that it is an unmixed evil."

Of the 105 counties in the state only 21 have any paupers.

Only 25 have poorhouses.

Thirty-five have their jails absolutely empty.

Thirty-seven have no criminal cases on their dockets.

Kansas has the smallest number of paupers of any state in proportion to its population.

It spends more money for education in proportion to its population than any other state.

Eight hundred and five newspapers are printed in the state only twenty of which ever print any liquor advertisements and four of these twenty are printed in the German language.

After a short struggle in May and June, 1907, the joint property owned by ten outside breweries, worth more than \$250,000 was confiscated by the state Supreme Court and the brewers implicated surrendered and left the state. *It was conclusively proved that these millionaire outside brewers were the backers and owners of practically every notorious joint of the state.*

In his annual official message to the Legislature for 1907, Governor Hoch detailed the following significant comparison:

"The absurd contention that more liquor is sold in Prohibition Kansas than in license states should deceive no one. It is made chiefly by those who would be entirely content with the Prohibition policy if their statements were true, but official figures abundantly refute the ridiculous statement. Uncle Sam is a pretty good book-keeper and a pretty good collector. Compare Prohibition Kansas with our neighbor, license Nebraska, for instance. Nebraska has about one-third less population than Kansas, but Uncle Sam has collected about \$2,000,000 a year liquor tax from the people of Nebraska, while he has been able to get only about \$100,000 from Kansas. The amount of fermented liquor sold in Kansas is from 6,000 to 10,000 barrels a year, in Nebraska from 200,000 to 300,000 barrels, and in Missouri from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 barrels."

In a personal letter to the *Home Defender*, Chicago, August 20, 1907, Governor Hoch says:

"I believe there are not 1,600,000 people anywhere else on earth freer from the evils of the liquor traffic than are the people of this state, and it is a plain fact that the thing works financially as well as morally.

"A poorhouse is a joke in Kansas. Our Bank Commissioner reports about \$100 per capita in the banks. Prohibition is a great success in Kansas in every way."

Congressman Charles F. Scott of Kansas, in correspondence dated August 17, 1907, says:

"It can be said with absolute truthfulness that the prohibitory law is as completely enforced in Kansas to-day as any other criminal statute.

"The morning papers to-day [August 17, 1907] bring the information that during the past year fifty counties in Kansas did not furnish the state penitentiary a single criminal.

"The experience of Kansas, and that of Missouri, lying side by side, clearly demonstrates that it is just as difficult to enforce a lenient liquor law as it is to enforce a drastic one. Kansas has no more trouble enforcing Prohibition than Missouri has enforcing Sunday closing. Indeed, it would be safe to wager that the license in Missouri is violated in a hundred cases where the prohibitory law in Kansas is violated once."

THE EXPERIENCE OF KANSAS CITY, KANSAS.

One of the most notable battles for Prohibition enforcement, which has attracted the attention of the whole nation has been that of Kansas City, Kansas, where up to a little over a year ago in that city of nearly or quite 100,000, a desperately corrupt machine had perpetuated the liquor business in defiance of state law for upwards of twenty years. Finally the people rose in their might and wiped out the liquor despotism that had so long held undisputed sway. The brewers have since on several occasions attempted to misrepresent the results by sending out anonymous dispatches detailing the alleged ruin and bankruptcy that enforcement was bringing upon the city. But here is the latest word regarding the situation there in special correspondence of Assistant Attorney-General Trickett, the men who led the revolution. On Friday, August 16th, last, Attorney Trickett told the Associated Prohibition Press:

"Kansas City has increased in wealth and population at a rate never before known in its history. During the past year our population increased more than 13,000 and more new buildings were erected in this city than in the larger Kansas City across the state line. During the past year the manufacturing products of this city increased \$50,000,000, making a total of more than \$200,000,000.

"During the past year the deposits of the banks have increased by \$2,000,000, and almost every merchant has had to employ additional clerks. Recently the *Leavenworth Daily Post*, a paper opposed to law enforcement, sent a member of their staff to this city to interview the business men, hoping to find them dissatisfied, but on the contrary found them satisfied, and was honest enough to publish their statements, and in doing so quoted the largest real estate dealer and owner in the city as saying that the merchants of this city would raise \$20,000 in a day to keep the saloons closed as they now are.

"The compass of a letter will not permit me to go more into details, but in conclusion permit me to say that the wildest imagination could not half prophesy the benefits, prosperity, lessened crime and the elevated moral tone that has followed in the wake of the closing of the dens of vice."

PROHIBITION RESULTS IN NORTH DAKOTA.

Governor Burke in a recent interview (July 6, 1907) said: "We have had Prohibition so long in North Dakota that in some counties there are no jails. There is not much crime in the state."

Judge Charles A. Pollock of the third judicial district of North Dakota thus reports the results of Prohibition in that state, as summarized in the statements of officials of 35 out of 39 counties in the state. This represents the exact status in September, 1906. Since that time the law has been strengthened and

enforcement sentiment has intensified. Judge Pollock sent out leading questions, the replies to several of the most important were as follows:

(1) "Is the law generally observed in your county?"

"From twenty-five counties the report is that the law is generally well enforced. In ten that it is not, which with the four not heard from added, would make the count stand, *twenty-five to fourteen*, so far as the number of counties is concerned, in favor of the law. In the *twenty-five* counties above referred to there was a population of 319,395 while in the 14 counties there were 117,675. The ratio as figured by number of counties would be a little *less than two to one*; while counted from the *standpoint of population* it would be nearly *three to one* in favor of the law."

(2) "Has there been during recent years a tendency toward a better enforcement of the law?"

"Twenty-nine counties answer 'yes,' six answer 'no,' to which may be added the four not reported thus making the ratio stand 29 to 10, almost three to one, the same as the showing by population."

A most important question was: "What effect if any does the law seem to have on the increase or decrease of crime?"

"Three reported 'Unable to say'; 8 gave no opinion; 5 thought crime increases; 23 claim that there has been a decrease of crime. This is especially true in counties where the law has been well enforced.

"As one states attorney says: 'A steady decrease of crime has followed the strict enforcement of the prohibitory law, so that of late years we have rarely a criminal case in the county, save an occasional bootlegger. I wish to say also in the district over which I have the honor to preside, made up of the counties of Cass, Traill and Steele, twice during recent years there was not a human being in jail in the entire district.'"

Judge Pollock, in a personal letter written to Hon. I. C. Wade, of Cornelia, Georgia, just prior to the legislative enactment of state Prohibition there, August 5, 1907, says:

"Speaking from personal experience I will say that from 1885 to 1889 I was states attorney. At that time Fargo had some 5,000 inhabitants and over forty licensed saloons. Now we have some 17,000 people and no saloons. I may also add that practically we are free from 'blind pigs.' . . .

"Our business men in Fargo do not want the saloons to return. They at first feared Prohibition would hurt the city. The contrary has been shown. We do not have any vacant stores. Notwithstanding the fact that we have excellent hotel accommodations, there will be built this year a new hotel to cost \$150,000. Our hotels are run without bars, and they make no money out of the sale of liquor.

"I could go on and recount instance after instance showing the benefits of the Prohibition system. At the last legislature a bill looking toward resubmission was presented to the house and defeated two to one."

United States Senator from North Dakota, Henry C. Hansbrough, in a letter written just before the Oklahoma election (September 17, 1907), says:

"The Prohibition law in North Dakota has been so thoroughly enforced that there is no such thing as an open saloon in this state, and as fast as the 'blind tigers' or 'blind pigs' are found the sponsors for them are arrested and many of them find their way to jail. In a large part of the state even the 'blind pig' is a thing of the past. . . .

"The moral effect of the law here is good, and where once the open saloon was regarded with favor, now it is so thoroughly under the ban that it would not be tolerated for a moment. The cause of temperance as a result of our laws and the successful efforts made to enforce them has been greatly advanced."

United States Senator P. J. McCumber, writes under date of August 19, 1907:

"There are a few sections where the sentiment is strongly against the law, where enforcement is somewhat difficult, but these sections are so small in area that, if they are indicated on the map of the state they would scarcely be discernible. On the whole, I regard it as a great success in the state."

Congressman Thomas F. Marshall writes, August 22, 1907:

"The sentiment of the people is stronger for Prohibition than ever before. I do not believe that any average citizen, whether he is a staunch Prohibitionist or not, would willingly see the constitution amended and the law repealed.

"The encouraging sign to me is that the conservative element of all our people stands now for Prohibition and the enforcement of the law, whereas, in the earlier days of the law most of this sentiment was confined to the radical Prohibitionists."

THE SUCCESS OF LOCAL PROHIBITION.

The success of local Prohibition in the thirty-five other states mentioned above is of course relatively less than that of state Prohibition, but it is sufficiently proven in the fact that the amount of local Prohibition territory in practically every state noted above has steadily increased during the last decade. In the Southern states, the territory has almost doubled; in Texas alone it has tripled, in ten years, while at the North the ratio of its spread in many sections is even greater. Isolated instances there are in every state where the closing of license saloons has not resulted favorably, where hold-over liquor sympathizing officials have nullified the law, or where outside liquor funds and political influence have defeated the end sought by Prohibition and even secured the relicensing of the saloon where no-license had previously won; but so overwhelming has the bulk of the testimony been in praise of the actual results of local

Prohibition in both country, town and city that the liquor men themselves now openly admit in the editorial columns of their trade organs the irresistible current progress against their business. An illustration is this significant editorial comment in *Beverages*, of New York, the national organ of the liquor league of America, for August 2, 1907:

"The result in Georgia presents no pleasant outlook for any section of the business. That state in its judgment has treated all alike, and no false notion that beer is a temperance beverage and should be allowed to hold on has been entertained or brought forward.

"We dislike to acknowledge it, but we really believe the entire business all over has overstayed its opportunity to protect itself against the onward march of prohibition, which in some sections of the country is advancing like a prairie fire with not a hand raised to stop its progress.

"Five years ago a united industry might have kept back the situation that now confronts us, but to-day it is too late.

"Might as well try to keep out the Hudson river with a whisk broom."

CONCLUSION.

Thus, we have in the briefest possible compass consistent with accuracy and fairness to the subject, sketched in merest outline only, the salient facts and progress, and the direct results of this hundred years' battle with the Beverage Poison Trust.

No attempt has been made in this study to trace the significant and strategic relation which the Prohibition Reform bears to every other great moral issue of the day, nor even to sketch the astonishing but logical steps by which the thousands of isolated drink sellers and makers throughout the land came at length to unite and pool their interests in the most compact and insidious monopoly of modern times.

Besides being the indefatigable investigator and persistent pioneer of the reform the Prohibition party and the Prohibition press have patiently hammered away at public sentiment until every one of the liquor traffic's basic factors of fraud and sham have become common knowledge, with the business discredited socially and politically and ready for de-legalization and extermination.

In brief the paramount facts detailed and proved by the Prohibition party and accepted by the outside world are these:

The Prohibitionist has shown first of all that the ramifications of this industrial colossus, which by instinctive coalition with the gambler, the white-slave dealer, the blackmailer and the whiskey-oiled old party machine has begotten a gigantic Vice Trust with headquarters in every great city—that these ramifications extend into every stratum of society and have effected with the subtle virus of indifference every vein and artery of the body politic:

That were it to continue undisturbed, it would in time paralyze every social energy and stifle the conscience of the people:

That its nationally developed system of official sanction and license for an annual cash bribe to the state itself has been the parent of a thousand forms of special privilege granted every powerful corporation the land over:

That the underlying principle which assumes that a license can ever legitimize or endow with respectability a traffic whose existence under all conditions breeds slums, crime, misery, disease and degeneration as surely as swamps breed malaria, is both vicious and fallacious:

That the theory that an organized vice can be taxed or "regulated" to death is untenable:

That the absurd political economy which proposes to advance education, protect the state and conserve the highest interests of society, by the imposition of

a permissive tax upon a business that thrives at the expense of and in the exact ratio that it debauches man and extends the tyranny of lust and appetite, is the monumental fraud of modern statesmanship:

That the Internal Revenue System of the Federal Government as applied to the liquor traffic is a relic of economic barbarism and one of the supreme defensive bulwarks of that traffic, and that its abolition would strike the death-blow to its pretensions and its grip upon our politics:

And finally, it has conclusively proved that state and even national Prohibition are both feasible and possible, and will inevitably come in the process of our

political evolution, but that its permanence and success will evermore depend upon popular vigilance in the election of officials pledged to fearlessly execute the law, and who are backed by a political party whose leaders and rank and file are not controlled by or at the mercy of the liquor "trade," but sincerely and heartily united on the Prohibition policy as a dominant issue until it shall be victoriously established.

All signs point to a new era wherein the victories of which the allied liquor interests robbed the people in the eighties will at length be permanently achieved.

CHARLES R. JONES.

Washington, D. C.

A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY FRANCIS LAMONT PIERCE, PH.B.

AMERICANS have never forgiven Sydney Smith for his ungracious query: "Who reads an American book?" At the time he gave utterance to it there was undoubtedly a certain amount of justification for this contemptuous, supercilious, and typically British attitude toward American letters. To-day, however, cultured Americans look back upon such a judgment only with a feeling of scorn and pity for the insular complacency and exclusiveness betrayed by it. We fancy that the achievements of our literary men have by now effectually dispelled any lingering doubts as to the capacity of the American mind to produce work of genius and of talent, and that in very substantial quantities. We point to Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Irving, Sidney Lanier, Cooper, Bret Harte, and many others. As a conclusive manifestation of our intellectual and literary activity we jubilantly call the attention of the world to the simply

tremendous output in the United States at the present time of books, magazines, and printed matter of every sort: novels, poems, histories, essays, biographies, memoirs, short stories, scientific works, and in fact productions of every *genre*.

Yet, when we escape from our self-satisfied provincialism and disregard the predilections born of patriotic enthusiasm, we find that in the eyes of European criticism American literature consists chiefly of the works of Edgar Allen Poe, Walt. Whitman, Hawthorne and Emerson. We find that in the opinion of candid, unprejudiced, cultured observers, contemporary America has practically no real literature at all: and from this latter judgment there will probably be very few educated and appreciative Americans to dissent. So far as works of pure imagination—constituting literature in its true sense—are concerned, one might with propriety vary Sydney Smith's question by asking: "Who cares

to read a contemporary American book?"

Whatever may be our valuation of the American literature produced in the past, those of us who take delight in genuine imaginative composition are willing enough to admit the feebleness, barrenness, timidity, frivolity, and generally unprofitable character of present-day American "literature." Discriminating lovers of poetry and fiction do not rest content with mere bulk of production; they recognize that a slender collection of really vital, significant, and artistic work is more to be cherished than a vast mass of hasty, careless, trashy, ephemeral, sensational writings. Depth of vision, meditation, painstaking stylistic workmanship, and insight into the *essential* aspects of life and character are the qualities that make great and enduring literature; and their absence cannot be compensated for by the lavish abundance of the books and printed matter that issues from the presses of the country. That our intelligent and thoughtful men have a keen appreciation of our present limitations in the literary field is shown by the numerous magazine symposiums on "The Creative Spirit in Literature: Is it dead or dormant?" "Is the Taste for Poetry Disappearing?" "The Future of Literature," and kindred topics.

To estimate and determine something of the present condition of literature in America, let us as a beginning glance briefly at some of the phases and tendencies which have manifested themselves in recent years. A number of years ago we were subjected to a deluge of historical romance, attempting to depict life in many ages, but having reference principally to the American colonies. We all remember *Janice Meredith*, *Richard Carvel*, *To Have and to Hold*, *When Knighthood Was in Flower*, *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall*, *The Helmet of Navarre*. There was about these novels a certain transient charm that won them the favor of the crowd; they amused one acceptably for a day

or two. But was there any scene or any character in them which could even remotely be compared to the brilliant triumphs of English historical fiction: Esmond rebuffing Dean Swift at the printer's shop; Gerard escaping from the Haunted Tower at Tergou; Baldasare clutching Tito Melema on the steps of the Duomo; Phillamon interrupting the lecture of Hypatia; the Lion-hearted Richard tearing down the banner of the Archduke of Austria; Sallust rushing into the senatorial benches to save the Athenian from the lion, with Vesuvius thundering above; or Gurth dying last at the standard, and Edith the Fair finding the body of Harold. Can our brummagem American historical fiction show such figures as Rittmaster Dugald Dalgetty, soldier of the "immortal Gustavus Adolphus"; or James the First in the "Fortunes of Nigel"; or Louis the Eleventh in "Quentin Durward"; or Wildrake or Ravenswood or Macgregor or Flora McIvor? Alas, it can show nothing of the kind. The slight value and ephemeral character of the novels in question is proven by the fact that, notwithstanding their tremendous temporary popularity, they are now all but forgotten.

And they deserve to be. To one acquainted with the splendid luxuriance of invention, the richness, picturesqueness, and descriptive power displayed in the English historical romance, they appeared pale, cold, and tame. In warmth and coloring they sustained the same relation to English work as a Madonna by one of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood does to an Oriental piece by Gérôme. Compare *Beatrice Esmond* with *Dorothy Manners* (the latter being obviously an imitation of the former,) and see how far Winston Churchill falls below Thackeray. The American work is not convincing; it does not bear the stamp of actuality; in reading *The Helmet of Navarre* or *Dorothy Vernon* we do not feel that we have really been transported back through the ages as we

do in reading *Kenilworth* or *Old Mortality*; we do not live over the life of the past, breathe its atmosphere, admire its pageantry, discern its characteristic habits of thought. An American historical novel is not a restoration, but a shadowy, tentative, hesitant, unsatisfying imitation, of the past. We feel that the story at bottom has its scene in present-day America; that, in order to obtain a sort of factitious glamor, a thin and gauzy veil of history has been thrown over it, and the wan presentments of men of the past have, by the clever manipulator of marionettes, been made to strut across the stage. How different with figures like Claverhouse, or Leicester, or Sir Richard Grenville. *They* are as real as Roosevelt.

American writers have failed to produce a single great work of historical fiction, and this has apparently been due to defects in three things: imagination, knowledge, and that rare power of objective creation possessed by all the masters of romance. The first and the third we need not dwell upon; they are congenital limitations, impossible of correction. But it is painfully evident that the haste to get into print, the eagerness to write many books and derive corresponding profit from them, has prevented American writers from acquiring that exhaustive knowledge which is essential to success. Reade, while writing *The Cloister and the Hearth*, read "not books, but bookshelves and libraries." Scott was steeped from his youth in romance, medieval tales, border legends, and dim old chronicles; he actually read himself back into the past. Kingsley was a professor of history. Bulwer tells us in his preface to *Harold* that in writing it he consulted stacks upon stacks of books: original sources, the Bayeux tapestry, chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Old French. Investigations like these on the part of our American romancers might give their creations 'a greater semblance of verity.

Let us consider for a moment the American "novel of business." The

titles are familiar: *The Pit*, *The Cost*, *Sampson Rock of Wall Street*, *Friday the Thirteenth*, *The Cave Man*. We all know the type: the novel in which we have a haunting suspicion that the next chapter is going to begin "Yours received and contents noted. In reply would say . . ." The novel where we are constantly tormented with "puts and calls," "on a margin," "selling short," and all the rest of the barbarous jargon of speculation. Wall street is the *leitmotif* of the American novel at present. Now if there is anything more intolerable than the "business novel," it is difficult to imagine what it can be. The content of this class of fiction is surpassed in worthlessness only by its bald, prosy, slipshod style.

We cannot dwell upon all the manifold ways in which the contemporary American novel contrives to be trashy. We cannot protest at any length against the nauseating iteration of calf-love as the all-engrossing theme; nor against the cheap "thriller" of the *Edge of Hazard* and *Siamese Cat* type; not the "high life" fiction written for the edification of those rudimentary intelligences who "dearly love a lord."

Some remarks upon the stylistic characteristics of the American novel to-day may, however, be appropriate. Examination of many compositions of this class convinces one that the style lacks subtlety, beauty, and esthetic appeal. There are no fine *nuances* of expression, there is no literary artistry. There is a want of variety and power, of flexibility and adaptability. The style does not bear the imprint of temperament and individuality.

We may now ask what is the cause of the acknowledged weakness of the American novel. In the first place, the American novelist is *afraid of life*. His work is irrelevant. It is not vital. It is provincial and bourgeois; it is completely out of touch with modern thought; it is not significant of modern tendencies. It ministers only to the unreflective hedonism which is the dominant Amer-

ican trait. It is absurdly self-satisfied, groundlessly optimistic. It contains no hint of the soul-searchings, the restless strivings, the tormenting doubts, of life in the present—of the jar and clash of adaptation to a new *Weltanschauung* and radically different social ideals. It does not manifest insight and a grasp of the essential nature of modern life. The typical modern man is not Sampson Rock of Wall street nor the stereotyped gentleman in the dress suit who pours out to the beautiful, white-shouldered young lady passionate protestations of undying devotion; no, the typical modern man is Heinrich the bell-founder in Hauptmann's *Die Versunkene Glocke* or Willie in *The Days of the Comet*—a muddled, groping, feverish idealist; a character whose attributes are spiritual experience and development rather than brawn and tailor-made clothes and box-like jaws; a man who is interesting not because he feels the commonplace sex-attraction that every man has felt since the time of *pithecanthropus erectus*, but because he manifests the depths and heights of human existence, because there are incarnate in him the longings and aspirations and mental orientation of an age.

European literature recognizes this: it is written for grown men and grown women who possess the somewhat rare gift of being able to think. American literature does not recognize it: the American novel is written for the callow swain and the feminine "young person," for the intellectually lazy and the intellectually obtuse, for those who, by reason of mental barrenness and stagnation and *ennui*, wish to be amused by some "just lovely" story of the amorous entanglements of insipid women and shallow men. That is why Shaw and Pinero and Sudermann and Echegeray and Fogazzaro and Anatole France are writing literature, and why Meredith Nicholson is not. Mrs. Warren is vitally significant; her daughter Vivvums has character; Sartorius in *Widowers' Houses* and Rev. Morrell in *Candida* and Cashel

Byron represent phases of modern society which should not be ignored. But the characters in the average American novel stand for nothing but their own silly selves. Not that we would recommend deliberate didacticism, preachments, and propaganda; we merely ask for relevancy, for intimate association with life.

Pope said that women have no character at all, and if we based our judgment on a perusal of American fiction we would heartily approve this statement. George Eliot bares to us the inmost soul of Gwendolen Harleth; Thackeray paints Becky Sharp for us with naturalistic fulness and pitilessness. How about Pam or Beverly? Our impression of them can be conveyed in a word: prettiness. Prettiness is the American passion—prettiness in art, in poetry, in architecture, in nature, in everything. Our authors—except Jack London and Upton Sinclair—are too busy being pretty to pay much attention to vigor and strength and passion. And in those instances where they do try to attain these qualities they only succeed in being tawdrily sensational.

One of Jack London's most recent stories is literature. *Just Meat* is the title of it. It is not a story of the Stock Exchange, or of Austrian intrigue at Atlantic City: it is a story of two criminals, one of them a murderer. But it is told with such wonderful realism, such keen character-analysis, such knowledge of life in its less agreeable aspects, that it seizes upon the imagination with the insistence of great literature. London's *Sea Wolf* and Sinclair's *Jungle*, with all their faults upon them, are literature. And this because there is no triviality in them, because they are tremendously in earnest, because they are novels of convincing power.

The truth is: most of our American writers *have not lived enough*. They have not experienced enough. Their spiritual life is not rich and deep enough. To look at the "studies" and "dens"

of literary men as pictured in the *Bookman* and in *Putnam's* is to understand in large measure the flabbiness of American literature. These men, with their ease and luxury, *do not know life*,—life in its nakedness and harshness and bitterness, life the grim and unfeeling reality of which caused Matthew Arnold to cry out that

“the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain,
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.”

The typical hero of American fiction oscillates between the Waldorf and Wall street; the typical heroine divides her time between the ball-room, the boudoir, and the sea-shore. Why? Because the author who creates them spends his or her time in motor flights through France or in a \$50,000 residence in Boston; or perhaps they pass the summer in Paree and the winter on the Riviera.

Charles Dickens wrote literature because he *lived literature*, because he had walked the streets of London well-nigh penniless and had brushed elbows with “all sorts and conditions of men” as he ate his meager lunch in the cheap coffee-houses. Kipling wrote literature about India because he had lived India, breathed India, dreamed India, because he knew its white, sweltering streets, its dirty, foul-smelling purlieus, its disease-ravaged army, as well as the romance, the lure and the magic of the dim Orient “east of Suez.” He had met the originals of Dan Dravot and Peachey Carnehan among the teeming crowds of Bombay. And it is for these reasons that *The Man Who Would Be King* is the greatest short story of the generation. Poe knew what it was to wake in the dead watches of the night, when (as Scott says in “The Eve of St. John”)

“bad spirits have power,”

and when the encircling mantle of darkness fashions itself into weird, uncanny shapes of terror; and he could therefore write *The Tell-tale Heart*. We all remember Goethe's dictum:

“Wer nie sein Brot mit Thränen ass,
Wer nicht die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.”

A little pondering on these words of the great German will help to explain American literary limitations.

American literature to-day reminds one of a saying of Oscar Lovell Triggs, sometime professor of English literature in Chicago University. It was in relation to the university of the present, and if memory serves, went something like this: “The world sweeps by, with its passion and its pain, and the university heeds it not; it is busy poring over the musty pages of forgotten books, etc.” We may alter this and say: “The world sweeps by with its passion and its pain, and American literature heeds it not; it is busy telling to childish intelligences the puerile, worn-out story of calf-love.”

Why do n't the American novelists go into the church, into the pastor's study, where another and more powerful *Robert Elsmere* is waiting to be written. If they should want to “collect documents” for such a subject (as Zola and Charles Reade and the Goncourts did), they might take *Religion and Politics* and Dr. Crapey's sermons and addresses and the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court at Batavia. If they want to write a story of real tragedy, why do n't they write a novel about Chatterton or Harriet Shelley? Why do n't they tell us about the tragedy of social conditions in our great cities, about life below the surface, where the mask of convention and affectation is stripped off? Why do n't they paint the dull, vacant faces in the cheap theaters, the exhausted workman whose dark and cheerless home sends him to the glaring saloons at night, the weary struggler who has failed in

the battle for a living, whom society has crushed down in its merciless iron march, and to whom the cold and quiet river gleams with deadly invitation? Instead of tiring us with narratives of the red-cheeked maiden who says, "O, you silly boy" as she accepts the man who has made a success in manufacturing Simpkins' Soothing Soap for Parched People, why do n't they write about the little girl that the writer saw on a raw night last December standing at the corner of Broadway and Thirtieth street, looking with pensive, wistful, appealing gaze at the brilliant front of Daly's theater as the gay throng passed in to see "The Belle of Mayfair"? Her clothes were shabby and she did n't have money enough to "see the show," but a true literary artist could have created from a sight of that little girl a story that would have pulled the heart-strings. New York city is one vast mass of literary material, of which our writers have but touched a fraction of the surface. Much of it is, to be sure, neither pleasant nor pretty. Hauptmann's Rose Berndt, strangling her child in desperation in a lonely field, is not pretty, either—but she is literature.

American poetry is best described by Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn: "mild, bourgeois, and proper." There is no passion in it, no quivering emotion. It is anæmic, without vitality. It is poetry of the intellect, a brain-spun fabric with no heart in it. In its straining after the delusion of "propriety" it attains to insipidity. But contemporary American poetry is pretty and *obvious* and tinkling and what the ladies call "sweet." Here is an extract from Thomas Bailey Aldrich's "The Bluebells of New England":

"To you, fair phantoms in the sun,
Whom merry spring discovers,
With bluebirds for your laureates
And honey-bees for lovers.

"The south wind breathes, and lo, you throng
This rugged land of ours;
I think the pale blue clouds of May
Drop down and turn to flowers."

These lines are delicate and nicely turned, but they arouse no enthusiasm in us. As the French say, "they leave us cold." We take down our Byron; we open it at haphazard, and strike these lines:

"Italia! O Italia! thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty, which became
A funeral dower of present woes and past,
On thy sweet brow is sorrow ploughed by shame,
And annals graved in characters of flame."

We turn again and come to this:

"She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
Rising with her tiara of proud towers
At airy distance, with majestic motion,
A ruler of the waters and their powers.
And such she was:—her daughters had their dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
Poured in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
In purple was she robed, and of her feast
Monarchs partook, and deemed their dignity increased."

We turn again and come to this:

"The cold in clime are cold in blood,
Their love can scarce deserve the name,
But mine was like the lava flood
That boils in Etna's breast of flame."

What magnificent energy, what throbbing passion, what sweep and power. Of course it is the fashion nowadays to sneer at Byron, to apply to him the words that George Eliot puts into the mouth of Felix Holt: "Byron was a misanthropic debauchee, whose notion of a hero was that he should disorder his stomach and despise mankind." But it would be well for American poets if they had something of the Byronic fervor and fire.

One of the reasons why American literature is trashy is because so many of the American people like trashy things. They prefer *The Port of Missing Men* to *The Newcombes* for the same reason that they prefer "Waitin' at the Church" to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and would rather have a daub of a dog's head hanging on their walls than a reproduction of Millet's "Gleaners" or Bougerau's "La Vierge Consolatrice." Fortunately we are not obliged to read *The House of a Thousand Candles* or

the poetry of Ella Wheeler Wilcox or Bliss Carman. We can still take out our pocket edition of one of the Waverley novels or of Byron or of Shelley, and read "Childe Harold" and "Manfred" and "Hellas" and "Prometheous Un-

bound," cheerfully oblivious of whatever trivialities and banalities may be pouring from the presses of America.

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Spencerport, N. Y.

THE GOOD AND BAD OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES.

BY W. B. FLEMING.

THAT good has come out of the administration of President Roosevelt is evident from the popular approval accorded it.

The public declaration of the President that under no circumstances would he accept a third term, marked the beginning of this approval.

His friendly offices in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese war made him a world figure, and gave him more prestige at home than all of his "big stick" performances in connection with our army and navy.

The steps taken to preserve the public lands and mineral wealth from private despoilation has met with universal praise.

His public utterances against plutocratic domination and the menace of predatory wealth have also opened the hearts of the people to him.

The official investigations set on foot and consequent exposure of the high crimes and misdemeanors of some of our "captains of industry" and a few of our public men, have also commended the President to the masses.

The efforts of the President to secure some sort of control of the railways have likewise added to his reputation.

The fact that President Roosevelt was not pledged by the platform on which he was elected to any of these reforms has made his course of conduct a happy surprise to the country, and this has probably accorded to him a larger

measure of praise than would otherwise have been meted out.

Considering his obligations to the insurance and other trusts for campaign contributions, and the powerful influences brought to bear upon him in the interests of the big corporations, the President has done so much better than the public had a right to expect, that his star shines with the greater brilliancy.

The good that has come from his speeches and messages is the more far-reaching because of its source. That which in a Democratic President would have been denounced as anarchistic is patriotic in a Republican President; and much that has been sneered at as "Bryanism" has thus been made respectable.

The good of the President's policies has made his name a household word, and given him a hold upon the country which must be reckoned with in the future, for the President will finish his present term while yet in the full vigor of his manhood, and he is not without ambition.

And yet the President's policies are by no means faultless and it is a question whether the bad in them does not outweigh the good.

That Mr. Roosevelt's egoism has made him blind to the reserved rights of the states, and oblivious of the barriers which the Constitution has raised between the Executive and the other branches of Government, is well-known to every

thoughtful, unprejudiced mind. However well-intentioned these obliquities, the danger to which the precedents thus set will expose the Republic in the future are none the less serious.

The course of the administration is marked with extraordinary inconsistencies. How can the President's sincerity in his reform declarations be reconciled with a number of his official acts?

Why did he retain in his Cabinet, Mr. Knox, the attorney for the trusts, appointed attorney-general at the instance of the trusts?

Why did he make Mr. Morton, a railroad magnate of malodorous repute, a member of his Cabinet, and defend this self-confessed violator of the rebate law?

Why did he appoint, and why does he keep in his Cabinet, Mr. Root, a notorious attorney of the very trusts the President is denouncing?

Why does the President affiliate with the Addickses and the Spooners *et id omne genus*, while he turns his back on men like Governor Cummings and Senator La Follette?

And why did he go to the assistance of the "Quay" Republicans, as against the "Lincoln" Republicans in Pennsylvania?

Mr. Knox, the favorite candidate of the trust barons for the succession is able to parade before the country the most fulsome praises of himself from Mr. Roosevelt.

A review of the significant facts tends to prove that the so-called war of the President upon the predatory corporations is not intended to be heroic.

In addition to those already mentioned many others might be cited which create a suspicion, that after all this warfare is largely a "play to the galleries" or a species of "four-flushing" if not a sham.

In spite of his solemn declaration that he would under no circumstances be a candidate in 1908, interviews are being given out to the effect that the President will rue his pledge as to a third term if he can break the solid South by carrying one Southern state, and Mr. John Temple

Graves does not hesitate to pledge to him the state of Georgia. Doubtless some other seeker after notoriety or public office will be equally ready to pledge to him the state of Texas.

The so-called "merger suit," so often boasted of, seems to be a case against rather than in favor of the administration. The decree of the Supreme Court in that case upholds the criminal as well as the civil clauses of the Sherman Anti-trust Act, but instead of following up the civil with criminal action against the law-breakers, Attorney-General Knox hastened to Wall street to assure the trust magnates that the administration was not going to "run amuck"; and thereupon the railroads concerned immediately proceeded to organize another merger under a different name, which new trust has openly continued the same violations of law denounced by the court.

The President's singular change of front on the question of the control of rates when the amendment to the Inter-State Commerce act was before the Senate, has never been explained. The Senate amendment, approved by the President, emasculated the original act of what the President had previously insisted was the vital point concerned; and thus the matter of rates is by legislative act made a judicial instead of an administrative or legislative act.

When Mr. Harriman was caught by the Inter-State Commerce Commission "with the goods on him" and the country had every right to expect criminal action against that bold financial buccaneer, the Associated Press was quick to publish the news that at a Cabinet meeting it had been concluded that no criminal measures would be resorted to in the case, and Mr. Harriman has since boldly proceeded with his policy of consolidation and public despoilation.

It is true that civil suits are being brought and that some of the trusts are being "fined" but what trust has been made to halt in its unlawful career, or to feel the terrors of the law?

The fines imposed have no terror for the trusts for the reason that these law-breakers, by raising the prices of their product, and railroad rates, are able to shift the fine upon the public which is thus made to pay the penalty for the crimes others commit, and of which they complain. Could there be a worse travesty upon justice than this?

Thus it is that in spite of all the hue and cry raised against the trusts, the mergers continue, the consolidations go on, the trusts still ply their nefarious trades, prices soar, and the people, instead of finding relief, are fleeced worse than ever.

None of the remedies invoked by the Administration have been effective for the reason that they do not go to the bottom of the evil. The axe is not laid at the root of the tree.

The spoils of the trusts are built up by special privileges of which the tariff was the beginning. By thus shutting off foreign competition, the combines are able to charge the people of the United States more than they charge for the same kind of goods to foreigners. Yet the President and his Cabinet stand with "the stand-patters" and stave off all revision of the robber tariff.

Still more to blame is the President for his failure to execute the laws required of him by his oath of office. Under the common law it is within the power of the President's Attorney-General and district attorneys to dissolve every trust engaged in inter-state commerce, and under the Inter-State Commerce and Sherman acts to clothe with stripes and put behind prison bars every trust magnate. One example of this kind would do more to protect the public from the menace of predatory wealth than all the fines that could be heaped upon the offenders. If the President is really sincere in his war upon plutocracy, why does he not thus enforce the law?

In view of these derelictions, the question naturally arises, why is the

President so popular? The reason is not hard to find.

There is a growing fear of the trusts by the people, and they are ready to hail as a Moses any high official who seems to be their friend as against their enemy. They ill realize the magnitude of the danger which confronts them, and still less do they comprehend what is necessary for their relief.

Science and invention, in the last half-century, have worked a revolution in transportation, in agriculture, in printing, in manufacture. The transition from primitive to modern methods, accompanied by a multiplication of man's labor power ten, a hundred, and in some instances a thousand fold, has raised the per capita wealth from \$307.00 in 1850 to \$1,300.00 in 1900, which, if equally distributed, would give five thousand dollars to each family in the United States. This has been done in spite of the vast sums squandered by our idle rich abroad, and over and above the billions destroyed in our Civil war, and the cost of that war. But our vast wealth of one hundred billions of dollars is mostly concentrated in the hands of a few. It requires all the labor of all the people for one year to add to our wealth the fortune held by John D. Rockefeller. Mr. Rockefeller owns at least one-fortieth of the total wealth of the United States, and the "Standard Oil Group," of which he is the head and center, owns about one-tenth of that wealth. The wealth of this octopus has increased five thousand per cent., while the total wealth of the nation has increased only two hundred and fifty per cent. How long will it take five thousand per cent. to overtake two hundred and fifty per cent.? How long will it be before the Rockefellers, Ryans, Hills, Harrimans, etc., own the United States?

It is estimated that already three-tenths of one per cent. of the population own seventy per cent. of the total wealth.

Wealth is power and sits enthroned in our City Council, Legislative and Con-

gressional Halls, and even in the Judges' seats. It makes, interprets and executes the laws. The power to despoil the people through franchises and by means of gigantic combinations increases every hour. Stock jobbing and stock watering goes on with haste, and railroads are consolidated, and gas and street-car and electric franchises are multiplying, and the earnings of future generations are being mortgaged, and the millionaires are made "immune" from punishment. The rich and powerful have seized not only upon the industries of the country, but upon the government itself.

They control the party machinery. Behind the boss stands the millionaire and the corporation. Hundreds of thousands of children are made to work in the factories, mills and mines, with long hours and small pay, and the future fathers, mothers and citizens are being dwarfed in body, mind and soul. Graft is rampant not only in the insurance companies whose wards are the widows and the orphans, but in public places, and corruption reigns in poli-

cal con-ventions and at the polls.

It is facts like these that are putting the people in fear of the future and compelling them to look for a Moses and making them ready to hail as a redeemer the first President they have had in fifty years who has shown any disposition to stand by them as against their despoilers.

When they learn how ineffective the President's policies will prove, Mr. Roosevelt may lose some of his popularity.

The President has taken the position that the water now extant in the issues of the capital stock of the corporations must be upheld as "vested rights." When the public comprehends that these fraudulent issues aggregate untold billions and in effect constitute a mortgage upon the productive resources of the country, and that this mortgage, in connection with the tremendous concentration of the resources of the country in the hands of the few must necessarily eventuate in industrial slavery, it is certain that Mr. Roosevelt will have to change his policy or lose his popularity.

W. B. FLEMING.

Chicago, Ill.

ALL AMERICANS OF ROYAL DESCENT.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,

Chief Justice of North Carolina.

"Honors best thrive
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our foregoers."—*All's Well, Act II., Sc. 3.*

TO ANY who does not consider the vanity inherent in human nature, it is astonishing to note the number of people, even in this country, where every man is a sovereign, who lay claim to royal descent. The third edition of *Americans of Royal Descent* has been issued, with 900 pages and several additional pedigrees. Not so very long since a Richmond, Virginia, paper had

several columns giving in great and edifying detail the pedigrees of divers and sundry families in that state who ran back their genealogical line to some king of England. And farther north the *nouveaux riches*, overwhelmed with all the good things of the present and feeling secure for the future, not infrequently proceed to provide for the past also by purchasing themselves a comfortable pedigree with some king as *terminus a quo*. These genealogical acquisitions, like the similar traditional claims of the

F. F. V.'s in the Old Dominion, are deemed by the public exceedingly doubtful. Tennyson (himself of undoubted royal ancestry) has said:

"From yon blue sky above us bent
The grand old gardener and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent."

While claims of royal origin could be of no benefit to the claimants if proven, and certainly could be of small credit, seeing that the average royalty has been rather a disreputable character, there is another side to this question; which has been little considered. And that is that these claims, notwithstanding the public incredulity, are probably all true. Let us consider: William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England, A. D., 1066. Allowing thirty-three years as a generation, there have been twenty-six generations since, counting his children then living as the first generation. Many people leave several children. It is certainly not an immoderate calculation to average each descendant as leaving three children. For if each descendant with his wife left only two children, the population would have stood still; whereas the less than a million inhabitants of the British Isles of that day have grown to be nearly forty millions there and eighty millions on this side of the water. William the Conqueror had four sons and six daughters. Averaging each of these as having three children, with the same average for each of their descendants down to the present, and the ten children of William in the present or twenty-fifth generation, by a simple arithmetical calculation, would have 2,824,295,314,810 descendants now living in the British Isles, in America, in the colonies or wherever men of British descent are to be found. As this is fully 25,000 times as many as there are people of British descent on the globe, there must be an error in the above calculation. There are two. First: while an average of two children to each descendant is too small, since that

average would have kept the population stationary, an average of three is too high, as that is an increase of fifty per cent. every thirty years, an average which few countries other than the United States could show. The second error is that intermarriage among descendants must be allowed for. Say that owing to these errors the result of the calculation is 25,000 times too much, it would still result that every man of the English-speaking race is descended from the Conqueror. Reduce it as much more as you like and the chances are yet strong that any given man of your acquaintance, as well as yourself, is probably a descendant of the victor of Hastings. Carry the *propositus*—as lawyers call him—back a few generations further, say to Alfred the Great or Charlemagne, and the chances are almost inevitable that any given individual is their descendant. Indeed, in the light of arithmetic it may be doubted if to-day there is any person speaking French, German or English, who is not a lineal descendant of Charlemagne. It is at least a mathematical certainty that to-day there is no one in any civilized country who is not a lineal descendant of some king or other eminent historical character. So true is that he has made "all people of one blood," and so puerile are claims of anyone whatever to superior descent over his neighbor.

The six wives of Henry VIII. of England came from three different countries and different ranks, but each, as well as Henry himself, was descended from Edward III. The fact is commemorated on the windows of the chapel of the Royal Palace at Hampton Court, as will be remembered by all who have been there. In London, too, there is to-day a butcher (and many others of like rank) who can give proof of an unbroken lineal descent in a legitimate line from a king of England.

There is another view too, of this matter. While taking any historical character as a *terminus in quo*, his

descendants widen out in every generation like a pyramid from its apex; yet taking any given person, yourself for instance, and tracing back his ancestors in like manner, they double in each ascending generation, till in a few hundred years they become "like sands on the seashore for multitude." The first error in the above calculation as to descendants is eliminated. The ancestors in each ascending generation must be exactly double the number of those in the generation below it. The only error to be allowed for is the duplication of ancestors by intermarriage of relatives, till finally, by the operation of this fact in the remote past, the whole human race is narrowed to one pair for its origin. But taking each individual living to-day as the apex of an inverted pyramid, with his ancestors doubling with each ascending generation, those ancestors become countless. Putting the population of the British Isles in William the Conqueror's day at 1,000,000, it may be doubted if any English-speaking man breathes to-day who is not descended, not only from William himself, but from each other of the great majority of the whole population of that day. It is true families die out; but if they survive and increase to the third and fourth generations, with each successive generation decrease greatly of course the chances of all the branches dying out. Even where descendants apparently fail in the direct line there always is a chance that descendants exist who have become obscure and been lost sight of, or there may be descendants through illegitimate and hence unrecognized descendants. Every man may safely count on the fact that among his innumerable ancestors are not only kings, and other historical characters, but also as certainly tramps and criminals of every description. Fortunately, criminals do not, as a rule, "live out half their days," and their line is more apt to become extinct in the first or second

generation succeeding, yet he who

"The ancestral line would ascend
May find it waxed at the other end
With some lineal progenitor."—(Saxe).

True, indeed, it is that every man is descended not only from heroes, kings, princes, poets, but also as certainly from murderers and thieves.

The doctrine of heredity has some force in it, but much that is called heredity is simply the effect of environment. A man may be a thief or the opposite because his father was such, but it is much more likely that his bent toward larceny or good works is due rather to his surroundings and early influences than to qualities transmitted in the blood. Inasmuch as the grandchild is only one-fourth, his son one-eighth, his son one-sixteenth, and his son one-thirty-second (and so on in geometrical ratio) the possessor of inherited qualities from any given ancestor, the effect of descent speedily minimizes. Nothing is more absurd and unfounded than the claims of an aristocracy based upon the supposed continued transmission of virtues and talents, as is the British House of Lords, or of a monarchy, all of which have been founded by some great chieftain of his day. But more absurd still is the spectacle of any one individual seeking to attract imputed honor to himself by asserting claims to descent from one who held some post of honor centuries ago. If the chain of descent can be made out, countless others are equally as certainly descended from the same origin, and furthermore the claimant is equally as certainly descended from numerous disreputable characters, whose qualities he has the same chance to have inherited with those of his more conspicuous and honored ancestors. No conception is more false in fact than the current conceit that any man is descended from a single line of ancestors. The lines of descent approach infinity. And nothing

is more certainly destroyed by the inexorable logic of figures than any assumed merit based upon "claims of long descent." We are not only all descended from Adam and Eve, but probably every German, Frenchman, Spaniard, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon is likewise a descendant of Julius Cæsar and Charlemagne. It is true royal dynasties have died out, but no account is taken of illegitimate descendants, usually numerous, in such cases. Besides, luxury and war decimate dynasties, and intermarriages reduce the number of descending lines. Cæsar had no legal heir in the direct line, but according to what Suetonious and Plutarch tell us of him he doubtless left many descendants. Famine and war have destroyed whole populations, but when after a few generations a man's descendants have multiplied into many lines, no disaster could within reasonable probability cut off all his descendants. The

modern "Claimants" have no monopoly. The beggar next door is probably a genuine lineal descendant of Charlemagne. As Pope says:

"What can ennobel fools or slaves or cowards?
Not all the blood of all the Howards."

Or as Sancho Panza hath it:

"Every man is the son of his own works."

Every man leaving descendants who survive beyond the third or fourth generation will, in all probability, in a few centuries, be one of the ancestors of every man of his nationality then living on the globe. But if there is any element of uncertainty as to a man's descendants there is none as to his ancestors. The "past at least is secure." Every man has necessarily had millions of ancestors, and equally of necessity has "royal blood in his veins."

WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C.

THE TEACHINGS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE IN REGARD TO MESMERISM.

BY ALFRED FARLOW.

Note: The following contribution from Mr. Farlow, to which we gladly give place, makes it perfectly clear that the teaching and practice of Christian Science is not parallel to or allied with mesmerism or mental suggestion; nor is the influence of the human mind regarded in Christian Science as having any power in itself or apart from human belief.—Editor of THE ARENA.

AN ARTICLE in the October number of THE ARENA may unwittingly beget the impression that there is some connection or kinship between Christian Science and the use of mesmerism in the attempted cure of disease, and it should be made clear that however significant the effects of mesmerism may be in support of the proposition that apparent healing can be effected without the use of drugs, this

does not establish any likeness or relation between Christian Science and such mesmeric or hypnotic methods of relieving pain.

In her book entitled *Unity of Good*, page 59, Mrs. Eddy declares "Nowhere in Scripture is evil connected with good, the Being of God, and, with every passing hour, it is losing its false claim to existence or consciousness. If God is infinite, all that can exist is God and His idea". "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?" Sickness surely cannot be cured by the same consciousness that caused it or that admitted the seeds of disease in the first instance. While the sick may be

temporarily relieved by any means whether mental or material which breaks the human belief of over-excited nerves or other material conditions, such temporary paralysis manifestly does not and cannot demonstrate Christian Science,—that rightness of thought or freedom which excludes disease.

Paul, as a follower of Christ Jesus, was engaged in a warfare against sin, sickness and death, but he said "Our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

No other rational interpretation of this declaration can be given than this, that he understood the foundation of all mortal discord to be mental, and the sin of the world to be occasioned by subtle and highly aggressive *mental* influence, which he designated as "spiritual wickedness",—that is, mental wickedness, the counterfeit of spiritual good.

Seekers after truth are not to be blamed because in their course they experiment with those mortal mind methods which from time to time have appealed to them. Nevertheless, overcoming disease through hypnotism is like mastering one error or ill by accepting bondage to a greater ill. What the sufferer needs is mental reformation. It argues nothing in favor of the utility and sanity of Christian Science that eminent philosophers have been able to effect certain results through mesmerism, since the basis of the latter system is an asserted power of mortal mind while the basis of the former system is Truth, Science, that power of divine Mind, declared by Jesus to be the means by which he healed the sick and raised the dead, though it might be suggested with propriety that since mere speculative theories may be and are entertained by all thinkers without even a fear of being considered insane, much more may Mrs. Eddy's theory, which is demonstrably true and Christian, be entertained without mental disturbance

On page 102 of *Science and Health*, Mrs. Eddy declares: "The mild forms of animal magnetism are disappearing, and its aggressive features are coming to the front. The looms of crime, hidden in the dark recesses of mortal thought, are every hour weaving webs more complicated and subtle. So secret are the present methods of animal magnetism that they ensnare the age into indolence, and produce the very apathy on the subject which the criminal desires." Respecting this matter the Boston *Herald* has said: "Mesmerism implies the exercise of despotic control, and is much more likely to be abused by its possessor, than otherwise employed, for the individual or society."

In this connection Mrs. Eddy further says: "Mankind must learn that evil is *not power*. Its so-called despotism is but a phase of nothingness",—the unreal usurping reality.

The day of the comparatively harmless experiments of Liebault has gone by and at this time subtle and malicious forms of mental mal-practice are shamefully in evidence. The world owes to Mrs. Eddy everlasting gratitude for laying bare these hidden, hideous forms of evil and for teaching the way to overcome them through the understanding that God, good, is the only *real* power, since evil has no power apart from mortal belief. No more striking example of the powerlessness of hypnotism to dominate men has ever been chronicled than that given in the utter failure of the recent effort to legally sustain the charges against the Leader of the Christian Science movement. In this prosecution and persecution unquestionably every known form of malicious mental influence was used in the effort to rob Mrs. Eddy of her freedom, liberty and life, and yet the elaborately planned attack utterly collapsed. The discussion of the teaching of Christian Science which resulted, especially that on the subject of malicious mal-practice, has incidentally accom-

plished more for the Cause of Christian Science than any event in its history, since it has afforded ample opportunity for a correct presentation of those main points regarding pernicious evil, mental influences, which have heretofore been misunderstood by the public. The world has had better opportunity to relearn that there is in truth but one power and that is God.

Subsequent to her discovery of Christian Science Mrs. Eddy has not believed that mesmerism can be used for good since its ill effects far exceed the advantages of any imaginary temporary relief, and she has taught her students the unreality of its asserted power in order that they may not be influenced by it or be tempted to obtain a knowledge of how it is done. In "Science and Health," page 457, Mrs. Eddy declares: "Her object, since entering this field of labor, has been to prevent suffering, not to produce it." Quoting from Mrs. Eddy the *Christian Science Sentinel* of November 16th, 1907, says editorially: "Evil is no more real, because it seems to be real, than a wicked or a painful dream in sleep is real. But the individual who attempts mentally or physically to produce the belief of sin, disease, or death, is guilty of the attempt to commit a murder, and Mrs. Eddy says scientifically and prophetically that at no distant day the mental assassin will be punished legally as certainly as the man or woman who sends a bullet into a man's heart. To-day even the mental assassin is punished morally, for no one can desire to commit murder without incurring the penalty named in the Scripture, 'Ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him;' in other words, that the criminal can experience no harmony unless he repents and reforms. In Divine Science Life is God, and God is infinite, all; but to the personal senses the belief of death is as real as the fact of life, hence the belief that says, 'I can kill a man mentally and not suffer for it,' may be father to the thought of committing the

crime of trying to kill a man, since as a man 'thinketh in his heart, so is he.'"

In *Science and Health*, page 186, Mrs. Eddy declares: "Evil is self-assertive. It says 'I am a real entity, overmastering good'. This falsehood should strip evil of all pretensions. The only power of evil is to *destroy itself*. It can never destroy one iota of good." If, as is generally conceded, mesmerism, hypnotism, etc., may be utilized to accomplish evil results and to defraud good, it is manifest that it is not of God, but is a product and result of mortal sinful belief, and this is the teaching of Science.

Christian Science demonstrates that evil needs only to be understood in order to be shunned; that sin and disease are not overcome by human will power. They can only be destroyed by the realization of the divine power, by viewing evil in the light of the omnipotence, all power of good and thus determining its *impotency* and *unreality*. There is less need for exercising human will in the practice of Christian Science than there is for darkness when we open our windows for light. Hence proofs of paganism and historical beliefs in mesmerism as a means of healing are neither progressive nor germane to a justification of power. The power and justification of Christian Science is found alone in its divine origin and in the blessings it brings to all mankind.

On page 196 of *Science and Health* Mrs. Eddy says "The press unwittingly sends forth many sorrows and diseases among the human family. It does this by giving names to diseases and by printing long descriptions which mirror images of disease distinctly in thought."

What Mrs. Eddy has said of the impropriety of advertising symptoms of disease may also be said of the ill advised dissertations on mesmerism. A description of the apparent possibilities of mesmerism, hypnotism or mental suggestion to do evil when unaccompanied by the explanation essential to overcome such deceptions, namely that they are

but self-asserted lies of mortal mind, which can have no influence over those who are alive to their nature, may build up a false fear in one class of thinkers, while with another class it tends to popularize a belief in the power of evil and of mortals to harm their

neighbors. Christian Science inspires an overwhelming love of the good and true. It destroys even the desire to commit sin and thus reforms both the practitioner and patient.

ALFRED FARLOW,

Boston, Mass.

PUBLIC WORKS HIGH SCHOOLS.

BY WILLIAM THUM.

IN ORDER to create a desire to attend high school, all children, while in the elementary grades, should be gradually and persistently taught the many and priceless advantages of a thorough high school training. One period two or three times a week for one term in the eighth grade might be given to a text-book on the advantages to be derived from an earnest high school education. This book should create in every healthy mind, a desire to learn, and should show that efficiency in some activity for self-support, a knowledge of the foundations of literature, science, music, and art are essential to a happy after life; it should show that steadily increasing knowledge is one of the necessities of our modern life, and that a high school training is practically indispensable as a means toward these ends.

In order that our youth may obtain the full benefit of high school training, it is necessary that every boy who is physically able, should earn and pay his own expenses after arriving at the age of sixteen. He should earn not only his personal expenses, but also his share of the running expenses of the school. Not only boys of parents who cannot afford to send their children to high school, but all boys of over sixteen would be benefited by earning their own education after passing the grammar grades. This applies to girls also, when conditions make it possible.

Boys who, either from necessity or from choice, work their way through high school or college almost without exception stand far above the average. If the work by means of which they earn their living and school expenses is within reason, it harms them in no way but in many ways it does them good. Some boys undertake to work outside of school hours and during vacation and attend high school full time; some work half-days and attend school half-days; others undertake to work steadily three or four years to save enough to pay the expenses of a high school course. Under present conditions, too few self-supporting boys try to obtain a high school education, and, for various reasons, too large a proportion of those who do try fail to carry out their intentions; only the most fortunate and strongest succeed, but fortunately thousands succeed. The principal reasons for failure are unsteadiness of employment, and lack of associates who are striving to accomplish the same end.

How much more surely and pleasantly could the desired result be accomplished if the municipalities would employ ambitious students at steady and fairly paid work. This work should yield not only enough to defray the student's necessary expenses, but should, whenever possible, be instructive as well. This plan would also give the student the further advantage of association with other boys

voluntarily working by his side with the same object in view. Instead of making the obtaining of an education a difficult and very often an impossible task for a self-sustaining boy, it would become a decided pleasure.

In general terms, the plan for this school would eventually provide for all boys, and possibly many girls, an opportunity to earn their way through high school. The legal time for attendance in this school should extend over a period of eight years, anywhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty-eight. The public would be expected to provide only grounds, buildings, and initial expenses, and then exercise general supervision over the schools; the students themselves would be obliged to earn and pay all operating expenses of the schools, once they are in good running order. Later in this article, we will give suggestions as to how this can be done. The plan proposed might require five, ten, or even more than ten times the high school capacity that the country now has, but this capacity should be increased without much, if any, increase in taxation.

For many years industrial work has become so productive, by reason of the many improvements in the methods of manufacture, that almost any healthy boy of sixteen years or over could produce enough in five hours per day to pay the necessary expenses of a public works high school course. After two or three years of experience in work, the young man could earn more than enough for the necessary expenses and, if he wished to do so, he could accumulate a reserve fund for later use. Some economists assure us that when our industrial program is less wasteful and the products of labor are distributed in an approximately equitable manner, the average laboring man will be able to earn enough in five hours per day to give him a living as good as he now enjoys. One of the expected results of our plan is to effect a fairer distribution of the products of labor, and a greater productiveness per work-hour.

The inequitable distribution of the products of labor, and the need of more general and more thorough secondary education, are the direct causes of most human unhappiness, and the indirect causes of quite all of such unhappiness. Our elementary education is now well distributed; it is, however, hardly more than a preparation for the education which our secondary schools should offer. If we are to have any further progress except in a slow, laborious, and wasteful way, every young person with sufficient capacity should be given an opportunity to obtain a secondary education. Our plan aims to give all those who desire this education the opportunity to attend high school, and incidentally to modify the operation of municipally-owned utility works so that municipal-ownership will effect the greatest possible results; no better means is at hand for the equitable distribution of the products of labor than well conducted municipal works.

Every practicable public opportunity and, for that matter, every practicable private one to enable the boy to earn the means for his high school education should be opened to him, and eventually opened to every boy regardless of whether or not he can live on the support of his parents and friends. It is of as much importance to the average rich man's son that he earn his own high school education as that he have such an education. The influence of complete dependence upon others on boys of sixteen years and over, who are strong enough to help themselves, is sometimes ruinous, as is evidenced by every supported high school boy who does not earnestly apply himself to his studies.

How shall we employ the boys? The public has municipal work to do, and the greater part of this work could be done by clear-headed boys and young men, from sixteen to twenty-eight years of age, who are under the supervision of the public works high school. In order to avoid giving the boys too many hours of muscular or mental work in one

continuous period, it would be necessary to limit one set of boys to five hours of labor in the forenoon and to three hours of school work in the afternoon; with the other set of boys the order would have to be reversed. This arrangement of time, with modifications for night work and special cases, would permit one-half of the boys to take a forenoon session and the other half an afternoon session in the public works high school. Eight years might be required to complete a full high school course in this way, yet it is possible that six or seven years of half-day sessions of three hours each would accomplish as much as four years of full day sessions now accomplish.

It is evident that the study program of the public works high school would differ from that of the ordinary high school mainly in that each morning program of study would have to be repeated with the other set of students in the afternoon. Whether, in case regular public works high schools are established it would be better and more convenient to have the older and stronger boys and young men work and study alternately by half-days or whole days, would be a matter for experience to decide.

Thousands of boys have earned the means to pay their way through a full high school course and have taken it in fewer than eight years. What thousands of boys can do under difficult conditions in less time, millions could do in the eight years under public works high school conditions. Furthermore, we should find that the self-supporting students of the public works high schools, from sixteen to twenty-eight years of age, could, after once the proper rules and methods were established, do the manual and even the managerial labor of many municipal works with far better results than the average works can show at the present time.

One way in which a trial of the plan might be made, although we doubt if any municipality would undertake to try it

until its value has been proved by private experiment, is as follows:

Take as an example a city of ten thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants owning its water-works. Let us assume, for the sake of brevity, that the force of men employed in the water-works is as follows:

1. A superintendent whose duties are to act as secretary, overseer of the books, and general manager of the office and works.
2. An office clerk whose principal duties are to do the book-keeping and to act as cashier.
3. A meter and bill man to read the meters and make out the monthly water bills.
4. A foreman over the mechanics and day laborers in the works and in the field.
5. A machinist.
6. An engineer for the engine and pump room.
7. A fireman for the boiler room.
8. A janitor to do the janitor work, to act as messenger, and to care for a team.
9. Several laborers for trench digging and pipe laying.

A committee composed of the school superintendent and the principals of the several schools, and one or more members from each educational, social, and business society might be organized to take the matter in hand; if it is found that the city administration and the voters will readily favor the making of a public works high school experiment in connection with the water-works, the committee could proceed in its own way, or according to the following plan: Choose two capable boys who are willing to do the janitor work, one to work in the forenoon and to attend high school in the afternoon; the other to attend school in the forenoon and to work in the afternoon. It goes without saying that good work must be required of the boys in the water-works, also regular attendance and good standing at the school. The committee, in making its choice of boys, could be guided largely by the recom-

mendations of their eighth-grade teachers, and be reasonably sure of the character of the boys chosen. Since there are no public works high schools in existence to which such boys can be sent, the committee would, for the present, be obliged to make arrangements with the regular high school of the city to so adjust its program as to accommodate boys who wish to do this work. It might at first be somewhat difficult to send a boy through one year of the course in two years, with attendance only in the forenoon during the first year, and the next year with attendance only in the afternoon, but this difficulty would gradually be overcome as the teaching force adapted itself to the new condition.

About two weeks before the beginning of the school year, the two boys chosen for janitor service at the water-works could work with the janitor and take instructions from him. When school begins, the janitor would leave and the boys would fill his place, each one working one half-day, as explained before, until the beginning of the next school year. The boys would have to work during vacation times just as they would during the school term, that is, five hours each day, because they need the money for self-support, and because it would be too difficult and impracticable for the water-works department to find and initiate a set of new men each vacation time.

How about the displaced employes? The committee would of course be under obligations to give them other employment at similar wages. The problem thus presented will be referred to later.

The two janitor boys, in order to hold their place, must render as good service as was given before, and should receive about the same pay per hour as the original janitor received. With their parents, one of their teachers, or one of the committee members as financial guide, the boys would soon learn how best to use their money, and would learn,

wherever the earnings made it possible, to save a part of their wages to meet possible temporary reverses. Boys who desire to earn their own way through school would listen to advice on personal expenditures and give the advice thoughtful consideration.

About two weeks before the beginning of the second school year of our experiment, each one of the janitor boys could, in the free part of his work day, take instructions from the meter reader and bill man, in order to be prepared to take the meter readings and to make out the monthly water bills during the second or following year. During the two weeks that these boys take instructions from the meter reader, each could, during his work hours, instruct the second set of boys chosen by the committee to do the janitor work for the coming year. Throughout the second year of the experiment, therefore, the second set of boys would serve as janitors and messengers, and the first would do the meter reading and make out the monthly water bills.

About four weeks before the beginning of the third school year of the experiment, each one of our first set of boys should, in the free part of his work day, take instructions from the office clerk in order to become prepared to keep the account books and to do the other duties of the clerk during the following or third school year. Previously to this, the high school should have prepared our first set of boys by arranging their studies so that both would have received a school training in book-keeping and office work. In the third year, therefore, the first set of students (by this time eighteen to twenty-two years old) would do the work of the office clerk; the second set of boys (seventeen to twenty-one years old) would do the work of meter reader and a bill man; and the third set (sixteen to twenty years old) would do the janitor and messenger work. By this time the janitor, the meter and bill man, and the office clerk would have been displaced;

our first set of boys would, at the start of each school year, have been initiated in their various duties by the respective men originally performing those duties; our second and third set of boys would have been initiated in their work each by the preceding set of boys. Whenever practicable, high school studies should be employed to help the boys in the duties of the current year, and also to help prepare them for the duties of the year to follow. The courses in mechanics and book-keeping would meet practically every need that might arise in carrying out this system.

The program of procedure as given above could be continued on similar lines for the remaining five years of the full course. Briefly stated, this program might be as follows: In the fourth year, the first set of boys, now from nineteen to twenty-three years old, might act as pipe layers and supervisors of street laborers. In the fifth year, they could, under the supervision of the engineer, do the firing and displace the fireman; they now would be twenty to twenty-four years old. In the sixth year, with the high school preparation in mechanics together with the supervision of the foreman and machinist, they could perform the work of the engineer. In the seventh year, with the technical high school training, the two boys (now twenty-two to twenty-six years of age) could ordinarily do the work of the machinist. In the eighth year of our experiment, the last year of the course, the first boys might possibly be competent to displace the foreman; if not competent, some other arrangement could be made to keep them employed. From the plan as outlined, it will readily be seen that each year, as our first set of boys was shifted to other work, the shifting of the other boys would naturally follow, and each year a new set would be introduced as janitors.

At the end of the eighth school year, the first set of boys would graduate from high school and would no longer be eligible to employment in municipal

works except in the few positions that are of necessity permanent. Aside from employment in these permanent positions, one of the fundamental rules regarding the boys in the municipal works must be that they shall be engaged only while receiving a public works high school education, and that graduates and others shall be employed in the temporary positions only when there is no suitable candidate waiting to take up the employment for the purpose of receiving such education.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the boys to be chosen are picked boys who would do the work as well as the average man does it or even better. And we must also keep in mind the fact that, if public works high schools are opened, the several municipal enterprises that might be within the territory of any certain school would in a sense become a part of its curriculum, and would be under the direct scrutiny of the entire school, students as well as instructors. Of course, the municipal water-works here used as an illustration is but an imaginary affair, much simplified for the purpose of shortening this article. In practice, the carrying out of the plan outlined above would prove to be a much more complicated matter than we have made it appear to be, but once in operation according to this plan, it cannot but be a success.

Not all boys would be capable of doing all kinds of work, and many variations from a typical case might be required to suit varying conditions; but all such difficulties can be overcome. One of the critics to whom this plan was submitted made this remark: "I much doubt whether high school teachers would be agreeable to such an upheaval of regular course studies." Here we must remember that the boys in question will be students above the average, and that such students are a pleasure to the teachers. This fact will do much to lessen the burden of the extra work involved.

Most boys finish the eighth grade by

the time they are fourteen years old; what shall be done with them until sixteen years of age? Those who are large and strong for their years might, in special cases, be given employment in the municipal works and allowed to attend the public works high school as though they were sixteen years old; five hours daily of moderate labor would not be injurious to a healthy boy of fourteen. The remainder of the fourteen and fifteen year old boys in families which cannot afford to keep their children in school beyond the eighth grade, would have to find such light half-time employment outside of municipal works as best they could. Or these boys might go to work at the most suitable full time employment that offers until reaching the age of admission to the high school; or, work proving unavailable, they may simply be obliged to wait until the proper age. Parents having a child graduate from the eighth grade at the age of fourteen would, of course, if they could afford to do so, fully maintain it and pay all expenses of full-time school attendance during the ninth and tenth grades, and then, after the child is sixteen years old, require it to earn its own way through the eleventh and twelfth grades by employment either in some public works or elsewhere. These two grades under half-time attendance in the public works high school would require four years' time.

According to the proposed plan for public works high schools, the entire work of each of the eight half-grades is given in the forenoon and repeated in the afternoon throughout each year for the benefit of both sets of the half-day pupils. The course thus planned will cover eight years for the half-day pupils but will at the same time offer the opportunity for full-day pupils to complete the course in four years as at present by taking, for example, the first half of the freshman work in the forenoon and the second half in the afternoon. Since the public works high school students would

pay the entire operating expenses of the schools, the fact that the extending of the legal school age would be necessitated would be immaterial so long as any one individual may attend the school only eight half-years. The age limit ranging from sixteen to twenty-eight years would make a number of sufficiently mature men available for the municipal works, whereas a lower age limit would, for some departments, seem not quite strong and mature enough.

Under an arrangement similar to that described for the public works high school, the city government of any city having a polytechnic institute could offer situations to suitable students of the institute and gradually all the municipal works of the city would become closely connected with the members of the institute. The student employes would be under the supervision of the proper city authorities, and would at the same time be under the care and guidance of the school. The institute could make the study of the municipal works in which its students are employed a part of one or more of its courses, and in this way develop experts and managers for these works. In cities not having schools of this kind from which to supply their own demand, good employment could readily be found for young men thus prepared. Men having had eight years of half-time practical experience, together with the same length of time in the polytechnic institute, would be exceptionally valuable in municipal or other works.

Every individual who earnestly strives to develop his reasoning power properly and to accumulate a reasonable supply of knowledge is doing his first duty to the state. Here we mean such reasoning power and such knowledge as will result at least in the healthy development of both body and mind. It is therefore to the interest of every city to assist all eligible persons desiring to obtain a high school education by offering them such employment as it has to offer

This systematic work both in and out of school will develop the reasoning power to the best advantage. By employing young persons who are ready to work for an education, the city at once gets the strongest moral class of labor, and this raises the standard of municipal purity. The fact that each student employé would be kept on one class of work but one year, or as long as good service to the municipal works might require; the fact that each individual municipal enterprise would be a subject of study in the public works high school; and the further fact that the students of the high school would have intimate and practical connection with the municipal works, would make fraudently inclined men shun municipal employment. The municipal purity that could be brought about by this plan would make municipal-ownership a comparatively easy matter, and municipal-ownership would naturally extend to many lines of business that cannot now be undertaken by the city on account of "graftmen," some of whom intrude themselves into civic positions and do moral and economic damage beyond calculation.

As public works high schools develop, it would become feasible to have municipal telephone systems, water-works, gas-works, electric-works, ice-plants, fuel-yards, dairies, laundries, bakeries, city printing, and street-railways. Later, the field of municipal enterprise could be extended so that one-half of the necessities of life would be furnished by municipal works approximately at cost. When such a time is reached, all who are not in the higher financial strata, and all into whose lives luxuries do not enter largely would no longer pay unnecessary tribute to trusts and monopolies.

The greater the number of municipal enterprises the city has, the more employment it can offer to public works high school students and the more rapid would be our intellectual growth. Varied work for the young in any municipal business would teach good business

methods by actual practice, and good business methods are a most valuable asset in private life. After eight years of half-time employment in municipal works, the young citizen would be familiar with the details of operation in these works, and, furthermore, he could more readily familiarize himself with other municipal business. Thus he would be trained to be a reliable judge in matters pertaining to municipal industry, and when a large majority of the citizens are thus trained, any indifference to public trust or any fraud that might develop on the part of a municipal employé, would be still more quickly discovered. The annual reports of all municipal industries would naturally be freely studied, compared, and criticized by the majority of public works high school graduates. The public works high schools could, if necessary well afford to omit some of the present high school studies, valuable though they are, in order to study municipal industrial business and thereby aid in the establishment and maintenance of greater purity in municipal industrial enterprises; but regardless of the above reason, municipal industrial activity, carefully considered, would still be an interesting, instructive, and profitable study for the schools.

There is one thing in particular that could be done for publicity in municipal enterprise that would at the same time be of value to the public works high schools. The book-keeping classes could be given complete sets of copies of the correspondence, the vouchers, and the account books for the entire previous year, of one or more of the municipal enterprises of the city, and during the current year they could enter and post each item to its proper account, balancing the books at the customary intervals. The book-keeping course could just as well include some part of the city's actual book-keeping as to provide only imaginary work; some imaginary work in other lines of business would still be necessary, but less would answer in consequence of

the practice obtained from the municipal book-keeping. The classes would naturally feel a keener interest in actual than in imaginary work, and the students generally would become familiar with those municipal enterprises, the accounts of which had been reviewed. Should the time come for some of these students to act as clerks in these particular enterprises, they would be especially fitted for such service.

Instead of using copies of correspondence, vouchers, and account books of the previous year, as suggested above, it might be practicable to at once duplicate all office work and have the book-keeping classes of the high school keep duplicate books at the same time that the original books are being kept in the office of the municipal works. Doing actual, current work would, no doubt, create a livelier interest than would the reproduction of work a year old. If the office of the municipal enterprise and the public works high school would work in harmony, the labors of book-keeping in the school could be arranged as to enable the instructors to so distribute the work among many students as to save much time, and thus obtain better results. It is probable that the methods of teaching the accounting of municipal works as outlined above would have to be developed as a science, through practical experience in the smaller cities, before becoming applicable to the larger cities where the book-keeping of the municipal works is of too great magnitude for experimental purposes.

With the growing importance of industrial life, the public works high school may have to give more than the ordinary amount of time to the study of book-keeping; and comprehensive book-keeping, to a certain point, should perhaps be made compulsory, as it has become so vital an element in our industrial and commercial life. The whole process of municipal book-keeping needs to be simplified to the extent that all cities adopt the same system as nearly as may

be. The book-keeping department of public works high schools could make it a point to look for improved and more uniform methods in municipal accounting, and in the rendering of municipal reports. The ultimate object of the reports should be to make easy and instructive a comparative study of similar reports from other cities and to enable the citizen to recognize in the report any dollar of which he knows the history, and to learn the history of any other dollar that he may wish to learn. The schools could cooperate with public-spirited citizens who have already accomplished much in this direction, to the ultimate advantage of both the cities and the schools. The books of city auditors could be handled in the same way as described for the books of municipal works.

A large number of persons believe that one might as well employ a lot of frisky colts in a municipal works as to employ boys under twenty years of age. The fact remains, nevertheless, and we wish to reiterate it, that a large majority of selected boys of sixteen years and over, after a remarkably little practice, can be taught to do half a day's work of a rather complicated character fully as well as the average man can do this work, and sometimes even better. If we select boys of from sixteen to twenty years of age who have made a good school record for themselves through the first eight grades, boys who have acted sensibly since leaving school, and start a fresh lot of them each year in a public works high school and a municipal works, at the end of eight years, when the first lot of boys graduate, we shall see a works operated by boys and young men who are a credit to the schools and who are doing justice to the city employing them. After a municipal works has been operated by public works high school students for ten years, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the results accomplished by the average student of twenty years in five hours of

daily labor, would equal what is accomplished in eight hours or even more by the average laborer at the present time. This result would not necessarily be brought about through extra ability shown by the student, but through the better systematization of the works and the greater publicity. This systematization and publicity will result in the saving of labor and in the discovery of the true measure of work per hour that the average man can reasonably be expected to do.

What one frequently sees healthy, ambitious boys doing to earn their own way through high school in four years, time, is sufficient encouragement for the belief that the average boy, being given proper and fairly paid half-time employment, could easily earn his own living expenses as well as the monthly school fees necessary to cover his share of the running expenses of the school, and get through with a complete high school course in eight years with half-time attendance. Of course he would have to practice economy and live a pure, healthy, simple life, spending his wages for right things, all of which practice tends towards greater happiness; it becomes relatively easy to live such lives when one is at work obtaining an education.

Making allowances for previous school training, a careful study of a number of self-sustaining school boys as compared with those supported by their parents or friends, would, as a rule, be convincing proof that the best way to obtain a high school education is to work for it. It is true that boys, if ambitious and capable, can develop their minds and gain a store of knowledge outside of school and without teachers, and they frequently do this, but this independent development is impossible except for the most capable boys, and even these cannot gain it so well and so quickly as they could in an institution of learning equipped for the purpose; and it is not possible to do it so well as they could in company with

zealous fellow-students, the only kind that should be tolerated in the public works high school.

Taxes could not become an obstacle to the establishing of public works high schools because, after the schools are in working order, the students would be required to pay tuition sufficient to cover all operating expenses. The public would construct the buildings, supply the first educational and other necessary appliances, and pay the deficit in operating expenses until the school came into full operation. If in time every boy or girl eligible to the public works high school were to apply for entry, it ought not to cost the public more per capita gradually to build and start the larger number of schools required than it would cost both to build and to maintain the comparatively limited number of free high schools in operation under the present system.

Laboring men and others now employed by the cities in municipal works should bear in mind that the founding of public works high schools would be a very slow process at best, and that relatively few of the employes would be displaced by the students. In any city having several municipal works, there would probably be enough vacancies and new places in all the municipal works combined to accommodate all old employes that might be displaced by students taken into the first works in which the public works high school experiment might be tried. As the field of operation of the school would extend by slow degrees from works to works, old employes would drop out by natural processes, making ample room for the student employes. Thus it becomes an easy matter to believe that the effect of the public works high school on the employes of municipal works would be no more than occasional inconvenience.

The effect on the general labor market produced by the introduction of public works high schools would be but slight, for it has practically the same effect

whether boys work half-time from sixteen to twenty-four years of age or full time from twenty to twenty-four. Most boys who are not attending school should be at work full time when eighteen years of age. In addition to this, some public works high school students would not begin attendance at school until twenty years old and then would work only half-time until twenty-eight years old, thus taking eight years of half-time off the market; the school, therefore, would reduce instead of increase the supply of labor on the general labor market. Furthermore, these students working half-time would of necessity spend practically all of their earnings locally, and would spend them at once. For these reasons the school could have hardly a temporary effect on even the local labor market, not to mention the general market. Of the possible effects on the labor market referable to public works high schools, none appear to be bad, but if there could be any bad effects, they must appear very trifling when compared with the good that public works high schools would do laboring men through their children. There is no reason for believing that laboring men care less for their children than do the more wealthy. Many laboring men feel keenly their inability to send their children to high school.

If the public works high school should prove to be as valuable as we believe it would be, and if this high school system should become general, all municipal industrial activities would be purified under the scrutiny of the school, so that even private business would discover a good example in the management of the municipal works and would quickly rise to the new standard. After the public at large had had some experience in municipal business, industrial delinquents in all fields, whether employers or employes, would be quickly distinguishable from the men who do capably and without extortion or theft, their

share of the world's work. Industrial delinquents would be obliged to change their tactics or be dropped to the lower levels of society. The public works high school would eventually raise the intellectual and moral standard of humanity so high that there would be no danger of retrogression, because people who understand a nobler life clearly enough to appreciate it will never be satisfied with a less noble one.

The public works high school would remove a great load from some parents' shoulders by aiding their children of over sixteen years of age to earn their own living and education. This would not only be a load from the parents' shoulders, but it would be a joy for them to feel certain that all their children, if fairly healthy and strong, would have an opportunity to obtain a good education, regardless of their parents' financial condition. All parents desiring to send their children to high school, who cannot do so, or who have a hard struggle to do so, would appreciate the benefit that the public works high school would be to them. By reason of the school, such parents would have more time for pleasurable mental improvement, and for that reason would be more companionable to their children. The truer mutual love between the more enlightened parents and their more enlightened children would raise the standard of home, and every evil known to social science would be just so much nearer correction.

Everyone should earn enough money for the necessities of life, for recreation, and for further development. If a man is to become better acquainted with God's world, and become a worthy part of it, he should have money and time for books and other aids in learning. In order to develop, a man must not only earn more money than the mere necessities of life cost, but he must learn also to spend this surplus money to good advantage; he must earn the money during such hours per day as will leave

a few hours daily for development and recreation. It is also essential that he know how to use this spare time to good advantage in order to realize from it worthy advancement. As said before, with most persons, it is absolutely necessary that the start in learning be made while young, and that it be made in a school which offers the larger part of the usual high school studies. The public works high school plan would provide a course in which the student would learn how to study, earn, save, spend, and live; it would make a living obtainable by all with fewer hours of daily labor than are now required.

While speaking of leisure time and the best way of employing it, the following plan is suggested as a practicable one for the summer vacations of students of the public works high school. During this vacation, the students would have one half-day free every day, as they would be employed at the works in the forenoon or afternoon only, except during the last weeks, when they would be required, in the otherwise free part of the day, to take instructions from the prior set of students, which instruction would be for work to be done at the works during the next school year. Instead of working half-time each day, the students might remain at their work full time for half their vacation, one set during the first half, the other set during the second half, and then join an out-of-door summer class of forty or fifty on camping trips under the guidance of a public works school instructor whose duty it would be to teach nature studies. The remaining vacations could also be turned to some pleasurable and good use in all cases where the students' financial condition would permit.

Have you tried to realize the happiness lying latent in this plan? Eventually nearly every young person of the public works high school age would be at work in some municipal business five hours, and attending the school three hours per day; he would be practically

self-supporting and at the same time would be developing a keen intelligence he would be in good and happy student company for eight years, and after eight years of such excellent training, he would come out as a first-class citizen to take his place in a community of a high order. Those graduates who might wish to enter a business career would be well prepared to fill any ordinary position and to advance in this position. Those who might desire a professional or business training in college would be in excellent mental condition to begin this training. Others again, who choose to become artisans, with a remarkably short apprenticeship, would become proficient. In order to fit such students for their chosen occupations, the eighth or both the seventh and the eighth year of the school course, as the case might require, could be confined largely to trade courses which would give both manual and text-book training. Some prominent educators believe that six years of half-time attendance at the public works high school would be sufficient to complete an ordinary high school course; this would leave the remaining two years of the public works high school course entirely for trade or college studies, or for both.

Let us take the plumber's trade for example. The students choosing it could be given manual training of much practical value, also lessons from a technical school book on the subject. These students might also be required to read a trade journal on plumbing. Two school hours per week set aside for teaching the trade for a year or two, would prepare the young man to such a degree that he would be sought by employers. A boy's education having included elementary hygiene, sanitation, and chemistry, in addition to the more general studies, has fitted him to continue study on scientific lines if he should feel so inclined, until he makes himself a master of sanitation, chemistry and other related sciences. A capable man could

use all his ability for a life-time in the endeavor to master the important things there are to know about plumbing and the sciences that bear on it; in inventing new plumbing devices; or in discovering new scientific facts in regard to the trade. A journeyman plumber, having a public works high school education on which to build, has quite as good opportunities to make himself respected and valued as he could have in any other position in life. Similar argument could be made in favor of carpentry, house-painting and decorating, drafting, pattern making, machine building and other trades.

Each city of sufficient size to have at least one well attended high school would, after the general introduction of the public works high school, have a number of the latter institutions, and the trade courses could be so arranged that no two schools would teach the same trade. In this manner, the students in such cities would be given the choice of a great number of occupations.

With the introduction of public works high schools, high schools would not, as now, be composed principally of boys and girls of well-to-do families. Relatively poor children who now leave school at the close of the eighth grade would attend the public works high school in large numbers. Many children who now leave school after the sixth and seventh grades would strive to continue at school through the eighth grade and would then enter the public works high school.

Now we come to the question, could the students do work of enough value in five hours per day to earn their personal expenses, including their proportionate share of the running expenses of the school? Many sixteen year old students are now entirely self-supporting, so the question may be considered settled for almost all other students who are in good physical condition. If parents can easily afford to do so, there would be no objection to their rendering aid to make the student life of their children more

effective and comfortable, but too much aid should be avoided. Members of well-to-do families will be likely to believe that sixteen-year-old boys should not work; these members will object seriously to such steady occupation as our plan requires. The public works high school would require of the self-supporting boy that he work five hours per day six days of the week every week in the year, except the few weeks of the summer vacations, and that he attend school three hours per day about forty weeks of the year. As high schools are at present conducted, sixteen year old boys of well-to-do families are now attending school six hours per day for forty weeks of the year, and it is doubtful whether it would not be better for them to do reasonable work for five hours in place of three of the hours of daily school attendance. During the forty school weeks, the difference in hardships between attending a public works high school and the present high school would be slight.

Now let us examine the details of this question. Can the students earn enough by five hours work a day to pay their entire expenses? In cities where the ruling wages for common labor in municipal works is twenty-five cents per hour, the following figures would approximately hold good. The figures given would apply where the public works high school is of sufficient size for economical operation. For boys away from home, coöperative boarding clubs could furnish suitable meals at \$2.50 per week; many college boarding clubs are doing this now, and in some instances they furnish board at even a lower rate. A mother who is a good manager might possibly board her boy by increasing her household expenses only \$2.00 per week, especially if he did what he could to accomplish this result; and she could give a small, plainly furnished room, with heat and good cheap light at 50 cents per week and do the laundry work at 40 cents per week, if the boy were

sensibly economical and would lend a helping hand at times. An operating expense of \$60.00 a year for each full-time student is more than many high schools are allowed, and this amount permits of the maintenance of the equipment and the employment of efficient teachers; therefore, \$30.00 a year for each half-time student is what we will allow. A boy who has learned how to buy and care for clothes from shoes to hat can clothe himself comfortably and presentably for from \$65.00 to \$70.00 a year. For books and other school requisites, stationery, toilet articles, car fares, amusements, church and other necessary expenses, we have figured \$50.00. These figures make a total for annual expense of \$300.00 or about \$6.00 per week, as shown by the following table.

ESTIMATED COST OF A YEAR'S MAINTENANCE AT SCHOOL FOR A STUDENT LIVING AT HOME, BUT PAYING HIS PARENTS THE ACTUAL COST OF BOARD, ROOM AND LAUNDERING.

	Per Year
Board at \$2.00 a week.....	\$104.00
Room, with light and heat, at 50 cents a week.....	25.00
Laundry, at 40 cents a week.....	20.80
School tuition, for half-time attendance.....	30.00
Clothing.....	70.00
School books and other items enumerated above.....	50.00
	<hr/> \$300.80

The figures just given and those following are based partly on calculation, and partly on reports of actual experience of a number of boys and young men who are earning their own way through high schools in California.

All boys sixteen years old who might desire to attend a public works high school do not have homes where they can live in this way. Room, board and laundry would be likely to cost such boys a little more. Dormitories built by the city, or by voluntary societies formed for the purpose, could provide suitable rooms, furnished with the heavy pieces only, steam heated, of a size to accommodate two students, at a rental of \$4.50 per month; this figure is calculated to pay repairs and to yield a net income of four per cent. annually if the property is allowed to go without taxation as it should be. Where economy is an object, good and ample municipal light need not

cost more than 60 cents per month per room. The student could get along with 50 cents per week and even less for laundry, if the work were done at special school rates. If the public works high school should ever become a factor in our lives, thousands of willing minds will invent ways to make the students' living less expensive and better.

ESTIMATED COST OF A YEAR'S MAINTENANCE AT SCHOOL, FOR A STUDENT LIVING AWAY FROM HOME.

	Per Year
Board at Club, at \$2.50 a week.....	\$130.00
One-half of room and heat, at \$4.50 a month for two.....	27.00
One-half of light, at 60 cents a month for two.....	3.60
Laundry, at 50 cents per week.....	26.00
School tuition, for half-time attendance.....	30.00
Clothing.....	70.00
School books and other items as previously enumerated.....	50.00
	<hr/> \$336.60

This amounts to practically \$6.50 per week.

The student, by taking a smaller room alone, would increase his expenses about \$1.00 per month, making his weekly expenses amount to about \$6.75. The figures given do not provide for any except the heavy furnishing of the rooms. Those boys whose parents could not supply the extra furnishings might work and save enough during their fourteenth and fifteenth years to buy them. Our figures do not include the care of the rooms; the boys would have to care for them themselves, but this could be done easily as the rooms and the main pieces of furniture would be built for easy cleaning. In order to cover these yearly expenses with sufficient certainty, allowing for a few days off for possible sickness, accident, or other imperative reasons, the student might have to earn and receive in wages as much as \$7.00 a week of six five-hour days; this amounts to about \$364.00 a year. In addition to this, every student should come with \$50.00; with part of this amount he could buy his room furnishings, and the remainder could be held in reserve for emergencies. He should also come with a full equipment of clothing. This \$50.00 and enough more to buy a supply of clothing,

the progressive boy could, if necessary, earn and save between the time of finishing the eighth grade and entering the public works high school.

Now, the question remains, could selected eighth grade boys of sixteen years earn the \$7.00 in a week of five-hour days? Investigation shows that they could, in the vast majority of cases, and with economy to the public. Furthermore, they could be given 25 cents per hour the second year, 30 cents the third year, and 40 cents per hour for all the remaining years, all with profit to the public over present conditions. In localities where living expenses are lower than in our schedules, the wages would, no doubt, be relatively lower. Forty cents per hour would give the older students \$2.00 for each five-hour day, and of these students nineteen out of every twenty would be worth their hire. Two dollars a day, under present price conditions, would permit of considerable saving. If \$2.00 were paid for each five-hour day, beginning with the fourth school year, by the sixth year, the wiser users of money could safely undertake marriage, so far as money is concerned, and if the young woman is also a good financier, there would, with ordinary good fortune, be a sufficiency to live comfortably while the young man is completing his school course.

Objection may be made to this plan because the public works high school would not be an entirely free school. It would be a free school as far as buildings, equipment, and the means required to put it on a self-sustaining basis are concerned. Some think it would be a step backwards to require tuition, but it seems to us that when a municipality supplies work to young people of sixteen to twenty-eight years of age at which they can earn sufficient wages, they ought, in justice, to pay the necessary tuition. Would it not be wise, if only for the moral effect, to require the student to pay tuition? It seems to us that the public should pay the tuition only when

it will not supply the students with work.

It is simply a physical impossibility for the majority of parents to bear the expense of maintaining their children through a high school course. Even the general public could not, without great hardship, bear the expense of maintaining such an immense number of high school students; their tuition alone would be a burden for many tax-payers. It is evident that the youth must earn their own maintenance and this maintenance should include the expenses of their education. When one considers that the municipality gives the student an opportunity to support and educate himself and that the earning and spending of his own money is valuable schooling second to none, the objection to tuition is practically answered.

In brief, the main features of the plan proposed in this article are as follows: the establishment of special high schools; the selections of the students as employes in municipal works; the requiring from students five hours of efficient labor and three hours of satisfactory school attendance with half-time vacations as to school attendance; the payment of the running expenses of the schools by the students; the payment to the students of wages such as will a little more than cover a fixed rate of living and school expenses, provided the students will produce enough, economically, to equal such wages.

Two objections frequently offered to the public works high schools, objections not previously referred to, are that the schools will cause a scarcity of laborers to do the common work, and that general municipal-ownership will cause a decrease in individuality, and a lowering of character.

Many believe that a general distribution of secondary education would so reduce the number of day laborers that there would be too few to do the world's common work. They fear that whenever there are relatively few laborers who are capable of doing no other than the

common work, general material progress will be seriously retarded. Such fears are unfounded. As popular intelligence increases the wages for common work will advance in relation to other wages and more inventive power will be spent on devices to perform such work by machinery. It may at times baffle the inventive powers of men to improve some of the more disagreeable occupations so as to make them agreeable; but a better enlightened people will solve future problems of this nature fully as well as we solve those of the present time. Many of those who fear a lack of common laborers as the result of more general education also fear that the immigration of large numbers of the less enlightened of other races to do our common work would be encouraged. This encouragement of immigration would result in more serious race questions than at present exist and would in the end, no doubt, cause much unhappiness for ourselves and for the foreign races. Large corporations employ thousands of laborers from the Orient and individual citizens employ in the aggregate other thousands to do their common work. Why should we fear that this condition will grow worse and not better when the public, as a whole, becomes more enlightened and therefore more able to see a danger in its true light?

The belief is common that municipal-ownership is undesirable even if honest and capable employes are engaged in the works. If municipal-ownership becomes general it is feared that it will endanger our individuality, weaken our characters, and destroy individual effort and ambition. It is believed that the average man as soon as he has obtained a fairly secure position in the civil service, develops a tendency to degenerate in character and therefore in economic worth. Sooner or later a tendency toward graft develops. Sometimes this graft extends to cash or property transactions; more often it is a matter of misappropriating time, and at other

times it is only an unconscious but gradual and continual reduction of the energy put into the work. This tendency in many men of the present time to degenerate in civil service is a popular argument against municipal-ownership. It is, however, an argument which the better efficiency resulting from the public works high school would soon overcome.

It is an open question whether that which we here refer to as degeneration in character is not merely an uncovering of previously formed character. There can be little doubt that the private employer endeavors to keep a close watch over his employes, whereas the public employer is at present less vigilant. When an employe slakens his energy because watchfulness has been modified or removed, he does not degenerate in character, he merely exposes his real character. Character that impels to duty only under close watchfulness indicates slavishness, is worthless as character, and stands for a poor kind of individuality. The feeling of joint ownership in municipal works that the average employe would have, under a system of general municipal-ownership would surely tend toward better individuality than the intense watchfulness of the private employer, and the present feeling of distrust between employe and employer.

Desirable individuality implies good character and ambition and we shall use the word individuality in this broad sense. Since it is our differing individualities that make life progressive and interesting, the development of individuality should be fostered. The greatest field for developing individuality on a large scale is among the less educated workers, who are willing, or who can be taught to be willing, to earn a high school education. In order to make such an education possible, the young workers, while attending school, must have steady work and just remuneration. Municipal-ownership, properly conducted, is the only practicable plan in view that could

supply the right kind of employment to these young working students.

Because of weakness of character, the man of the present time has not always given efficient service in municipal works. As at present conducted, employment in many municipal works does not offer enough personal incentive; the business is not given enough publicity and the public is too indifferent. In order that municipal-ownership may meet with the greatest success, men must be employed who are above the present average in character; more personal incentive must be introduced; the business must be given greater publicity, and the public must grow more interested in the operation of the works.

All this, we believe, could be brought about by means of the public works high school. The students would be young men who desire a high school education, young men who would be willing to work for it and who would be capable of maintaining a good standing in school. These qualifications would exclude most of those unfit for service in municipal works. The students in public works high schools would be young and hopeful men; they would have good records to make in both the school and in the works, and their object in the works would not only be to earn wages, but to learn a manufacturing business and general business methods. Without a good record they would not be sought by employers, public or private. These students would have no life position in the works; their position would be subject to good efficiency, and would ordinarily last but eight half-years. Through the school the operation of the municipal works would be given the greatest possible publicity. As more and more of the needs of the individual were produced in municipal works, the public would become so vitally affected by the operation of these works that the keenest interest would inevitably follow. The periodical financial reports of public works which would be made with the

aid of the public works high school for the purpose of comparative study, would act as one means to prevent stagnation in these works. One of our best known political economists says: "Young people have a keener sense of right and justice and a sharper scent for graft or pull than have their elders."

After one class has graduated from the public works high school, students, by reason of their moral development, would consider it unjust to shirk a duty. Although the laziness of the few might increase the cost of living for all others only to a slight degree, the spirit of fair play and the dislike of being imposed upon would quickly arouse the resentment of the many students and of the educated and interested public. No industrial delinquent would be tolerated for fear that the effect of such toleration would endanger the permanency of municipal-ownership, and the consequent prospect of a more equitable distribution of wealth. The student would understand that the first requirement on his part to aid in the extermination of the shirker class would be to avoid being a shirker himself. In short, the pupils selected from the eighth grade for entrance into the public works high school would soon develop such self-respect and strength of character that eventually there would be no shirkers in the works. These students would understand that every lazy and unscrupulous act would be an act of treason in peace, which is virtually the same as treason in war. The students, especially the older ones, would understand all these things so clearly that right conduct on their part would be inevitable. That student is rare who will do a wrong act if he clearly sees what is right, and at the same time can picture and compare a train of probable consequences of the wrong act and the right one. This ability would be strongly developed in most young men by a public works high school course.

In order to arrive at the best results

sooner than could otherwise be expected, some kind of regular course in moral instruction should be introduced into all elementary grades. The plan for moral training that Jane Brownlee* has developed in one of the Toledo public schools is, no doubt, most valuable. This moral training requires a few minutes daily, but it is reported as saving more time than it requires as it leads to more prompt obedience among the pupils and to greater efficiency in their work. By the end of the eighth grade all moral training in the schools should be so effectual as to result in unquestioned civic honor.

The largest proportion of selected eighth grade boys would stand for individuality and ambition. No other incentive to do duty other than fair compensation would be required. Individuality and happiness with such students would not be based on how much municipal work could be shirked, nor on how much more than deserved wages could be obtained. These students would prefer to be strong, quick of perception, well informed, highly proficient and respected men, rather than to be rich men of mediocre character. Wealth beyond the needs of present usefulness and comfort with a modest reserve for old age would be less prized by such men. Unnecessary wealth would seem of less consequence than exceptional efficiency in some field of activity. This is the case at present with many of our best professional men. Most of us have heard that the great naturalist Agassiz, when offered \$10,000 for a course of lectures, exclaimed in surprise at the offer, "I have n't time to make money." There are but few like Agassiz in this respect, but a secondary education, more generally distributed, would tend to raise the standard of manhood above that of mere money-making. The result

would be stronger individuality, better character, and more earnest citizenship.

Every hour of industrial activity, whether directly for one's self, or for a municipality or other employer, affects individuality and character; every hour spent in the pursuit of knowledge, social intercourse, or any other pleasure, does likewise. In devising a plan to promote individuality and character all of these forms of activity must be taken into consideration. To consider the effect of the industrial part of any plan of life without taking into account the equally important effects of other activities on individuality and character, would result in incorrect conclusions.

Secondary education, if thoroughly assimilated, would tend to make men more nearly of the same intellectual and economic value, a value higher than at present, and it would follow as a natural consequence, and justly so, that there would be a readjustment of individual earnings. Two persons can be of approximately the same economic and social value, yet be units of entirely different natures; in other words, they may have strikingly different individualities. Knowledge is as boundless as Nature, and knowledge is what largely differentiates individuality. Those who can accumulate knowledge to the limit of human capacity can learn only an infinitesimal part of all there is to know. We start in the world unlike, seeking different knowledge, seeking it in different ways and under differing circumstances. Two persons would rarely accumulate even approximately a like store of knowledge. It therefore follows that the more we know, the more our individualities are differentiated; the less we know, the nearer alike we are.

The individuality that might be lost by reason of municipal-ownership continued along the present lines, if this ownership is as detrimental to individuality as is maintained by some, would be more than regained through a public works high school education. But

*Jane Brownlee's system of moral training is explained in a pamphlet entitled *The Brownlee System of Child Training*, which can be obtained from G. W. Holden, Springfield, Massachusetts. Price, 10 cents.

municipal-ownership with workers that are self-supporting students would be a builder of character instead of its destroyer as is now maintained, and strength of character is an expression of a more marked individuality.

Can a person who has conscientiously educated himself by eight years of effort ever lose his individuality or ever stop its expression? Surely not, so long as he can supply his material needs by five or even eight hours of daily labor, thus leaving from sixteen to nineteen free hours in which to exercise his individuality without restriction. When our industrial methods are less wasteful and when the products of labor are more equitably distributed, five fully occupied hours of energetic and intelligent work in store, office, or factory, together with possible creative work at home for personal needs, will furnish ample means. Whatever increase our free hours increases the opportunity to develop our individuality.

Let us picture a possible result due to the effect of public works high schools in the extension of municipal-ownership and the effect of such extended ownership on individuality. After ten years of effort, a public works high school experiment may prove to be successful. If it does so prove, a limited number of cities may make a trial of the plan and, if these trials prove successful, the plan may spread so that in the course of fifty years municipal-ownership in connection with these schools may become quite general. Should municipal-ownership so conducted become general, it would follow that the students would no longer be numerically sufficient to man the works. It would then be necessary to permit the students to remain in the employ of the works after graduating.* It no doubt would be safe to extend the

field of municipal industry as long as either students or graduates of the public works high school are available as employes. If in the future fifty per cent. of all workers were employed in municipal works, would our individuality, our character, our effort and ambition suffer? Two lives as here briefly pictured may be possible under an era of general municipal-ownership and public works high schools.

We will suppose that "A" graduates from the tenth grade and "B" from the twelfth grade of the public works high school in the year 1940. There is at that time a demand for employes in the municipal works far beyond that which the school can supply, so both "A" and "B" take the municipal service examinations. "A" passes an examination as ordinary accountant and this examination entitles him to a choice of a number of positions in industries operated by the municipalities. "B" passes as general expert accountant and "Master of Gas-Making," which entitles him to a situation as chief book-keeper in any municipal office, or as manager of municipal gas-works; his examination also entitles him to simpler work, should there be no higher position available.

Let us follow "A." He prefers work as a book-keeper, so goes to the "State Employment Office"† and learns that no book-keeping situation is available in the city in which he wishes to live, but he is told of a temporary position as a copyist; this position he accepts, but he leaves his application for a position as book-keeper. After a month the

†The "State Employment Office" could be so serviceable that no one, except in rare instances need be out of suitable employment more than one day at a time. This office could also undertake to help those who desire to change their occupations. Some might wish to learn the particulars of another line of work; for others considerations of health or strength might make a change of employment desirable; in other cases a mere feeling of restlessness might result in a desire for change. No one would be forced to do any work except as necessity would demand, but in the field of municipal work he would have to take his choice out of such available work as his municipal service standing would warrant.

*The plan for the public works high school provides that no graduate shall be employed in the municipal works unless special fitness adapts him to one of the few positions which are of necessity permanent, or unless there is a demand for workers beyond that which the school can supply with its undergraduates.

"Employment Office" notifies him that a situation as book-keeper is now available. He accepts the position but after three months' trial by the chief accountant "A" is found unsatisfactory and is reported to the "Operating Committee."* This committee finds "A's" work unsatisfactory and he is discharged.

"A" then visits the "Employment Office" again and learns that he can at once find work as clerk in a municipal dairy. He can do this work satisfactorily, it suits him, so he holds the position during the remainder of his active life. In 1943 the general manager charges "A" with carelessness in his work and with failure to render a reasonable amount of service. The "Operating Committee" examines the case and charges "A" with neglect of duty. "A" has a right to appeal his case to the "Appeal Committee."† He does this, but again loses. As punishment, he is suspended from work for three months. As he has not saved any money, he is compelled to go from house to house to solicit odd jobs until his sentence expires.

In 1945 "A" decides to marry and finds work in addition to that of the regular work day. This extra work‡ he does in order to furnish a home. He takes the examination required preliminary to marriage but fails in some point of bodily

*The "Operating Committee" under this system might be composed of three or more members. Every municipal enterprise might be supplied with such a committee. It would be the duty of this committee to publish bi-monthly reports of the business; to see that employes render reasonable service; to decide internal disputes affecting the operation of the works; and, wherever possible, to cheapen production. The manager of the works might be chairman of this committee.

†The duty of this supposed "Appeal Committee" would be to examine and to decide all appealed cases of employes charged with rendering poor service. Each "Appeal Committee" would have jurisdiction over a number of municipal works and would virtually be a court and would rarely be called into service. Its principal use would be to enable any man who believed himself mistreated or misunderstood to vindicate himself. The knowledge coming from considerable experience might be required to produce a harmonious working between managers and both the "Operating" and "Appeal" Committees, but final results would justify the existence of these committees.

development, and in a knowledge of the foundation principles of physiology and ethics. He remedies his bodily defect, informs himself upon the subjects of physiology and ethics, and in 1946 he is married. He takes out the minimum amount of old age and life insurance required by law for a married man. Had he persisted and succeeded in the work of assistant book-keeper, he would have been entitled to \$3.50 per day of five hours. His work of dairy clerk yields him \$3.00 per day of the same number of hours. "A" is not so vigorous as "B," so he requires ten hours of sleep each day while "B" requires only seven hours. Here "A" loses three hours of activity daily that "B" gains. "A" smokes inveterately, drinks moderately, and cannot resist spending money frivolously. He saves no money and in 1950 he is obliged to borrow money in order to tide his family over a time of sickness; this debt he pays during the year, by again doing work beyond the customary length of the work day.

As stated before, "B" passes the municipal service examination in 1940, and makes an exceptional record. After a short trial he is given a situation as chief book-keeper in a municipal gas-works. In 1942 he is elected manager of a new and larger works built in another city. He enjoys his work and keeps informed on all changes in the business; he also invents several useful improvements. By 1946 "B" is well known and well liked by all the municipal works managers of the state, and through their recommendation he is elected to

‡The question of the legal length of the work day would be largely eliminated. There would no longer be that feverish hurry to accumulate money for future emergencies and for old age because men would have the certainty of employment, the protection of state life insurance and the possible self-support of all children over sixteen years of age. This condition would result in fewer men working overtime except for special purposes and there would be plenty of extra work on hand to supply such cases. The "State Employment Office" would be expected to see that every man is given not only work for the usual number of hours daily, but for as many hours of additional work as he may desire.

the "State Public Works Board."* In 1948 he is elected chairman of this board. At each promotion he takes the required examination. His first position in 1940 entitled him to a salary of \$4.00 per day; his last position yields him \$20.00 daily. In 1949 "B" passes the marriage examination, and marries. He takes five times the minimum amount of old-age and life insurance. By this time he has saved \$15,000, with part of which he builds and furnishes a good home. By 1955 he has three children. He is not harrassed by any unreasonably hard and exhausting business struggle, such as was the common lot of business men when competition was so keen that a man's time was entirely engrossed by his business. "B" is an active member of a social club, which is an association for scientific research; he is also active in a political organization, a national gas manager's association, and in a number of other voluntary organizations.

"B" not only finds time to continue his education but also to aid his wife in the proper training of their children. The average old-time business man lacked ripeness of education and he often lacked the ability to rear children properly. "B" is well informed on the economic history of the previous hundred years and he is glad that old conditions no longer exist. Should his eighteen-year-old son read a historic novel the time of which extends from 1875 to 1900 and ask his father to explain the changes that had taken place in economic conditions in the years that followed, his reply would be much as follows:

"At the time of the story you were reading there was a popular saying, 'Competition is the life of trade.' Competition had been the life of trade, but

the facilities for industrial production and commerce had improved to such an extent as to make possible great concentration into large and financially powerful business units. This concentration made possible greater individual reward to employers for industrial and commercial success. Under conditions making this great concentration and excessive individual reward possible, competition became fierce and proved costly and even disastrous. At this time, competition always resulted either in a combination of warring parties, or in a death struggle for supremacy. In either case, the prices of the products involved were very likely to be advanced for the purpose of exploiting the public. The usual run of men practically lost their judgment when competition was destroyed and unusual profits were within reach. The managers of these combinations, with some exceptions, proved to be avaricious. In some way they conceived the idea that it was none of the public's business how much it had to pay for freight, passenger service, water, gas, electricity, meat, flour and other necessities. The public, however, thought differently and it made stringent laws which in time resulted in the strictest public supervision and control of privately-owned public utilities. Public supervision and control became continually more exacting until it approximated municipal-ownership.

"In granting a franchise, the public usually reserved the right to purchase the privately-owned public utility business at the end of twenty-five years, or at the end of every ten-year period thereafter. The public also guaranteed a small profit and set a figure for a maximum profit. All excess over this maximum profit was turned over to the 'Public Utility Fund.' Contrary to expectation, it became popular with the private corporations to have a surplus over this profit. This 'Public Utilities Fund' was introduced into many cities about 1920. In these cities the public industries existing at the time of the

*This supposed "State Public Works Board" could be composed of fifteen members, one of whom is the governor of the state and ten of whom are managers of municipal works. The duty of this board could be the furthering of municipal works and the improving of the laws affecting such works.

starting of the fund, was required to pay into this fund annually for thirty-three years three per cent. of their estimated value after deducting unpaid bonds. In some cases the prices of the products had to be increased slightly to meet this requirement. This plan was not unfair to the consumer of the product as the general public built the works in the first instance, so it was not wrong that the consumer was required to repay, in small annual installments, the remaining value of the works. The fund was designed solely to build additional public industries on a cash basis. For a time much money had to be added to this fund by direct taxation; now, however, the four per cent. installments required from new works meet all demands for further construction.

"The public also reserved the right, on due notice, to alter the rate of charges, always, however, making good any shortage below the fixed minimum of profit. The minimum annual profit was commonly fixed at two per cent, and the maximum at fifteen per cent., interest on capital invested was not allowed. As the conditions in any public industry changed, the rate of charges was changed as nearly as possible to correspond. The aim ordinarily was to allow eight per cent. net profit for average ability in the operation of public utility enterprises. The rule providing a minimum profit of two per cent. annually was intended as a protection to private owners against possible losses that might accrue as the result of the introduction of new inventions which would throw established manufacturing plants into disuse. This rule of a minimum profit, together with the extensive public supervision and control, fairly protected the public against the possibility of private owners building plants which were uncertain as to permanency.

"This public supervision of privately-owned public utilities was not wholly satisfactory. The matter of fixing the amount of profit often had to be carried

to the courts, and the decision was frequently unfair because graft still existed to a certain extent and influenced the testimony. About 1925 many states passed laws requiring that each publicly-owned enterprise must establish such prices for its product as would make the business entirely self-supporting. These laws also required that all money for the construction of municipal works must in gradually increasing proportion come from the 'Public Utilities Fund,' and that all construction money must be returned to the 'Public Utilities Fund' without interest in annual installments of four per cent. of the original cost of the works.

"Opposition to public-ownership gave way by degrees. It was believed by many that municipal-ownership weakened the character of the average man employed in the works. Gradually it became apparent that those works in which self-supporting students were employed, succeeded well. The works came to be regarded as means for instructing these students in business methods, and as a place for them to establish their reputations for later life, so in time municipal works were regarded as builders of character.

"In the year 1920 it became the general practice to employ only students in the works, except in the limited number of permanent positions. In 1925, owing to the increase in the number of municipal works, graduates were allowed to fill twenty per cent. of the positions in municipal service and this percentage was increased until in 1940 seventy per cent. of graduates were employed, but in no case were they employed where student labor was available. This restriction was deemed as a wise check to the too rapid establishing of municipal works. A limited number of men like 'A' who had left the school before graduating, but who succeeded in passing the required municipal service examinations, were employed in the more common positions, whenever neither

students nor graduates could be secured.

"As experience grew, the municipal service examinations became more exacting and more practical, so that the standing made by the individual was a fair index of his ability and of his common sense. All graduate employes were then as now considered out of employment every five years and were obliged to take additional examinations. These quintennial examinations could then as now be taken by any public works high school graduate whether or not he had been employed in the works giving the examination. Those standing highest were given the positions. The workers who were superseded by the ones making a better standing, readily found other work through the 'State Employment Office.' The general public was imbued with the idea that progress depended upon every man's filling the place to which he was best suited.

"Now, as you know, every law and every practice is established with a view to encourage individuality, ambition, and efficiency. The more equitable adjustment of wages and the increased opportunity for secondary education have been important factors in the social and economic progress of this century."

Some may fear, that under general municipal-ownership the majority of voters may decide to fix wages too nearly alike for all, just as "A's" and "B's" wages were made to approximate rather closely considering the nature of the services rendered by each. If such a wage system for municipal workers should be inaugurated, we could console ourselves with the fact that, with public works high schools, the shirker would be quickly discovered and summarily but fairly dealt with by the "Operating Committee." Through the agency of a thorough secondary education, intellectual and industrial worth will be more general, and the average individual earnings will be larger. What would perhaps tend toward equalization of

wages more than any other one thing is the desire of most men to do the work that requires all their training, knowledge, and reasoning powers. For instance, the capable carpenter would rather do the work in a fine public structure at \$4.00 per day than to build barns at the same wages. The capable manager would prefer to manage a large municipal electric-light plant at \$20.00 per day rather than, at equal wages, to spend all his working hours reading the consumer's meters. It is apparent that a more general education through which a larger number of men and women are trained to do the finer and more difficult work tends to lessen the difference between the wages received for the common and coarser work and those received for the finer and more difficult work. The greater desirability of any certain employment will largely constitute the greater reward. Men and women will choose occupations to which they are by nature adapted, as there will be few positions with abnormal wages to allure those prompted by greed; efficiency will thus be increased.

It is highly improbable that wages will ever be arbitrarily equalized, but even in the event of such equalization, "B," for example, would not be discouraged, though he might be a trifle handicapped, if he does not receive so much wages as he deserves when compared with the wages "A" receives for less valuable services. "A's" and "B's" regular work day, as before stated, would be five hours each; this would leave nineteen free hours for each to use as he sees fit. As previously stated, "B" requires seven hours of sleep while "A" requires ten hours. The remaining hours each could spend in such activity as he pleased, and out of these hours each would reap according to what he sowed, and would reap the entire product. Because of the difference in the characters of the men, "B" would obtain many times more good out of his twelve free waking hours than "A" would

obtain out of his nine corresponding hours. Out of these free hours each man would receive all he creates; he could use his individuality without limit, and no one, as a matter of law or of custom, would receive a part of the reward due another. What one could do for himself in each free hour is quite as valuable as the best he could do for himself in each regular work hour, and much more valuable than that done in any work hours spent in the mere accumulation of unnecessary wealth. General municipal-ownership might possibly result in five hours daily of partial industrial coöperation and would leave the remaining hours free. If in the course of time, the fixing of wages should become a public office, a public as intelligent as the public works high school would make it, would undoubtedly fix a varying remuneration for its different classes of work, and the remuneration would be on a just and practical basis which would encourage healthy ambition. Should there develop a social and economic condition under which a most capable man could not reasonably expect to accumulate an abnormal fortune as is possible to-day, the incentive to accumulate the maximum fortune that the economic conditions would permit would still be quite as effective a stimulant to ambition as exists to-day when conditions permit of vast accumulation of wealth.

Under general municipal-ownership and general secondary education, two lives of municipal workers as different as the lives of "A" and "B," would be easily possible. So great a difference, however would be less common than at present and most lives would be nearer like that of "B." These differing people would, as now, be living examples of what can be avoided and what gained by the right kind of effort. The probable result of such effort would be incentive enough to improve in character and to be ambitious in the finest sense quite

regardless of the question of earnings. We have even more extreme examples before us now, but we are too deficient in true secondary education and corresponding character to profit adequately by these examples.

When privately-owned industries grow large and powerful and partake of the nature of monopolies, the responsible positions are sometimes given to friends and relatives of the owners, regardless of the fitness of these persons to fill such positions. This nepotism takes away from many better minds the opportunity to develop individuality in industrial fields, and thus creates a condition in these particular instances which is fully as bad if not worse for the development of individuality in both managers and laborers than is claimed to exist under municipal-ownership at the present time. Taking these several points into consideration, it does not seem probable that even the keenest minds in the field of public utilities would be retarded by a gradual introduction of municipal-ownership. The field of private industry will still exist for those who prefer it; but to insure success, private industry will require higher efficiency than at present.

Again we wish to say that with a thorough system of high school education, the national character will be strengthened. This stronger national character will not lead to an undesirable uniformity of thought; on the contrary it will give freer play to individual talents, and will lead to a fuller expression of individuality.

By the middle of this century our struggle for wealth will no longer be a matter of life consuming battles, and the questionable development which results solely from such battles may have largely disappeared. The hard and unfair battles of industrial and commercial competition will be of less and less value as thorough secondary education becomes more universal. These battles will be displaced by a finer but

no less difficult effort, the effort to deserve and to receive the confidence and respect of one's fellow men. Under these new conditions we shall have time to give more attention to our health; time for a broader and more even devel-

opment of our minds; time for the better training of our children, and time to spare for the happiness of others. These unquestioned gains will result in a stronger individuality.

WILLIAM THUM.

THE GROWTH OF A SOCIAL NERVOUS SYSTEM.

BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

TRUTH has been defined as that which will fit every other truth in the world. The tenon of a lie may fit the mortises of many truths, but it will not fit them all. So it is with the lie of innocent ignorance that we call error. However plausible such error may be, it will sometime be tried in a mortise in which it will not fit, and thus will its real nature become known.

It is just as certainly true that all truth tends to confirm itself. Geology tends to confirm chemistry, mathematics tends to confirm astronomy, and the falling apple proclaims again and again that all bodies have a mutual attraction for each other. When dissimilar assertions repeatedly testify in behalf of each other, the best of reasons is afforded for believing that all of the allegations are true.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Darwin and Marx evolved radical theories regarding two dissimilar subjects of world-wide concern. Darwin found the most civilized part of the earth peopled with human beings who claimed a clay-man as their common ancestor. He shattered this man of mud, and, when he left the world, the protozoa sat enthroned upon the remains of Adam.

Marx found the world committed to individualism. No man conceived that his interest lay in looking after anybody but himself. It was regarded as entirely proper for one individual to profit from

the misfortune of another. The accepted method of improving the mental, moral, and material welfare of the mass of individuals was to set each individual to fighting for himself, on the theory that the status of the mass could not fail to be satisfactory, if the condition of each of its members was the object of governmental solicitude. In short, the theory of social development took little cognizance of society as a whole, except in so far as the penal laws were concerned. Everywhere it was taught that society should work together to punish its foes; nowhere was it taught that it should work together for itself. Much less had it ever been suggested that the greatest permanent welfare of the individual could be brought about, not by aiming beneficent laws at the individual himself, but by directing them at the great mass of human beings of whom he was but one. It was the day of extreme individualism. "Let every man have the greatest opportunity to do for himself," was the cry. "Each man for himself—the devil take the hindmost," was the echo.

Marx challenged this view—challenged it as boldly as Darwin challenged the belief that Adam was our first ancestor, and that God had made him in His own image out of mud. Precisely as Darwin had declared that the physical body is made up of cells, Marx declared that the social body is composed of individuals.

He declared that these individuals are as inter-dependent as are the cells that compose the physical body, and, in effect, that it was as absurd to expect health and symmetrical development in the social body by setting each of its individuals to fighting each other in competitive warfare as it would be to expect such conditions to arise in the physical body by setting the lungs to fighting the liver, the heart to fighting the brain, and the stomach to fighting the eyes. If he had wished to use an anatomical illustration to show what the physical body would be if it were operated on the plan laid down for the social body, he might have suggested that a heart that chanced to be stronger than the other organs in the same body might, in the competitive warfare over the food taken into the stomach, secure such an undue proportion of the nutriment that it would become gorged with fat, and of monstrous size. And, if he had wished to extend the illustration, he might have said that fatty degeneration of the heart produces death—death not only to all the other organs, but death to the whole body, including the heart itself.

Marx's theory was, in short, that the social body is as real in the realm of economics as is the physical body in the sphere of fact with which Darwin dealt, and that the greatest permanent welfare of each of its cells—its individuals—can be subserved only by aiming to subserve the welfare of the body as a whole. And in so saying, he only marked out a sociological path that ran parallel with the biological route that Darwin blazed.

The intelligent part of the world knows what has been the result of the Darwinian theory of evolution and the Marxian theory of social development. The Darwinian theory had to combat little except ignorance, and, has already found all but universal acceptance. The Marxian theory has had to combat both ignorance and greed. It has not yet

found universal acceptance, but it is steadily pushing its way. Already we have some slight conception of what is meant by such phrases as: "All for one and one for all"; "from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

It is the purpose of the present writer to suggest, if not to demonstrate in this article, that the Darwinian theory of evolution and the Marxian theory of social progress have confirmed and corroborated each other in one way to which attention has not been called, so far as he knows, up to this time. We all know the belief of Darwin that, in the beginning, all life resided in a single cell; that this cell had no nervous system and was therefore insensible both to pleasure and to pain; that it became, by innumerable sub-divisions and a long line of evolutionary processes, a human being who had a nervous system and *could* feel. And, having in mind the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest, we can readily understand how it came about that all human beings now have nerves. Somewhere in the line between the one-celled organism and the modern man came an animal that developed the germ of a nervous system. When its body was attacked, and its existence perhaps imperiled, it was able to feel the pain caused by the attack, and perhaps to save its life by moving away. Of the millions of one-celled or, at least few-celled animals that existed at that time, probably a number developed, practically simultaneously, a slight capacity for feeling. The animals that possessed this faculty, even to a small degree, instantly had an advantage, in the struggle for existence, over all animals that had no nerves to warn them when their bodies were in danger from exterior sources. And, thus it came about in the long run, that the organisms without nerves were born down by their superiors, and to-day no child is born without these tingling fibers in his body.

Now come the facts which, as the

present writer believes, tend to reinforce the theory that the individual is not the social ultimate—that above and beyond him towers the social organism that bears the same relation to him that the physical body does to one of its cells. And, let the truth of the Marxian theory be tested by ascertaining if it fit into the mortise of another truth—the Darwinian theory.

We have seen how man's physical body gradually developed within itself a nervous system. It has been made plain to us that the possession of nerves was a tremendous protection to the body, giving to those who possessed them such an advantage over their fellows that, while all the early forms of life were without nervous systems, not one of them has now a descendant in the human race.

Is it not plain that the same evolutionary steps are taking place within the social organism that gave the physical body, for its protection and development, a nervous system? In other words, is not the social organism developing the capacity to feel?

Let us see. We know that in the early days of the human race, there was no such thing as social consciousness. An injury done to one was not regarded as an injury done to all. The savage, living in a sparsely settled country, had no concern for anybody's welfare but his own. The presence in his vicinity of robbers and murderers was a menace both to his life and his scanty possessions, but of this fact he had no adequate comprehension. He had not been murdered or robbed and felt no danger. In other words, the social organism, then in its infancy, had no nervous system, and there was in him no tingling chord to sound a warning. He was living in what might be called the protozoic stage of the social organism—an inexact comparison, but perhaps illuminating, nevertheless.

Then came the time when a small minority of those wandering barbarians

conceived dimly the idea that no one's life or property was safe so long as anyone's life and property were unsafe, and out of this faint realization gradually came the tribal era—though not, if we may judge from present-day opposition to evolutionary processes, without a struggle. *And, thus grew the first nerve of the social organism.*

It would be idle to fill in, in detail, the gap between that day and the present. Every person of intelligence knows how we have acquired—gradually, but nevertheless surely—new social nerves. The whole social body has developed the capacity to feel certain kinds of injuries, even if inflicted upon its remotest part. Murder, for instance, being one of the oldest crimes, arouses in every one a certain sense of wrong, even though the victim be unknown to him. Nerves have also been developed that send through the social body the same message of pain when the injury comes in the form of highway robbery, or arson—other crimes with which we have long been familiar.

But when the social body is attacked in a way with which it is not familiar, no sensation is felt at first—the protozoa felt no pain when first attacked. But as necessity develops a nerve to carry the message to the seat of social consciousness, a dull sensation of pain is felt, just as the social body now feels a sense of discomfort when it becomes conscious of some new example of trust extortion, or of another legislative body corrupted by corporation criminals. We all feel a vague sense of outrage, in much the same fashion that a sleeping giant might be expected to toss about on his cot if one of his molars were growling and slumber hung over him too heavily to enable him to realize the cause of his discomfort and seek a remedy. But, except in rare instances, we do not take effective action to stop the robbery, as we should do if it were some primitive form of theft that had developed a nerve that would make us jump with pain.

We know something is wrong, but the nerve that brings us the message has been but so recently developed that it does not form as good a conductor as it will when longer use will have brought about the strength and growth that come from exercise.

That such a nerve exists is, however, proof of progress toward the acquirement of a social nervous system. There was a time when such wrongs produced within us no sensations of distress. There was even a time when the selling of one's vote was generally regarded merely as a cunning, and perhaps almost a humorous form of thrift. In fact, there are still some human beings who believe that the sale of their ballots is a legitimate source of revenue, and to whom ballot-box stuffing brings no twinge because neither by inheritance nor by personal experience have they any familiarity with the principles upon which free government is based. Yet, the fact that the number of such persons is constantly diminishing, and the further fact that public condemnation of such persons is steadily becoming more severe prove that this social nerve is growing and justify the expectation that it will eventually reach the point where it will be able to carry a message that will rouse us to action as surely as do the nerves that surround an ulcerated tooth.

Many more facts might be cited to prove that we are developing a social consciousness, a capacity for feeling social wrongs and a tendency toward considering the public welfare paramount. It is the contention of the present writer that, by evolutionary processes, we are becoming the possessors of a social nervous system, just as man's physical body became endowed with such a means of providing for its own protection and development. It is not suggested that the sensitization of the social body is proceeding with such rapidity that acute pain will soon follow all kinds of acute injuries; to do so would be to fly in the face of Nature

herself, who, in providing man with a nervous system, has not yet, after millions of years, enabled him always to know when he is being injured, and to trace the injury to its source. All physical illness is due to previous injury—dietary or other—yet how many of us are able to feel all the injuries we are inflicting upon our bodies to-day that must inevitably make us ill to-morrow? We feel only oft-repeated assaults.

The development of the social nervous system may therefore not be expected to reach sudden completion. But it may be expected to reach ultimate completion and ultimate perfection. Such completed development may come at a time so remote that the age in which we now live will seem as distant to those who are to follow us as the age of the protozoa now seems to us; or it may come sooner. But, if like causes, operating under like conditions, produce like effects, the time will come when the social organism will be as well equipped with nerves as is the physical body; when an injury to one individual will bring the eager aid of all; when no one will seek his welfare at the expense of the others, or of any other, and when every part of the organism will harmoniously cooperate with every other part for the good of the whole.

And, since the social body is plainly following the evolutionary course of the physical structure, why should it not be so? No part of the physical body is too small to have, when attacked, the assistance of every other organ in its work of rehabilitation. A pin cannot be stuck deeply enough into a toe to cause a twinge of pain without causing the heart to beat a little faster so that the extra supply of blood in the toe may assist in repairing the injury; the breath comes more rapidly, to the end that a more thorough oxygenization of the blood may make it more effective in its healing work; and all because Nature knows that an unattended toe might mean a gangrened toe—and a dead body. Nature permits no "individual-

ism" in the human body—no exaltation of self, no indifference to the welfare of others. The moment she finds a body in which there is "competition" among the various organs, she kills either the competition or the body, destroying both the "successful" organs and those that were unable to get what belonged to them.

When the social nervous system shall have become more fully developed, we may also expect to see the abandonment of all attempts to provide favorable environment for the individual by legislating as if he were a social unit—instead of an infinitesimal fraction of the real unit—the collectivity. Nature does no such foolish thing. She exalts the body above any of its cells, and thus secures the greatest good of the cells themselves. She will fling away an eye, if need be, to save the other. She will let both legs be taken off, if necessary, if thereby she can only keep the heart beating a little longer. In crises, she has the greatest contempt for individual cells; and yet, when the life of the body, which is her great concern, is not at stake, she is the tender mother of all the organs. So shall the social body some time seek its welfare—when it gets a full set of vigorous nerves.

A long time to wait? Who wants to wait! Surely the agitators and "undesirable citizens" of to-day need have no concern. They will be represented in the world when it has at last learned to live. In fact, no other kind will have any representation. Only the elect of the world's infancy have descendants here to-day, else the progress of the geometrical ratio, as applied to population would have long since covered the earth with uncountable billions. A man who rebels against social injustice shows by his very act that he has within him a little of the fibre that is to make up the nervous system of the social body. In the struggle for existence, he therefore has an advantage—in the long run, at any rate—over an individual whose lack of social nerves makes him too stupid to know when he is being wronged. Fitness to exist implies both the desire to be just to others and the desire to protect one's self—and inability to become fit insures ultimate annihilation.

It is therefore fairly plain that the reformers and agitators are destined to inherit the earth, though it is difficult to fix the exact time when they will take possession.

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VACCINATION AN EMPIRICAL ART.

By J. W. HODGE, M.D.

TO THOSE physicians who have studied the subject of vaccination with a mind emancipated from prejudice, and who have been able so far to free themselves from the trammels of tradition, early education, custom and authority as to be capable of independent thought, it should be obvious that the vaccinator's art is of all arts the most devious, empirical and uncertain.

It is, I believe, conceded by all physicians and scientists who have investigated this subject, without having pecuniary interest therein, that vaccination has no scientific grounds on which to rest its claims. It has been clearly demonstrated by such distinguished scientists as Alfred Russel Wallace, LL.D., F.R.S., Charles Creighton, M.D., A.M., and Edgar M. Crookshank, M.D., A.M., that both

the theory and the practice of "preventive" vaccination are utterly defenseless against attack from scientific inquiry. The mystery of conserving health by inoculating at frequently repeated intervals into the bodies of healthy people the products of disease, has never attained to the dignity of a science.

The vaccine theorist attempts the unreasonable and impossible task of reaping a harvest of health by sowing broadcast in the bodies of the rising generation the seeds of disease. Vaccination is a senseless device for avoiding a filth-disease without regard to the removal of its contributing causes—a futile attempt to cheat nature. The vaccinator says to the healthy child: "Come to me and I will give you a disease wherewith I shall so hoax nature that henceforth you may ignore her laws by living in unsanitary surroundings and small-pox shall not catch you." But can nature be swindled or hoaxed? We occasionally see an apparent triumph over her laws. We do wrong and fancy that by some cunning device we may evade the penalty; but ere long we discover with dismay that the consequences were only concealed, or delayed, and we are required to pay the uttermost farthing. The practice of vaccination is regarded by the world's foremost sanitarians as an irrational attempt to cheat outraged Nature, a futile effort to escape a filth-disease without removing its contributing causes.

Vaccination is a rite kindred to incantations, amulets, prayers and other superstitious performances whereby it was vainly hoped to circumvent or suspend the immutable order and sequence of natural events. All tricks like vaccination are doomed to inevitable failure and disappointment. Intelligent people can not bring themselves to believe that health is to be conserved by defiling the blood and depressing the vital forces by the implantation of infective animal poison into the healthy body. To intentionally inoculate into the circulation of

a healthy person the products of disease, either of man or beast, is to set at naught the fundamental principles of hygiene and sanitary science as at present understood.

The "lymph" treatment being devoid of anything like a scientific basis, those who practice it assume the rôle of the common charlatan, in that they implant into the circulation of healthy human bodies the effete products of diseased animal tissues without knowing either the original source or the composition of this complex animal poison, or its ultimate effect upon the human economy.

Ask the vaccinist to define the complex disease-products which he styles "pure calf lymph." He cannot do it. Ask him how dangerous impurities in vaccine "lymph" are to be detected and guarded against. He cannot tell you. Ask him what strength or volume of dosage of the vaccine poison should be administered, who may need it and who may not. He remains as silent as a sphinx. Ask him for what period of time so-called "successful" or "efficient" vaccination protects. If frank and truthful he will answer: "I do not know." Every candid physician must confess that the whole subject of "preventive" vaccination, like the Black Art of antiquity, is shrouded in ignorance, doubt and mystery.

Notwithstanding the fact that vaccination has been practiced for more than one hundred years, nobody has yet been able to explain of what vaccine virus consists.

Stocks of vaccine "lymph" have been obtained from many and anomalous sources, including grease on the heels of ill-kept horses, sores on the teats and udders of milch cows caused by infection from the hands of syphilitic milkers; human small-pox passed through the cow's system; horse-pox, sheep-pox, goat-pox, donkey-pox, swine-pox, elephant-pox and cattle-plague.

Prof. E. M. Crookshank, M.D., A.M., author of the most exhaustive work

extant on *The History and Pathology of Vaccination* says:

"I must state most emphatically that we do not know the nature of the contagion of cow-pox or of any of the diseases from which so-called 'vaccine lymph' has been obtained. Lymph for vaccination has been over and over again obtained by inoculating calves with human small-pox. . . .

"On the other hand, 'lymph' producing the familiar appearances of vaccination has been obtained by attenuation of small-pox without resorting to the calf as a medium of cultivation; and similarly, lymph for the purpose of vaccination has been raised from horse-pox, sheep-pox and cattle-plague."

The subtle poisons contained in the compounds of diseased animal matter, termed vaccines, are of unknown nature, virulence, variety and composition. Nobody can know what effect any of these viruses will have on any particular individual until after the experiment has been tried. The clinical test is the only criterion in such individual case.

The admittedly unknown origin, nature and composition of the mixture of human and bestial contagia miscalled "pure calf lymph" places this dangerous commercial commodity in the category of quack nostrums, where it properly belongs. Vaccine "lymph" is a commercial commodity of which there are many varieties. Physicians of to-day buy their vaccine stock from those who make merchandise of the stuff, on the simple dictum of the manufacturer that his particular strain of vaccine dope is the proper one to use. Commerce has usurped the field here as elsewhere, so that the doctor who is a "middle man" between the vaccine dealer and the vaccinated, has absolutely no means of knowing anything definite about either the nature or the composition of the vaccine stock he uses. The physician not being at the fountain-head of the "lymph" manufacturing enterprise has to take the alleged "purity" of the stuff

on trust, as it cannot be verified by analysis. What doctors are doing when they inoculate "pure calf lymph" into the healthy human body they do not know, nor does any one know. The original source, the nature and the composition of the stuff he uses are involved in impenetrable obscurity.

The theory of protecting the healthy human body from a filth-disease (small-pox) by defiling it at frequently repeated intervals with effete animal poison is so utterly preposterous, so antagonistic to every ascertained principle of sanitary science, and so diametrically opposed to the canons of common sense that one is amazed to find presumably intelligent people grasping at such a straw as cow-pox to save them from small-pox. The boundless credulity of mankind is amazing and has been epigrammatized by an American humorist in the following words:

"The absurdity the human race can 't swallow has n't yet been invented."

Prophylaxis against small-pox and other infectious diseases is to be realized through the attainment of health, not by the propagation of disease. The only real means we have against small-pox and other allied disorders come through our knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation.

If municipal health departments would devote a small fraction of the public funds which they are wont to squander on vaccination to improving the conditions of life in crowded localities by cleaning up filthy quarters in which the contagion of small-pox and other filth diseases thrive, we would soon be able to "stamp out" not only small-pox, but also cholera, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and other diseases that thrive under filthy surroundings.

It is a subject for melancholy reflection that human nature is so easily deluded that even the more intelligent classes of the most intelligent people may frequently be imposed upon by the rankest charlatanry. There appears to

exist in human nature an inherent proneness to great national delusions. Men who as individuals are cautious, watchful and wary, will collectively swallow with open-mouthed credulity the most glaring absurdities and contradictions, while the public press which ought to be the detector of such delusions, will frequently stoop to be their instruments. Popular belief in vaccination is an epidemic delusion analogous to belief in witchcraft. The class of people who were carried away with the one, and the evidence thought to be conclusive, exhibit singular analogies and affinities with the other. The popular belief in witchcraft which prevailed for more than one hundred years was no more devoid of a rational basis than is the modern belief in vaccination.

It is universally conceded by vaccinologists and pathologists that there exists no consensus of opinion as to the nature, pedigree or composition of any stock of vaccine substance now in use. Notwithstanding this admission of ignorance on the part of the entire medical profession, a certain class of doctors indiscriminately inoculate these complex products of disease into the wholesome bodies of defenseless children under the plausible pretext that the stuff is "pure calf lymph," is perfectly harmless and will protect from small-pox, without removing its contributing causes.

All alike, young and old, small and large, strong and feeble are promiscuously subjected to the same cruel and senseless treatment by the vaccinator. The cow-poxer is a reckless routinist who treats all classes of the population precisely alike.

The vaccinator cares nothing for individuality, idiosyncrasy, temperament, condition of life or age of his subjects. This routine practice of inoculating all alike with the same dangerous and filthy product is no more reasonable than the quackish operations of the common mountebank who vends and dispenses his concoctions to the credulous rabble

on the public street corner. Such are the modifying influences of age, constitution, personal idiosyncrasies and habits of life that no conscientious intelligent physician would think of treating all his patients precisely alike even if they all had the same disease. The vaccinists, however, under the blighting and blinding influence of a venerated tradition inherited from an age of ignorance and superstition, indiscriminately inoculate into the bodies of all alike the complex undefined products of diseased animal tissues. They do this to make people sick lest they should catch small-pox, a disease which no physician on earth is wise enough to foretell that they would ever have even if exposed to its infection.

The vaccinists are forced to admit that what they do *not know* about vaccination, and the effects and *modus operandi* of vaccine virus greatly exceeds what they *do know*. The only quite certain thing admitted by all, even by the most rabid advocates of vaccination, is that it not infrequently causes death. The reason for this uncertainty lies in the fact that the whole theory of "preventive" vaccination is based upon ignorance, credulity and conjecture, and is wholly at variance with the fundamental principles that govern the physician in the management and control of other maladies of an infectious nature. Instead of poisoning the life current with the corrupt products of diseased animal tissues on the approach of other forms of infection, physicians enjoin the most careful attention to cleanliness and right living, and the avoidance of everything that tends to the impairment of health; but when small-pox approaches the vaccinators at once busy themselves, disseminating the contagion of disease among the people, thus rendering them sick and debilitated at the very time when vigorous health is most desirable and essential as nature's prophylactic against infection. Robust health protects from infection as nothing else can protect. The absurd theory that infec-

tion can be warded off with the implements of disease and death is too preposterous to merit a moment's serious consideration of a rational mind. The theory of vaccination is a bastard monstrosity, the ill-begotten offspring of ignorance and credulity.

The confused medley of theory and practice called vaccination has absolutely no scientific basis, no legitimate or proper place in preventive medicine, in hygiene or in therapeutics. The preposterous doctrine that by poisoning the blood of the whole human race at the very source and fountain of life with the effete poisonous products derived from the diseases of men and beasts, is too revolting and degrading to merit the approval of a civilized people. Belief in this curious and absurd medical dogma has been the means of fostering a disregard for cleanliness by leading people, to overlook the real cause, and to neglect the true preventive (cleanliness) of smallpox. Like its cognate predecessor, variolous inoculation, vaccination belongs to that fatal illusory pseudo-science which rejecting the teaching of reason, observation and experience rests on dogma and creed, which in other departments of sociology have been responsible for as many evil consequences as vaccination has in medicine. The legitimate aim of rational therapeutics is to restore the bodies of the sick to a state of health, and the province of hygiene is to maintain that state of health by a salubrious environment. The vaccinator ignores these cardinal duties and rashly undertakes to modify our healthy robust bodies by implanting therein the poisonous products of disease in order to adapt them to an insalubrious environment. So-called "successful" or "efficient" vaccination is nothing less than the purposeful implantation into the blood of the presumably healthy body of the virulent products of diseased animal tissues, with the result of inducing in the vaccinated actual systemic disease. The performance of this disease-bearing oper-

ation, in the very nature of the case violates the basic principles of modern aseptic surgery, the legitimate aim of which is to *remove from* the organism the products of disease, and not to introduce them. The chiefest aim of the modern surgeon is to make and treat wounds aseptically. The careful operator employs every means at his command to clear the field of operation of all bacteria. He uses every available resource of the marvelously minute and intricate technique of asepsis to prevent the entrance through wounded tissues into the circulation of all morbid agents before, during and after an operation. He fears sepsis as he dreads death; and yet under the blighting and blinding influence of an ancient and venerated medical doctrine inherited from his ignorant forbears of a pre-scientific age he will deliberately infect the wound made under strictly aseptic precautions by intentionally implanting therein the undefined disease-products derived from the bodies of sick beasts upon which human maladies had been inoculated. Think of the grotesque absurdity of deliberately poisoning the pure blood of a healthy babe in this era of aseptic surgery and sanitary science with the decayed products of diseased animal tissues! Is it possible for inconsistency to go farther than this?

Although at one time a confiding dupe of the unreasonable hypothesis that health may be improved upon by the incorporation of disease matter into the healthy organism, I am now among its inveterate opponents. I regard the Jennerian doctrine as one of the gravest and most fatal blunders into which the medical faculty has ever stumbled. Modern belief in vaccination is viewed by many sanitarians as a survival of superstition in hygiene; however a small number who disavow all belief in other unsanitary devices for the preservation of health, have been unable to sever the traditional ties which bind them to this barbarous rite, and therefore still

cling blindly and tenaciously to the venerated "tradition of the dairy maids" of Gloucestershire. How any logical mind in this era of sanitary enlightenment can assent to the dogma that through the propagation of disease, health may be purchased is beyond my comprehension. Such cases furnish interesting studies for the student of psychology. Of course Dr. Edward Jenner knew nothing of hygiene in the scientific sense of that term. This science was revealed since his time; but it is noteworthy that in none of his publications or writings is there any anticipation of the truth that has proved so fruitful in our modern experience, namely, that ill health indicates ill methods of living and that the misery resulting from disease is only remediable in so far as we remove the conditions favoring disease and predisposing to it. Whilst of such truth Jenner knew nothing, he should have known something. It lay plainly before him that small-pox was an affliction of the poor, and of the prosperous so far as they shared the conditions of the poor, but he left no testimony that he ever recognized this obvious fact. On the other hand, he fondly cherished the delusion that various diseases from which humanity suffered were derived from association with brute animals and that in this way small-pox originated in cow-pox, which in turn came from horse-grease. Pointing to a horse with greasy heels, Jenner said to his nephew, "There is the source of small-pox."* Jenner declared that horse-grease cow-pox was the only genuine life-preserving vaccine.

The shifting position of the vaccinator is provided with an interminable series of back doors and loop-holes through which he can always escape in a vicious circle. The following are some of the shifty expedients he resorts to when confronted with the flat failures of vaccination to protect its subjects from small-pox: If a person who had been

"recently" and "successfully" vaccinated takes small-pox, as frequently happens, the following "explanations" are available.

1. If the post-vaccinal small-pox is severe in character it is because the virus used was not "good," or because the operation was not "properly done," or because the patient was vaccinated too recently (i. e., too late) after exposure to the variolous infection.

2. If, on the other hand, the attack of post-vaccinal small-pox happens to be mild in character, it is diagnosed either as chicken-pox or varioloid.

The unlimited elasticity of these excuses becomes obvious when it is remembered that there is no agreement among vaccinists as to what constitutes "good" virus or what is understood by "properly done."

The case of the pro-vaccinists depends mainly upon certain hospital statistics which are designed to show that unvaccinated or "imperfectly" vaccinated subjects suffer more frequently and more severely from small-pox than do those who have been "successfully" or "efficiently" vaccinated; and that re-vaccinated persons, especially doctors and nurses, enjoy a special immunity. I shall point out that these statistics are unfortunate as proof for two reasons: first, the statistics are prepared by the advocates of vaccination and that fact makes the evidence *ex parte*, and so invalidates it; secondly, these statistics are vitiated as a whole by the fact that there is no authoritative definition of what constitutes "successful," "efficient," or "perfect" vaccination, and hence there is an ever "open door" through which the vaccinator can readily escape whenever small-pox attacks the vaccinated. All the apologists for vaccination have to do is to say that these cases of post-vaccinal small-pox could not have been "properly" or "efficiently" done, and accordingly exclude them from the list of vaccinated cases. Under this beautiful arrangement it is quite

*Baron's *Life of Jenner*, vol. 1, p. 135.

obvious that a "properly" vaccinated person can never have small-pox. When a vaccinated person on exposure to small-pox infection does not catch the variolous disease his escape is positively attributed to vaccination, even if the Jennerian rite had not been performed within a period of forty years. If, on the other hand, a recently vaccinated person takes small-pox the claim is at once made that "but for his vaccination the attack would have been worse." When a duly vaccinated person suffers a severe attack of small-pox it is adroitly explained that the protection had "run out."

When it is recalled that there is no agreement among vaccinologists as to the length of time vaccination protects, the flimsiness of this pretext becomes obvious: These and many other equally lame excuses are in frequent requisition by the foxy apologists for vaccination. In compiling pro-vaccination statistics the promoters of the Jennerian doctrine go about the matter after the following fashion: If a person has been vaccinated but once and escapes small-pox, it is reported that he was "successfully" vaccinated; but if he had been vaccinated a score of times on separate and different occasions, and thereafter took small-pox he had not been "successfully" vaccinated, and all official reports place him in the unvaccinated lists. No matter how often vaccine "lymph" had been implanted into his circulation, if he took small-pox thereafter he had not been "successfully" vaccinated. If a vaccinated person takes small-pox and survives the attack, his recovery is positively attributed to vaccination; on the other hand when a person who had been recently and "successfully" vaccinated contracts fatal small-pox the vaccinator's claim is that the fault was not with the vaccination, but somewhere else.

So we see that if one suffers severely from small-pox after "successful" vaccination he has the satisfaction of knowing that the protection had "run out,"

that the virus was "impure," or that the operation had not been "properly done." Of course this "knowledge" is a source of great consolation to the patient and his friends.

When, as has frequently happened an unvaccinated person has had small-pox in its mildest form, it is at once explained by the vaccinator that the patient's ancestors must have been vaccinated and the resultant immunity transmitted to the progeny.

If, as has often been the case, an infant at the accession of the vaccinal disease is seized by fatal convulsions the vaccinator denies with effrontery that the vaccine operation could have been the cause and invents another on the spot.

When a previously healthy child on being vaccinated develops fatal sepsis, tetanus or erysipelas the vaccinator at once detects that his instructions regarding the care of the vaccinal wound were not strictly complied with; or that some important error in regimen was committed; or the patient was too much or too little exposed to the air.

If small-pox becomes epidemic the vaccine theorists explain that it was through neglect of general vaccination, but on the disappearance of the epidemic they childishly exclaim: "See what vaccination has done!"

After the disappearance of an epidemic of small-pox it is dogmatically asserted that vaccination "stamped it out."

The foregoing are but a few of the stock apologetics in common requisition for vaccinal failures and disasters.

If you were vaccinated and escaped small-pox the virus was "good"; but if you contracted the disease the virus was "bad." The cow-pox empiric never hesitates to make positive declarations, and is never at a loss for pretexts to cover up the numerous failures of his pretended infallible nostrum.

J. W. HODGE.

Niagara-Falls, N. Y.

MEN, WOMEN AND BOOKS OF THE HOUR.

**Hon. Walter Clark, LL.D., Chief Justice
of North Carolina.**

ONE OF the leading Southern statesmen who has long held a high place in the affection of all friends of genuine democracy, is the popular Chief Justice of North Carolina. Judge Clark is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, holding the degrees of LL.D. and A.M. He was judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina from 1885 to 1889. From 1899 to 1902 he held the position of Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench, and from 1902 he has been the Chief Justice of the State, having been elected to the highest office in the gift of the people of his commonwealth by the largest majority ever given to a public servant, notwithstanding his election was aggressively opposed by the tobacco trust and the railways.

Judge Clark is a man of fine literary attainments, a student of broad culture. Among his literary works we mention the following: *The Annotated Code of Civil Procedure*. He translated from the original French Constant's *Memoirs of Napoleon*, and has compiled and edited the *North Carolina State Records* (17 volumes).

Judge Clark is an old and valued contributor to THE ARENA. Several years ago he visited Mexico as special commissioner for this review where he was cordially received and became the guest of leading statesmen. No public servant in the country is more justly entitled to the love and confidence of the people than is Mr. Clark.

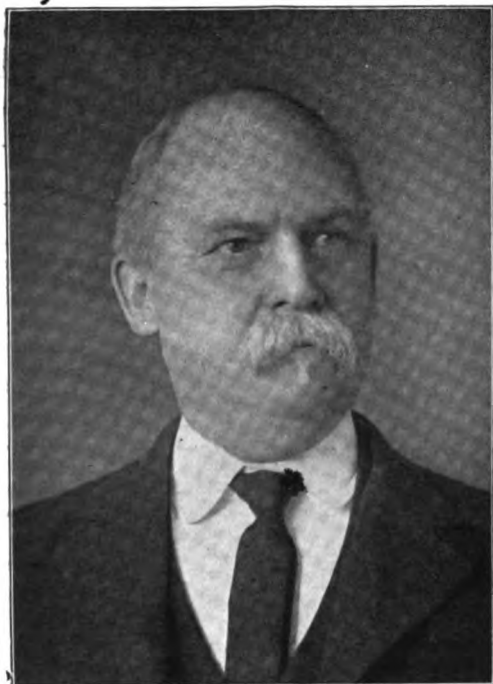
**Otto Pfeiderer: A Profound Liberal
Leader of Progressive Evan-
gelical Thought.**

ONE OF the most interesting and striking of the many great thinkers from the Old World who attended the International Congress of Religious Liberals recently held in Boston, was Professor Otto Pfeiderer, the eminent German Protestant theologian and philosopher who is probably the leading representative of the liberal theological movement within the evangelical churches on the Continent of Europe.

Professor Pfeiderer was born at Cannstadt, in Wurtemberg, in 1839. He studied under Baur at Tübingen, after which he held a pastorate for a short time at Heilbronn. His fine scholarship, the fact that he always insisted on going to the root of a subject and making a profound study of any question he essayed to discuss, before venturing its elucidation, and the clear and masterly manner in which he presented what he conceived to be the truth, were early evinced in his writings, and as a result he was soon called to the chair of theology in the University of Jena. Here a series of papers on New Testament Criticism and the Johannine and Pauline theology attracted the attention of the leading thinkers throughout Germany and in other lands, and in 1875 he was called to the chair of systematic theology in the University of Berlin. He delivered the Hibbert Lectures in London in 1885, and the Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh in 1894.

His work is profound and fundamental in character. He accepts truth for authority, and not authority for truth. But at the same time he is probably the most deeply religious great thinker on the Continent of Europe. He is broad and catholic in temper. All his writings are marked in an eminent degree by the judicial spirit, and he possesses that which is very rare among the German philosophers and thinkers,—a clear, luminous and fascinating style. Two of his later and principal works have been translated and published in America, *Christian Origins and Religion and Historic Faiths*, the latter consisting of the course of lectures delivered to immense congregations in Berlin during last winter. Among other of his important works are the following: *Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte*, *Moral und Religion*, *Die Ritschl'sche Theologie kritisch beleuchtet*, *Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis auf die Gegenwart*, and *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*.

Professor Pfeiderer came to America in order to attend the International Congress of Religious Liberals and also to deliver lectures at Harvard University and the Brooklyn Institute.

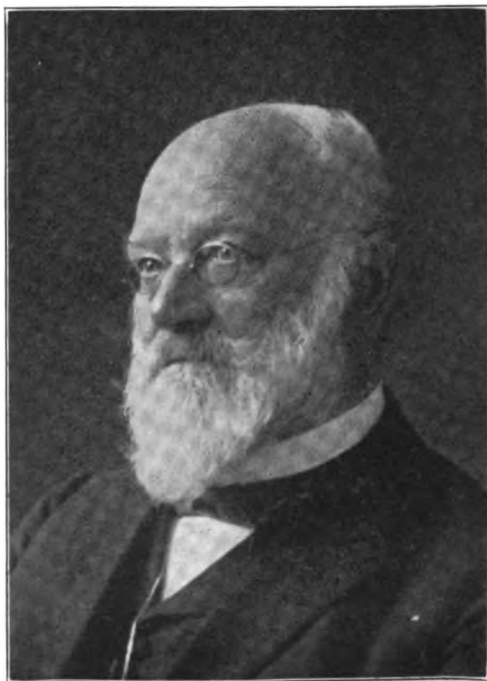


HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.

David Graham Phillips.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, the author of *Light-Fingered Gentry*, one of the most notable novels of the season, is a fine type of the serious-minded, patriotic young literary men upon whose shoulders more than perhaps any other class the future of democracy depends. Mr. Phillips is a native of Indiana, the state that has been termed the Massachusetts of the Middle West, owing to the number of gifted writers she has given the nation in recent years. He was born in Madison, Indiana. His father was a prominent banker of the town, but a man the antipodes of the "light-fingered gentry" so vividly described in Mr. Phillips' latest novel. He was one of the old-time honorable and conscientious citizens who strove to live worthily and thus honor his state and the great Republic. He was a life-long Republican in politics, but possessed none of the narrow spirit of partisanship that marks so many citizens. He did not wish to warp or unduly influence the mind of his son. One day the father took the boy into his great library and showed him his books. "Here is the library and here you will find many fine works. In this section are the histories

of the world, and you will find histories one of the most valuable kinds of work to carefully read." He left the boy to feast in this fine storehouse of the best literature. Like the most sensible Americans, he gloried in our common schools and sent his son to them. Later David went to Du Pauw University, and from there he went to Princeton College, from which he graduated. He then entered journalistic work, first in Cincinnati, and later in New York, as an editorial writer on the *Sun* and the *World*. He is the author of a number of popular, interesting and thought-provoking novels. His style is bright and free from suggestion of affectation. He has no plots in his novels, but his stories are so true to life, his characters so real and convincing, that the reader's interest, awakened in the opening sentences, is held throughout the entire story. And the high purpose,—that noble seriousness that marks the writings of men who value their own manhood, gives dignity and worth to all his work. Yet he is too much the journalist to weary his reader with moralizing or preaching. He states facts, uncovers evil conditions with rare power, and makes the narrative teach the lesson or point the moral he has in mind. Elsewhere in this issue we review *Light-Fingered Gentry*.



PROFESSOR OTTO PFLEIDERER.



DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS,
Author of "Light-Fingered Gentry."

A Poetical Gem by James Whitcomb Riley.

IN JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY'S new book of poems, *Morning*, reviewed in the November *ARENA*, appear several poems that will appeal to the popular taste. Others strike a deeper note and will be prized by the discriminating, such, for example, as the following entitled "Lord, I Believe."

"We must believe—
Being from birth endowed with love and trust—
Born unto loving;—and how simply just—
That love—that faith!—even in the blossom-face
The babe drops dreamward in its resting-place,
Intuitively conscious of the sure
Awakening to rapture ever pure
And sweet and saintly as the mother's own,
Or the awed father's, as his arms are thrown
O'er wife and child, to round about them weave
And wind and bind them as one harvest-sheaf
Of love—to cleave to, and forever cleave. . . .

Lord, I believe:

Help Thou mine unbelief

II

"We must believe—
Impelled since infancy to seek some clear
Fulfilment, still withheld all seekers here;—

For never have we seen perfection nor
The glory we are ever seeking for:
But we have seen—all mortal souls as one—
Have seen its promise, in the morning sun—
Its blest assurance, in the stars of night;—
The ever-dawning of the dark to light;—
The tears down-falling from all eyes that grieve—
The eyes uplifting from all deeps of grief.
Yearning for what at last we shall receive. . . .

Lord, I believe:

Help Thou mine unbelief.

III.

We must believe:

For still all unappeased our hunger goes,
From life's first waking, to its last repose:
The briefest life of any babe, or man
Outwearing even the allotted span,
Is each a life unfinished—incomplete:
For these, then, of th' outworn, or unworn feet
Denied one toddling step—O there must be
Some fair, green, flowery pathway endlessly
Winding through lands Elysian! Lord, receive
And lead each as Thine Own Child—even the

Chief

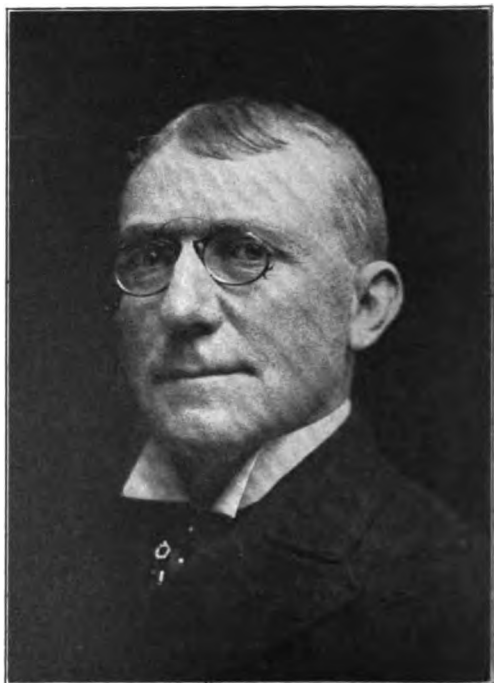
Of us who didst Immortal life achieve. . . .

Lord, I believe:

Help Thou mine unbelief."

Saint N. Sing.

SAINTE N. SING, the young East Indian journalist and lecturer whose paper on *The Unrest in India: Its Genesis and Trend* appears in this issue of *THE ARENA*, is one



JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY,
Author of "Morning."

of a number of young scholars of the great brooding mother of Oriental civilization who are making an impress on Western civilization by their earnest and thoughtful presentations of the cause of India. Mr. Sing is a regular contributor of the four leading high-class magazines of India, the *Indian*, *Hindustan* and *Modern Reviews*, and the *Indian World*. He is also a contributor to leading Japanese and Chinese periodicals. He speaks English and many other languages and is at present visiting the United States and Canada.

Herbert Quick's New Novel, "The Broken Lance."

NO AMERICAN novelist has in recent years evinced such surprising advance in literary excellence of his work as Herbert Quick. When one compares *Double Trouble* with *The Broken Lance*, it is difficult to imagine that they are from the same pen. The last-named novel, which has just appeared from the press of the Bobbs-Merrill Company, is a powerful social study that in spite of its gloomy atmosphere, due to its revelations dealing with things as they are in an honest and truthful manner, holds the reader's



HERBERT QUICK,
Author of "The Broken Lance."



SAINT NIHAL SING.

interest in an absorbing manner while vital truths are being presented that must be recognized if the Republic is to be preserved a free, just government, without the shock, waste and ruin of a forcible revolution. This volume is so strong and rich in interest, especially to friends of social advance, that it calls for a more extended notice than it is possible to give in the present issue. In an early number of *THE ARENA*, however, we propose to review *The Broken Lance* at length.

The Red Reign. The True Story of an Adventurous Year in Russia. By Kellogg Durland. Fully illustrated from photographs. Cloth. Pp. 533. Price, \$2.00 net. Postage, 16 cents. New York: The Century Company.

DURING the year 1906 Mr. Kellogg Durland traveled through Russia, Poland, the Caucasus and a part of Siberia, in an effort to acquire, as he himself says, as nearly as possible an accurate picture of Russia in revolution. That he has succeeded no one can doubt who reads *The Red Reign*. His picture of present-day Russia is vivid, fascinating as romance, inevitably gloomy in its

details, yet vibrant with a note of optimism, of hope for the future of the Russian masses, that is distinctly encouraging.

Mr. Durland's long years of training as a journalist connected with leading periodicals in America and England, together with his previous exhaustive studies into political, economic and social conditions both in the Old World and the New, make him peculiarly well fitted for the task he has undertaken. During the summer of 1901 he spent four months as a working miner in Fife, in order that he might study at first hand the condition of the coal miners of Scotland, and later he embodied the results of his investigations in book form. In 1902 he made special investigations into the condition of the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania, and his revelations in regard to child-labor did much toward stimulating reformatory child-labor legislation in this country.

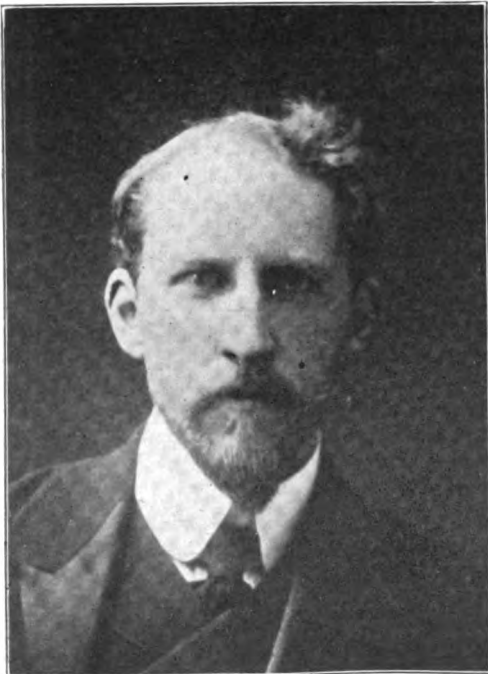
In preparing the present volume Mr. Durland traveled over 20,000 miles, meeting and mingling with all classes of Russian society, including the "intellectuals," the revolutionists, the members of the military organization, the "terrorists," and the peasantry. Everywhere he found conditions which

render revolution inevitable; everywhere the loss of faith in the Czar and his ministers is increasing every day. In summing up the situation in Russia at the present time Mr. Durland says:

"A state eaten with official rottenness; an emperor attempting not only to rule but to do the thinking for 142,000,000 of people; an economic condition of such a character that annual famine falls like a pall over vast areas (in the winter of 1906-7 taking within grasp 30,000,000 of men, women and children); an army spotted with disaffection; a navy almost chronically mutinous; a people held in artificial tranquility, through the terrorism of martial law which now spreads over four-fifths of European Russia; a critical financial situation, impending bankruptcy within and the largest foreign loan in history to eventually meet,—these are some of the elements of the Russian situation of the present time which must be met by reforms involving changes so complete as to amount to revolution."

The thing which more than anything is forcing upon the Russian masses the conviction that a new form of government must be inaugurated, in which the people themselves shall have the determining voice, is the widespread famine which is prevalent among the peasantry throughout nearly all the provinces of Russia. In speaking of this condition Mr. Durland makes the following observations:

"The most terrible part of it all, to me, is that famine in Russia is largely unnecessary and preventable. There is land enough in the country for all of the people—if it were only differently divided, and even a part of that which is now lying idle were placed at the disposal of the people who could and would cultivate it. There is water enough in Russia to defy any drought—if it were only conserved and guided through channels and ditches where it would reach the now dry and parched dessiatines of starving peasants. But so long as the government persists in staving off this vital issue, famine will be recurrent. The attitude of the government toward this great question is, perhaps, more directly responsible for forcing the country toward civil war than any other one thing. The measures suggested thus far by the government do not relieve the situation materially. The only possible solution to this agrarian difficulty is to allow the peasants more land, and to teach them intensive



KELLOGG DURLAND,
Author of "The Red Reign."



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MURILLO'S MADONNA.

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methods of farming. Hundreds of thousands of acres lie unused, untilled; the peasants can not *buy* it for they have nothing to buy with. They never *will* have anything to buy with until they get a wider opportunity to earn more and to produce more—which can only come with more land. Thousands of them are already bound body and soul for years to come to big land-owners and usurers (who are frequently the village priests). The land, in the fulness of time, must be given to them. And if the government will not consent to this the Duma will 'expropriate' it as the first Duma set out to do—and was speedily dissolved for the effort! If there is no Duma (as there will not be if Nicholas II. has his way), then sooner or later the peasants will have to *take* the land. And that may well mean the French Revolution, or worse, over again."

In the growing knowledge and appreciation of the Russian people of the fact that they can hope for no relief so long as the present autocratic order continues, our author sees the hope for the future; but the struggle will necessarily be a long and bitter one and one in which the nation must necessarily suffer greatly. "Where all standards of public

and private morality are shaken—where rulers and lawgivers are arch lawbreakers—the characters of the individuals living under such a *régime* must suffer. And alas, for the rising generation!"

The book is fully indexed and contains, in addition to the many fine photographs taken by the author, a valuable map of Russia.

This is a work that will interest all students of present-day conditions, and especially those who have at heart the cause of social justice and free government.

AMY C. RICH.

From Gretna Green to Land's End. By Katherine Lee Bates. Cloth, gilt top. Illustrated. Pp. 378. Price, \$2.00 net. Postage 20 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THE AUTHOR of this thoroughly delightful and highly interesting volume is professor of literature in Wellesley College. The work is the result of personal travels over one of the most interesting regions, from either a literary or an historic view-point, that the world offers to the Anglo-Saxon. Much of the land traversed is picturesque and beautiful in the extreme, while a part is unsightly and repulsive, and representative of all that is ugly, hideous, brutal and life-deadening in modern commercialism as it relates to manufacturing. Thus the conditions obtaining, as described in the chapter on "A Group of Industrial Counties," in which Manchester, Lancaster and other manufacturing centers are described, stand out boldly and impress us with peculiar force when placed between the charming pictures of the Lake country and the fascinating description of the ancient rush-strewing ceremony annually practiced in certain parts of the Lake region, on the other hand, and the heart of England, embracing Shakespeare's country, on the other.

The volume is no ordinary book of travels. The author's profession being English literature and her research in history being so thorough as to familiarize her with all important happenings in the country traversed, the volume is at once a vivid literary and historic unfoldment presented with the picturesque and oftentimes beautiful country as a background. Moreover, the writer has brought to her work that enthusiasm and love of her subject that makes vivid her pen



E. PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM,
Author of "A Lost Leader," etc.

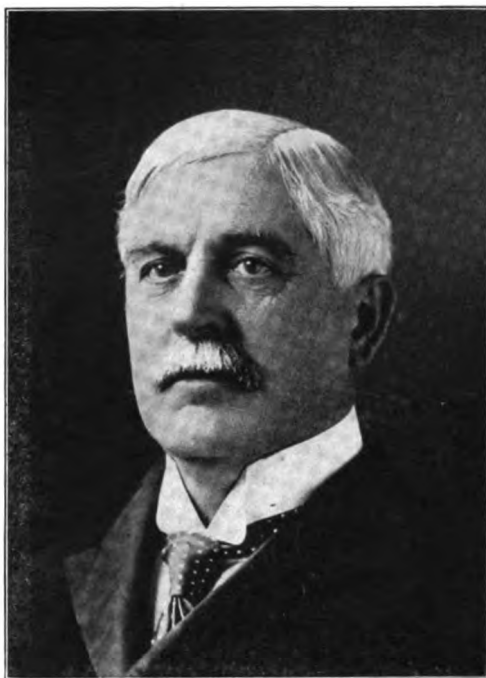
pictures. This is no dry-as-dust volume of travel, no book in which the egotism of the author is satisfied, to the vexation and disgust of the long-suffering reader. Nor is there here any suggestion of the guide-book, with its stereotyped recitals that suggest the automatic machine or the characterless voice of the megaphone guide. No, here are life and enthusiasm united with knowledge and a fine discrimination. He who would travel over this land made interesting by two thousand years of the history of a great people and rendered precious as being the home of so many of our greatest writers and thinkers,—the home of Shakespeare, Ruskin and scores of other literary lights who have contributed in a real way to the intellectual wealth of the world, and yet who finds it impossible to take the trip, will find this volume a veritable garden of delight; while to those contemplating visiting England the work will also be indispensable. The author has written in a popular vein, and the work will appeal to and please the general reader.

There are ten chapters in the book, those dealing with the Border city of Carlisle, the Lake country and the heart of England being of special interest. Yet it is safe to say that few readers will be content to pass over any of the 380 pages that constitute the work. It is beautifully illustrated with twenty-four full-page half-tones from photographs taken expressly for the book by Katherine Coman, who accompanied the author. The volume is richly gotten up and would make an ideal gift for the holiday season.

The Fire Divine. Poems by Richard Watson Gilder. Cloth. Pp. 130. New York: The Century Company.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER possesses in a marked degree the poet's insight. His imaginative powers have not the same sweep as have those of our great poet of democracy, Edwin Markham, nor is there the rich imagery and wealth of suggestive pictures in his verse that is found in the poems of Joaquin Miller and some other American poets; but he is a true poet possessing, the rare gift which he himself happily describes in these lines:

"The secret—he has learned it
And only, only he:
Heaven in his heart hath burned it;
To him alone 't is free,



DAVID HOMER BATES,
Author of "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office."

And them from him who learned it
In wise simplicity.
From thousand suns it flashes,
It leaps in flower and flame;
The spring, from winter's ashes,
Cries out its silent name—
The secret of the ages
That, to the poet came.
Unknown to all the sages
However wise they be,
Through his quick veins it rages
And soul of ecstasy;
It lightnings from his pages,
In all his songs 't is sung:
The secret of the ages—
To be forever young."

In addition to the poet's imaginative power—the seeing eye—Mr. Gilder has the feeling heart or the moral sense, the spiritual discernment, that is imperatively demanded to-day of those who would nobly fill their place on the firing line of progress. This ethical discernment, united to the poetic imagination and a finished literary style, gives permanent value to Mr. Gilder's verse.

His recent volume, *The Fire Divine*, contains many verses that will appeal to the mental and spiritual nature of the aspiring ones. Here is a song for the hour entitled "Lost Leaders"



HARRISON FISHER,
Author of "The Harrison Fisher Book."

I.

"Lost leaders"—no, they are not lost
Like shrunken leaves the wild wind tost.
Them only shall we mourn who failed;
When came the fight—who faltered, quailed.

II.

"Raged not through blood and battle grime
These heroes of our land and time;
The foes they fought, with dauntless deed,
Were shameless vice and maddened greed.

III.

"Not lost, not lost the noble dead—
By them our doubting feet are led.
Stars of our dark, sun of our day,
They guide, they light the climbing way.

IV.

"And if, in their celestial flight,
The mist hath hid those forms from sight,
Still, down the stormy path, we hear
Their hero-voices ringing clear.

V.

"Who for their fellows live and die,
They the immortals are. O sigh
Not for their loss, but rather praise
The God that gave them to our day.

And here again the ethical note, that is so strong and valuable a characteristic of Mr. Gilder's work is vividly illustrated:

"Thou who would'st serve thy country and thy kind,
Winning the praise of honorable men
And love of many hearts,—know the true proof
Of faithfulness lies not therein. That dwells
In the lone consciousness of duty done,
And in the scorn and contumely of souls
Self-soiled with sin: the necessary hate
Of perjured and contaminated spirits
For that whose mere existence brings reproach,
Shame and despair for something lost forever.
When thou hast won the hatred of the vile
Then know thou hast served well thy fellow men.

And here is another little ethical verse:

I.

"Pity the blind!" Yes, pity those
Whom day and night inclose
In equal dark; to whom the sun's keen flame
And pitchy night-time are the same.

II.

"But pity most the blind
Who cannot see
That to be kind
Is life's felicity."

This volume is one of the very few books of verse that have appeared in recent years that is worthy of a place in the library of lovers of poetry instinct with the ethical spirit.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office. By David Homer Bates. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 432. Price, \$2.00 net. Postage 17 cents. New York: The Century Company.

ONE OF the most valuable historical works connected with the great Civil War that has appeared during the past few years is David Homer Bates' interesting volume entitled *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office*. It deals with the cipher war-service during the administration of President Lincoln. The author was cipher-operator and manager of the war department telegraph-office from 1861 to 1866. During much of this time President Lincoln came daily, and frequently several times during the day and night, to the office to receive the news from the seats of war at the earliest possible moment. The work presents President Lincoln as he appeared at this time to a young man whose intense enthusiasm for the preservation of the Union was equaled only by his ability and his



ROBERT SHACKLETON,
Author (with Elizabeth Shackleton) of "The
Quest of the Colonial."

faithful service in one of the most responsible of positions. Mr. Bates and his associates lived in an atmosphere of intense excitement. Day by day they were receiving messages of the gravest import. Sometimes they were enthused and uplifted by the news. Often the reports produced indescribable depression. How well the author understood the effect of these dispatches on the great patriot who was at the head of the nation and who carried as only a man of heart could carry the burdens of an afflicted people, is admirably shown in this volume, so rich in intimate reminiscences and anecdotes of the martyred President.

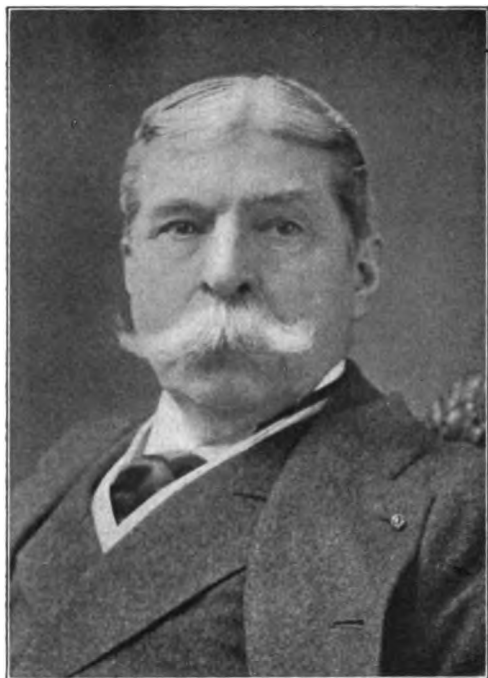
Seldom has a volume appeared that is at once so interesting to the general reader while being strictly authentic as a historical work. Mr. Bates' associates in the cipher-service have testified to its accuracy, and Mr. Robert Lincoln in writing to the author of the work observes of its contents that: "They bring back very vividly the most exciting and interesting days of my life, and the reminiscences of my father make him seem to be alive again."

Aside from the interest of the volume and

its historical worth, it possesses a real value for the patriotic citizen, especially for the young, because it centers the imagination on one of the greatest and most commanding upholders of free institutions, of justice and human rights that the Republic has produced. Like Washington and Jefferson, Lincoln stood for the fundamentals of free government; for a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." He loved his fellowmen. He was broad-visioned, just and loving in nature; a patriot of the highest type; a statesman after the manner of Jefferson. The dominating spirit of these two men, and their faith in freedom and in the people, no less than their deep insight and broad, statesmanlike vision, bind them together in the minds of students of history. Anything that centers the popular imagination on the lives, character and thought of these men is helpful to the cause of free institutions at the present time. This work, therefore, possesses a three-fold interest: as a narrative of thrilling and momentous facts it appeals to the



ELIZABETH SHACKLETON,
Author (with Robert Shackleton) of "The
Quest of the Colonial."



F. HOPKINSON SMITH,

Author of "The Romance of an Old-Fashioned Gentleman."

imagination in an absorbing manner; as a contribution to history it is of real worth; while its intimate pictures of Abraham Lincoln give it special value, and the moral idealism that made the martyred President one with the noblest patriots and statesmen of the earlier days of our Republic adds inestimably to its genuine worth.

he Greatest Fact in Modern History. By Whitelaw Reid. With photogravure frontispiece of Mr. Reid. Cloth. Pp. 40. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THE ADDRESS which makes up this volume, was, the publisher tells us, "prepared at the invitation of Cambridge University by the American Ambassador to Great Britain and delivered in the Senate House as the opening address in the course on the Eighteenth Century for the summer meeting of 1906. The University authorities named the subject. The Ambassador said at the time he should never have chosen it for that audience, but when it was chosen for him he was unwilling to run away from it."

Mr. Reid regards "the greatest fact of

modern history" as the rise of our nation from a group of struggling colonies to the position of a great world-power, and he states very clearly and frankly the reasons which led to the loss by the Mother Country of her American possessions. He reviews briefly but luminously the conditions which prevailed in America at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the strong feeling of loyalty to the British sovereign which existed in all the colonies; the way in which the colonists, though rendered sturdy and self-reliant by the hardships and vicissitudes they had long endured in founding a home in the New World, yet looked to England for guidance and never dreamed of a political existence apart from the Mother Country. He then passes to a consideration of the conditions in England which led to the inauguration of the policy of arbitrary taxation which ultimately was to lead to the rupture between the child and the parent. From this rupture resulted the successful establishment in the New World of a representative government,—a success made possible because of the sturdy, earnest, moral and intelligent character of the colonists, and because in their struggle with a wild and unsettled country the inefficient had been weeded out, leaving them a picked class, with boundless opportunities opening on every hand.

AMY C. RICH.

The Bible as Good Reading. By Albert J. Beveridge. Cloth. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS little work by United States Senator Beveridge is richly worth the reading and cannot fail to do good in calling the attention of the general public to the Bible as a vast library containing good reading, in history, adventure, tales of action and of love, poetry, moral precepts, and, indeed, almost every department of literature. True, scholars and all students of our Bible recognize that even when considered simply as literature, it is one of the most wonderful mines of wealth to be found in the world. But the formal manner in which the Bible has been read and treated has dulled to a great extent the interest of the people in the work, and it is astonishing to find how many persons who are devout church members and who consider themselves well read, are amazingly

ignorant as to the contents of much of the noblest thought in the Bible.

The chapters of Mr. Beveridge's work summarizing some features of the Bible are interesting, though it seems to us that the author has passed over many of the finest and most profoundly interesting and suggestive parts of the great work, to dwell in many instances on parts that are of inferior value in general interest, in literary worth and in beauty of expression.

We regret that the special attention of the reader is not called to some of those sublime poetical passages that are as profound in their spiritual reach as they are rich in imagination. Then, too, the moral atmosphere of the narrative portions of the Bible improves as one advances into the New Testament, while as literature and as beautiful life narratives, surely the Gospels and the Acts are equal to the descriptive parts of the Old Testament, for normal minds. So we regret that the attention of the reader is centered so largely on parts of the Old Testament which when read in connection with the surrounding descriptions, reflect a civilization far from what civilization should be, and are therefore wanting in the upward moral stimulus that literature carries when instinct with high ethics. In the Old Testament deception, chicanery, intrigue, war, slaughter and the primal passions are frequently so in evidence in the narrative portions as to be dominant, just as in the New Testament the spirit of the Golden Rule, the ideal of a universal Father and a common brotherhood, moving toward a realm dominated by justice, freedom and fraternity and companioned by peace and good will, is the key-note in the moral atmosphere. Therefore we regret that the author has failed to direct the attention of his readers in a more extended manner to the wonderful and inspiring poetry of the Old Testament and the literary wealth and lofty ethics of the New.

Famous Painters of America. By J. Walker McSpadden. With 38 full-page illustrations. Pp. 376. Price, \$2.50 net. Postage, 20 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

AMONG the really beautiful books particularly appropriate for holiday gifts which this season offers Mr. McSpadden new



LISI CIPRIANI,
Author of "A Tuscan Childhood."

volume, *Famous Painters of America*, calls for special notice. It is distinctly popular in character. The great American painters are not discussed in a stiff, formal or conventionally proper manner; nor is the work a history of American painting and its masters given from a critical or technical view-point. It is rather an interesting series of personal sketches rich in human interest and abounding in entertaining anecdotes, tracing the lives, the struggles and the victories of the men who have become world-famous by being the makers of American art. These life stories are charmingly written and have a special value for young people or those who are not thoroughly acquainted with American art, as they will naturally create an interest in the men and their work which will lead to a more exhaustive study of a phase of life in the New World that has heretofore received far too little attention. The painters whose works are considered are Benjamin West, "The Painter of Destiny"; John Singleton Copley, "The Painter of the Early Gentility"; Gilbert Stuart, "The Painter of Presidents"; George Inness, "The Painter



ELIZA CALVERT HALL,
Author of "Aunt Jane of Kentucky."

of Nature's Moods"; Elihu Vedder, "The Painter of the Mystic"; Winslow Homer, "The Painter of Seclusion"; John La Farge, "The Painter of Experiment"; James A. McNeill Whistler, "The Painter of Protest"; John Singer Sargent, "The Painter of Portraits"; Edwin Austin Abbey, "The Painter of the Past"; and William Merritt Chase, "The Painter of Precept."

The volume is beautifully illustrated with thirty-eight full-page pictures. It is richly bound in cloth and stamped in gold.

Jefferies' Nature Books. Life of the Fields, The Open Air, and Nature Near London. By Richard Jefferies. With Introduction by Thomas Coke Watkins. Cloth. The set of three volumes, in box, \$2.25. 75 cents each. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE ARE of those who hail with delight all well-written nature books from the pen of those who without lust for blood or thirst for slaughter go forth into field and forest to learn the intimate truths, the wonders and the lessons relating to the multitudinous life about us,—lessons and truths not taught in schools. These students of nature are the servants of God, the interpreters of one of the great books in which the Father has written

of the wonders of His creation. We have recently noticed more than one of these excellent works, chief among which were perhaps the little classics of our Thoreau, and now we wish to call our readers' attention to three volumes, uniform with the Thoreau books, dealing with country life in England, by a nature lover almost as observant and philosophical, and far more poetical, than Thoreau.

Richard Jefferies was to England what our New England devotee of nature was to America. But the England of his day did not appreciate the value of his message or the simple beauty of his writings. He lived and died in comparative poverty, but after his death, as is so often the case, the world awoke to the worth of his work and the charm of style with which he presented in almost bewildering confusion a wealth of scenes from nature's picture-books, truths from her storehouse of knowledge, and observations that only a mind like Jefferies' would take notice of. Something of the charm of this author's style may be gained from the following brief passage from his "Pageant of Summer":

"As the wind, wandering over the sea, takes from each wave an invisible portion, and brings to those on shore the ethereal essence of ocean, so the air, lingering among the woods and hedges—green waves and billows—become full of fine atoms of summer. Swept from notched hawthorn leaves, broad-topped oak leaves, narrow ash sprays and oval willows; from vast elm-cliffs and sharp-taloned brambles under; brushed from the waving grasses and stiffening corn—the dust of the sunshine was borne along and breathed. Steeped in flower and pollen to the music of bees and birds, the stream of the atmosphere became a living thing. It was life to breathe it, for the air itself was life. The strength of the earth went up through the leaves into the wind. Fed thus on the food of the Immortals, the heart opened to the width and depth of the summer—to the broad horizon afar, down to the minutest creature in the grass, up to the highest swallow."

The present set of books, three in number, entitled *Life of the Fields*, *The Open Air*, and *Nature Near London*, are appropriately introduced by Thomas Coke Watkins, and each volume carries a finely-printed frontispiece. The books are attractively gotten up and will delight lovers of nature who enjoy a simple, direct and finished literary style.



ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK,
Author of "A Fountain Sealed."

Afield With the Seasons. By James Buckham. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 180. Price, \$1.25 net. Potage, 10 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is a thoroughly wholesome and invigorating nature book, not so rich in poetic concepts as the writings of some recent authors, nor so rich in philosophy as are the observations of others, and yet possessing a charm all its own, born of its transparent truth and sincerity united with love for the subject discussed. The author takes us into nature's great busy, teeming workshop and shows us her miracles under varying conditions and circumstances, points out things we little dreamed of relating to sentient life and the plant world. It is a good book and worthy a place in the libraries of those who enjoy this kind of literature.

Rheingold. Wagner's Music-Drama retold in English verse by Oliver Huckel. Cloth. Pp. 120. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE HAVE already called the attention of our readers to Dr. Huckel's *Tannhäuser*. The present volume will be regarded as

indispensable by lovers of the music-dramas of Richard Wagner. It opens with a brief but luminous criticism and description of the story of the Rheingold. Then comes the magnificent rendition of the great poem. It is a free translation. The author has striven to present as perfectly as possible in rhythmic form the ideas and mental pictures as well as the words of Wagner. Like his *Parsifal*, *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*, the work is a finished poetical rendition which gives the lines of Wagner's master works in a manner most satisfactory and creditable to English literature. The book is beautifully printed and carries two fine illustrations.

The Quest of the Colonial. By Robert and Elizabeth Shackleton. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 425. Price, \$2.40 net. Postage, 16 cents. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is a thoroughly delightful and charming volume which will interest not only those who are engaged in the collection of old-time furniture, brass and china, but also those who have not yet fallen under the spell of the antique. The authors speak from practical knowledge of the subject with which they deal. Starting modestly with a Shaker chair, a pair of candlesticks and a kettle, they set out in search of the antique furnishings of early Colonial days. The story of their



MARGARET HANNIS,
Author of "The Emancipation of Miss Susanna."



Known by A. A. B.

ANNE WARNER.

Author of "Susan Clegg," and "A Man in the House," etc.

adventures and what they found in their journeyings through the country is told in a most fascinating manner. Much valuable information in regard to Colonial furniture and household furnishings in general is given, together with many helpful suggestions for the guidance of the amateur collector, while the scores of illustrations add much to the value and attractiveness of the work.

AMY C. RICH.

The Idylls and the Ages. By John F. Genung. Cloth. Pp. 80. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS deeply thoughtful appreciation of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* is one of the

most interesting and valuable literary contributions of the season. The author has treated his subject with a master's power and the insight of a poet's vision that is so necessary if we are to enjoy the true worth of any great poetic creation. This little work contains a comparative study of the poetry of Browning and Tennyson that is one of the best things in its way that we have seen and is richly worth a careful reading, as indeed is the entire volume. We take pleasure in recommending this work to all lovers of poetry and especially to those who admire the writings of the great English poet laureate of the nineteenth century.

The Harrison Fisher Book. A collection of drawings in color and black and white, by Harrison Fisher. With introductions by James B. Carrington. Price, \$3.00 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS is one of the most beautiful works of the holiday season, containing as it does the best of Mr. Fisher's work printed on heavy plate paper, in the highest style of the book-maker's art. Some of the pictures are in colors, others are in black and white, but each is an artistic gem. Howard Chandler Christy and Harrison Fisher have in late years become preëminent as popular American illustrators, and the present volume, containing the cream of Mr. Fisher's work will be highly prized by his numerous admirers. It is an ideal gift volume for a friend with artistic tastes

Stars of the Opera. By Mabel Wagnalls.

Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 402. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS work was published some time since and proved extremely popular. The steady demand for the work has led the author to a careful revision and amplification of the original work. She has also added some recent interviews and several admirable portraits have also been introduced. The book consists of interviews and life studies of many of the greatest living opera singers, followed by critical studies of the operas in which they are preëminent, the whole forming a pleasing work very full of information which all persons desiring to be in touch with present-day life should possess.

Among the opera singers specially considered are Calvé, Nordica, Lehmann, Sembrich and Melba. The outline of the operas, with observations touching the great interpretations, are as a rule very excellent and instructive. Among these are "Semiramide," "Faust," "Carmen," "Hamlet," "Lohengrin," "The Huguenots," "The Flying Dutchman," and "Orpheus and Eurydice."

A Tuscan Childhood. By Lisi Cipriani. Cloth. Pp. 269. Price, \$1.25 net. Postage, 12 cents. New York: The Century Company.

ONE OF the most charming books of personal reminiscences of childhood days that we have read in years is the story told in *A Tuscan Childhood*, by Lisi Cipriani. The author's style is direct, simple and pleasing, though one's credulity is somewhat taxed at times, when she recounts the precocious sayings and doings of herself and other little members of the family. The work gives a delightful picture of Italian life in an aristocratic and rather secluded family. It is rich in pleasing incidents and sometimes there are humorous aspects that add decidedly to the reader's interest. Here is one example. The author is writing of her little brother Ritchie.

"His chief fault was that he would interrupt any one whenever he had something to say. My mother repeatedly told him: 'Ritchie, you must never interrupt me when I am talking. Wait till I have finished, and then say: "At your convenience, mama, I have something to tell you." Take time: learn to be polite!

"One day toward the end of the season my mother had taken Ritchie and me to The Baths at Leghorn. The Baths are built in piers and rotundas into the sea (we have no tide at Leghorn), and these piers are connected by bridges. Before the autumn storms begin the boards are taken away, so that only two long wooden beams and the railings remain. There was absolutely no danger in walking across these bridges on the beams, as we could have all necessary support from the railings, and it was great fun for us to do so.

"Now, I had crossed one of these bridges quite a distance from where my mother and some friends were sitting in a group. I had walked around the rotunda, and had stood some time watching a man as he fished. But finally I grew tired of watching, and just as I had left him, and was about to cross the bridge on the beam, he called to me, because he had caught a fish. I waited till the fish was safely landed, and then started to cross the bridge. But so interested was I in the man's success, that I forgot that the boards had been taken away, and walking on as usual, fell into the sea with a splash.

"Ritchie, who was standing by me, instead



OCTAVE THANET,

Author of "The Man of the Hour" and "The Lion's Share."

of taking the slightest concern as to what would happen to me, rapidly crossed the bridge and ran to my mother. Taking off his cap, the little fellow stood politely beside

ingly, for she appreciated that he had **finally** learned to be so polite.

"Mama, at your convenience, Lisi has fallen into the water."



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THE PARABLES.

(Ye have done it unto the least of these).

her for some time, waiting till she had finished a rather long story she was just telling. Then he said:

"Mama, at your convenience, I have something to tell you."

"What!" said my mother, jumping up "Has any one pulled her out?"

"Then Ritchie calmly and politely said 'I do n't know, but I did not interrupt your story—and she can swim!'"

the author contains the following facts:

Lisi Cipriani was born and educated in Tuscany and belongs to a Florentine patrician family. Her father, General Giuseppe Cipriani, and her uncle, Count Leonetto Cipriani, both did much toward the unification of Italy. Mrs. Browning refers to them for this in the *Summing Up of Italy*.

The family suffered financial reverses and at nineteen Miss Cipriani came to this country where, through friends, she immediately secured a position as teacher of modern languages in a preparatory school. She taught for three years at the Girls' Classical School in Indianapolis, going from there, as a student, to the University of Chicago where, in less than two years, she received with honors, the three degrees the university confers. Immediately after having received the doctor's degree she was put on the faculty and taught principally Comparative Literature.

The Romance of an Old-Fashioned Gentleman.

By F. Hopkinson Smith. Cloth. Illustrated in colors. Pp. 211. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS new novel by F. Hopkinson Smith is without exception the most beautiful and altogether satisfying American romance we have read in months. Considered as literature it is a fine piece of work. As a romance it will fascinate all beauty-loving and normal imaginations from the charming opening lines, where the glory of blossom-garlanded spring in Maryland is vividly pictured and made the background for an exquisite old-time Southern home and its fine inmates, to the radiant closing pages. And in spite of the minor chord that sounds throughout almost the entire work, plaintive and sad as the murmur of summer's dying breeze singing the requiem of her flowers, it is at all times compelling in its power over the imagination, and it is soul-satisfying, as it appeals to all that is finest, truest and most genuine in our natures. Morally speaking, it is pure gold. Indeed, it would be impossible to overestimate its ethical quality and atmosphere, redolent at once of the high, fine honor that marked the best society of the elder days in our Republic, and prophetic of the new ethical order that even now is becoming apparent as a reaction from the materialism of the market,—the idealless commercialism that has intoxicated the nation during recent decades.

To the student of American life nothing is more apparent than that the rise of the spirit of commercialism to a dominant place in our business life has been marked not only by the blighting and destroying of the old standards of business integrity, but also it has been followed by a rapid giving way of high idealism in social life. The epidemic of divorce in high or fashionable metropolitan life, against which the blind leaders of the blind, who always imagine that if you place a plaster on an eating sore so that it is no longer visible to the casual observer you have cured the evil, have been so loud in their denunciation, is but one of the least sinister and ominous symptoms of spiritual decadence that has complemented the moral criminality of the high financiers of Wall street. Divorce may or may not be an evil. There are many times when in our opinion the highest interests of morality and those of the individual and the State are conserved by the granting of divorces, as when love between two persons is dead and the children born could no longer be the fruit of love, or when one of the parties is addicted to drink, so that in all probability the children born as a result of the marriage would be cursed ere they saw the light of day and prove a curse to society in general. But the loose views held by many as to the marriage tie, the want of any true regard for the sacred character of this most holy relation which marks in so appalling a degree the high society of our metropolis just as the lack of business integrity marks high finance, is one of the most striking and ominous symptoms of a social decay which if not checked and overbalanced by a moral awakening, must ere long sound the doom of national greatness.

Now in opposition to this moral decadence which is so strikingly suggestive of the ethical obtuseness of our Wall-street financiers in their business dealings, we have the splendid moral idealism that dominates the character of the central figure and is the key-note of the volume,—a moral idealism that is as spiritually invigorating and helpfully suggestive as is the pure air of the Rocky Mountains invigorating and health-giving to the tired, exhausted and physically enervated invalid who seeks relief from the death-dealing, feverish excitement and worry of the great centers.

The story opens in Maryland in spring. The peach, cherry and plum-trees are in the glory of full bloom. The marsh-lands are

affame with the blossoming azaleas. The air is laden with delicious perfume. The tale opens at the palatial Southern country home of Judge Colton, an old-time gentleman of the South who has long since passed the meridian ilne of life. His second wife, a young woman half his age, and her little son Phil, a lad of five years, welcome Gregg, the famous Southern painter who has been commissioned to execute a picture of the young wife, who is one of the fairest daughters of Maryland and a young woman as fine, genuine and transparently sincere as she is beautiful. Judge Colton welcomes the painter as a friend and son might be welcomed and leaves him to paint the picture of the wife while he journeys forth to attend circuit court for a period of a month.

The painting of this picture occupies a month of such delight to the artist and the young wife as neither have before known. Yet there is no guile in their happy camaraderie. As loving brother and sister, they joy in each other's society, and being high-minded, neither allows even a momentary illicit thought to sully the soul. The Judge returns. His suspicions are aroused. Unworthy thoughts crowd upon his mind, and ungracious words fly from his lips, which, though he later apologizes for them, cut into the heart of the painter and stun the young wife. Her humiliation and bitter resentment mingle with her consciousness of having been cruelly wronged. In her bitterness of soul she suddenly sees the truth,—that she has unconsciously learned to love the handsome young painter.

After retiring to his room, Gregg repairs to the attic to take a last look at the portrait. The moon is shining through the window. The warm lights have left the picture and the face is sad and appealing. Suddenly the wife enters and pours out her soul to the young man. She entrusts her future to him, and the confidence she reposes in him awakens and strengthens a nobility that had begun to waver before the temptation. Gregg tells the wife that he must have a night to consider all that she has said. Before morning he leaves the home and journeys northward.

The next ten years are spent in Europe where he achieves great fame and during which time he throws his whole life energy into his work. Very beautiful is the character of this hero of the work who cherishes the ideal of the beautiful woman and is true

to the best that is in him. At length he hears that Judge Colton is dead. Then he determines to return to Maryland and find this wonderful woman who has so profoundly influenced his life. Returning, however, he finds that a short time before she too has died and the old home has been destroyed by fire.

Fifteen years are subsequently spent in New York. During all this time Gregg is faithful to the memory of the beautiful woman whose picture he painted during the brightest moments of his life. By chance the picture comes again into his hands, and here it is seen by one of the artist's callers, a young man who is none other than Philip, the son of Judge and Mrs. Colton, who twenty-five years before, as a bright-eyed little boy, had played beside the mother's feet day by day while the artist painted the portrait. A strong friendship springs up between the artist and the youth. The latter is now the head of a large brokerage establishment in Wall street.

This brings us to the second romance in the book,—the romance of Philip Colton and Madeleine Eggleston; a beautiful love story in which the baleful influence of Wall-street high finance is vividly shown. At the critical moment, however, when the young man faces the forks in the road, he is saved from the stain of dishonor and dishonesty by the high idealism of the artist and the magic of the memory of his dead mother. It is here that we find some of the finest lines and noblest thoughts that have graced the pages of recent romances. Darkness and apparent defeat follow young Colton's determination to be true to his higher self, as is so often the case under present business conditions. The gloom, however, does not settle over his life nor is there the long night-time before him as was the case with his friend.

This is a novel that it is a pleasure to recommend. It is a noble book, as pure and uplifting as it is beautiful and strong in human interest. It is one of the novels that readers of *THE ARENA* should place in their libraries.

Magda, Queen of Sheba. Translated from the original Gheze, the dead language of Ethiopia, by Hugues Le Roux and into English by Mrs. John Van Vorst. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 196. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

This is far more than the literary curiosity

of the season. It is a translation from the ancient Gheze, the dead language of Ethiopia, of one of the great sacred works of the Abyssinians,—a work whose authorship is lost in the dim and all but forgotten past; an early creation like the poems of Homer. In it the author has woven into a quaint, beautiful, and at times highly poetic narrative the legend which the Ethiopians believed was handed down from father to son, from priest to priest, from the days when the Queen Magda of Sheba left her Ethiopian home and journeyed to Jerusalem to learn of the wisdom of Solomon.

The manuscript has been carefully treasured from generation to generation by the royal heads of the Abyssinian dynasty; but in spite of all their care it has been lost on more than one occasion, notably when the English defeated the Abyssinians and plundered the king's house of its literary wealth. This work at that time was found under the head of the monarch, who had committed suicide. It was taken to the British Museum, but when it was found that the English could not hope for friendship with Abyssinia without the return of the sacred volume, it was sent back to the King. Again it disappeared, but this time was abstracted by some members of the priesthood, who feared that it might be again lost. It was finally rescued and translated into French by M. Hugues Le Roux.

The work is written in a naive, simple and interesting style, but considering its antiquity and the fact that it comes from a people whom we have been accustomed to regard as innocent of learning, it possesses a peculiar interest. The story deals with the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. She is represented as remaining several months in Jerusalem as the honored guest of the great King, during which time he instructed her in statecraft and converted her from sun worship to a belief in Israel's God. Incidentally the King made love to the Queen, who however clung to the higher morality that marked the sun-worshipping Ethiopians, and it was only by unworthy deception and craft that Solomon was able to overcome the resistance of the Queen and accomplish his purpose. The son of Solomon and the Queen grew to manhood the image of Solomon's father David. When twenty years of age he visited Jerusalem, where the King, after vainly trying to induce him to remain

in Judea as heir apparent, crowned him King of Ethiopia and sent him forth accompanied by the heads of the chief families of Judea to be his companions and to help build up a new Israel in Ethiopia. The young David, as Solomon had christened his son, established a great dynasty, from which the present Emperor of Abyssinia believes himself to be descended.

Aunt Jane of Kentucky. By Eliza Calvert Hall. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 284. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

A NEW edition of this fine and natural story has just appeared and will bring pleasure to many readers who have not before become acquainted with *Aunt Jane of Kentucky*. Like the late W. H. H. Murray's *John Norton's Christmas*, this beautiful picture of the simple life will live in the heart of the reader. It deals with an elderly Kentucky woman living in the rural regions and reflecting her bright and cheery reminiscences of days gone by a vivid picture of the life of the simple farming community as found fifty years ago.

One thing strikes us strangely, however, and we think it cannot fail to similarly affect any person who has lived in Kentucky or other Southern states, and that is the absolute absence of the negro from the canvas on which Aunt Jane's pictures of the old days are painted. If the scenes had been laid in southern Illinois or Indiana, with slight variations in the descriptions of the flowers and vegetation, the pictures here presented would be almost perfect; but the absence of the negro in the old-time pictures of Kentucky life is a striking omission that takes materially from the sense of reality. Otherwise, aside from this, however, the book is deserving of very special notice. In the hands of a writer with a pauper's imagination, it would be dull and uninteresting, but Mrs. Hall has a poet's eye and heart and she has given us a series of pen-pictures rich in refined humor, in poetry, philosophy and above all in human interest. Here are unfolded in the wonderful personal recollections of a sweet-souled elderly woman who dwells in the garden of memory, a succession of graphic scenes of other days. The past of a little rural community rises as a dream before the reader's mental vision. No, not as a dream, but as a wonderful living reality,

as sectional views or glimpses of a life that was lived a half a century ago. The humor is pure and delightful. It appeals so irresistibly to our sense of the ridiculous as to call forth merry laughter from the most solemn ones. Its philosophy is equally fine, while the descriptions of nature and the strong human interest make the book one of the few works of fiction dealing with simple American rural life that the discriminating will wish to give a place on the shelves of their libraries set apart for favorite fiction.

The Apple of Discord. By Earle Ashley Walcott. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 438. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company.

THIS story ought to satisfy the most exacting dime-novel reader who cares more for a rapid succession of improbable and impossible adventures than for any attempt at literary merit or fair and truthful pictures of men and women and the times with which the story pretends to deal. It is supposed to be a tale of the time of Dennis Kearney and the "sand-lotters" of San Francisco, but the author's disregard for historic dates in matters vital in the discussion of social unrest is one of several grave faults that make his work worse than valueless for men and women who are looking for something true, earnest and helpful in books that engage their attention. Here, for example, the author insists on confusing the anarchists and socialists and using their views as interchangeable. There was a time, not a generation ago, when such stupidity might have been attributed to ignorance on the part of a writer, but that day has long since passed and the persistence in classifying as one two schools of thought that are as far apart as the zenith and nadir, and the presenting of a set of bloodthirsty, irresponsible and criminal hoodlums as representatives of socialistic theories, is unworthy of a modern writer or publisher. For a long time the reactionaries and upholders of privilege and class-rule have striven to poison the minds of the American people against socialists and reformers, by representing them as advocating lawless acts and dominated by lust for plunder, while loading them with offensive epithets. The growing intelligence of the people, however, is fast rendering such disreputable work innocuous, and we regret to see an American novelist at

this late date describing hoodlum mobs and an inflamed and infuriated populace as representatives of the followers of Karl Marx on the one hand and Proudhon on the other. The Chinese question is introduced into the novel and there is a rather strained attempt at a love story, but the book is not, we think, worth the reading, even if considered merely as an improbable romance.

The Wagnerian Romances. By Gertrude Hall. Cloth. Pp. 414. Price, \$1.50 net. Postage 15 cents. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS volume will be greatly enjoyed by many students and lovers of Wagner, as here is given a prose outline or rendition of all the great music dramas of Richard Wagner, described directly and exclusively from Wagner's score and interpretation. It is not, as the author observes, "a critique or a commentary," but rather "a presentation, picture, narrative." She observes that our American translations of the German librettos are "painfully inadequate"; and to give the well-rounded story in readable prose, together with more or less helpful suggestions has been the guiding motive of the author.

The work as a whole is satisfactory, though one wishes at times that the poetic insight of the author might have been somewhat keener. Wagner was a true poet as well as a profound philosopher, and he who essays luminously to present the thought of such a master must needs possess a poet's imagination. The author of this work possesses this imaginative power in a measurable degree, but it seems to us that she fails at times to read the deepest meaning into Wagner's lines. Nevertheless the work is deeply interesting and will prove a real help and source of much pleasure to lovers of Wagner's great masterpieces.

Here we have told in a comprehensive and pleasing manner the story of "Parsifal," "The Ring of the Nibelung," "The Mastersingers of Nuremberg," "Tristan and Isolde," "Lohengrin," "Tannhäuser," and "The Flying Dutchman."

The work is well written and cannot fail to prove of great interest even to those unfamiliar with the work of Wagner, but who feel the charm exerted by the master legends of ancient peoples.

A Lost Leader. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Cloth. Pp. 296. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

CERTAINLY we have no more industrious novelist than Mr. Oppenheim and none whose work is more uniformly good, considering the vast amount which he produces. The reader can always take up one of his romances secure in the feeling that though his credulity may at times be taxed, his interest will be held from the opening lines to the closing page.

The present volume is no exception to the rule. Like most of the author's novels, it deals with political and social life in England, and intrigue and personal ambition play a large part in the lives of the principal characters. The hero is a man of very superior character who through the accidental commission of a crime has been led to give up politics at a time when a brilliant future as leader of the Liberal party was opening before him and to seek seclusion on an estate in the country. Here he finds at least a measure of peace. But the Liberal leaders feel that he is needed and every effort is made to induce him to reënter public life. All other means failing, an extremely beautiful and talented woman, the Duchess of Lenchester, attempts to win him from his resolve. For a time it seems as if she would succeed, not because of his ambition, but because of the personal element which has become dominant in their relations. The specter of the past, however, is constantly confronting him, coming between him and his public career, between him and the woman he loves. Then comes a difference with his party which leads to his withdrawal. Many exciting events follow, and finally he is prevailed upon again to return and form a cabinet. The jealousy of an unscrupulous and ambitious member of the party very nearly causes a tragic ending to the story; but, as is the case with all Mr. Oppenheim's novels, the clouds are dispelled by sunshine in the closing pages.

As we have had occasion to remark before, it is greatly to be regretted that a man of Mr. Oppenheim's marked ability should not turn his attention to more serious work than has come from his pen of late.

AMY C. RICH.

The Heart Line. By Gelett Burgess. Illus-

trated. Cloth. Pp. 584. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

NOTHING that has come from the pen of Mr. Burgess has equaled his latest romance, *The Heart Line*. It is a powerful and well written story with a strong human interest running through it. Incidentally it exposes the methods of the fake fortune-tellers and so-called spiritualistic mediums, and gives a luminous and startling picture of the hollow, artificial and unwholesome life of the fast set of San Francisco.

Three women in the work stand out in bold relief: Mrs. Page, frivolous, cynical, worldly; Fancy Gray, a "drifter," beautiful, lovable, generous-hearted, hungering for affection, a victim of present-day social and economic conditions; and Clytie Payson, whose character is in sharp contrast to that of the other two,—a pure-hearted, high-minded girl, cherishing tenderly her high ideals and waiting hopefully for their fulfillment.

The story is concerned with the gradual unfoldment of the character of Francis Granthope, a young palmist who has become involved in the machinations of a band of fake spiritualists who are operating in San Francisco. He comes in contact with Clytie Payson, and henceforth his mental attitude begins to change, until at last all the latent nobility in his character asserts itself.

The book is bright and witty, but it is also a vividly realistic picture of some of the less attractive phases of modern city life, and shows most clearly how barren and unsatisfied are the lives of those who feverishly pursue ephemeral sensual pleasures.

AMY C. RICH.

A Fountain Sealed. By Anne Douglass Sedgwick. Cloth. Pp. 406. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

CONSIDERED from a literary point-of-view this is one of the very best novels of the season. At a time when the country is literally flooded with fiction that bears all the marks of haste in composition and immaturity in thought, it is a delight to read a story so finished in style and in which the author's imaginative power is sufficiently great to win and hold the attention of the reader in a novel innocent of plot and free from melodramatic scenes. Yet

for many readers the ending of this romance will prove distinctly disappointing, and for those who strive to get at the ethical bearing of fiction in order to measure its potential value, where value is most important, because of its subtle influence on the character of the reader, this novel will prove unsatisfactory; for from first to last the author strives to win the interest and affection of her readers for a woman whose life is at variance with the kind of character the novelist would have us believe her heroine to possess, while the studie.) attempt to belittle and question the motives of the father and daughter, who strove to help reform society and to aid the unfortunates, sounds a false note at every turn.

The glorified heroine is a woman who marries a man of means in New York. Into the home come children and it seems there is much—very, very much—to win and hold the wife's love and affection. But she loves a society life and her husband is earnestly striving to further certain reforms and to better the condition of the miserables of society. This in no wise appeals to the self-centered, society-loving wife, nor do her little tender children, who so need a mother's watchful loving care, prove so strong a magnet as the pleasures of Old-World society life that beckons this strange and unnatural wife and mother. She deserts her husband and family and appears to live a happy life in England, far from the more strenuous life of her own country.

In passing it may be said that the author of this novel, though an American, elects to make England her home.

The children have to put up with the annual visits of the mother, which, though somewhat prolonged, are only visits. When the father dies the mother returns and the daughter, who loved her father and who is actively engaged in various noble works, is represented as a cold, calculating and vain-glorious hypocrite; while the unnatural mother who has deserted her husband and family when the little ones most needed a mother's care, is represented as the embodiment of a well-nigh perfect woman.

Now the student of life as it is knows that one might as well expect figs from thistles as that the self-centered seeker after personal satisfaction, who elects to live in a foreign land rather than do her part as wife and mother, would be the kind of woman the

author strives to represent the heroine as being. It is this false note and the attempt to cast opprobrium on the ones who are actively doing things to help the unfortunate victims of social injustice that make this novel unsatisfactory from an ethical viewpoint.

The Emancipation of Miss Susana. By Margaret Hannis. Cloth. Pp. 74. Price, 40 cents, net, New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is a curious and fascinating little story, revealing how a comely spinster who was weary of being "unattached," conceives a plan for making her relatives and friends believe she has been loved and married. The phantom husband and his supposed demise are followed by a surprising sequel in which the young woman finds all she has so yearned for in the person of a handsome young doctor.

Susan Clegg and a Man in the House. By Anne Warner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 280. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

ANNE WARNER, who created such a distinctly popular success in her homely humorous character of Susan Clegg, has just written a third work in which the unique Susan appears as the dominating figure; and what is more remarkable, the last work, *Susan Clegg and a Man in the House*, has all the vivacity and freshness that marked *Susan Clegg and Her Friend Mrs. Lathrop*. This is a rare achievement in volumes of homely humor. In the present book Miss Clegg has decided to take a boarder, a young man who is the editor of a new weekly paper. This boarder and his novel ideas are the subject of many of Susan's voluble dissertations when visiting her friend Mrs. Lathrop. There are other subjects, however, that are presented in a manner to delight all persons who find pleasure in the peculiar humor of characters like Susan Clegg. Perhaps the best thing in the book is Susan's description of her experience as alternate delegate to a woman's rights convention. It is one of the best pieces of humorous descriptive writing to be found in the Susan Clegg books. We do not think, however, that this work equals *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary* by the same author, but it is the best of the Susan Clegg stories.

The Lion's Share. By Octave Thanet. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 376. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is without question one of the most ingenious and well-written mystery stories of the season. In plot and variety of incident it equals Anna Katherine Green's best romances, while in literary style and character drawing it far surpasses the work of the famous author of *The Leavenworth Case*.

The trail leads from Massachusetts to California, from leading fashionable hotels to the depths of San Francisco's Chinatown. A sensational hold-up on a railroad train, the kidnapping of a prominent railroad magnate, and the liberal introduction of bombs, bloodshed and underground dungeons, all contribute to make up one of the most exciting stories of the year.

The book is bright, witty and fascinating, yet it cannot be said that its moral atmosphere is particularly uplifting. The conducting of the reader into an atmosphere of crime may be justifiable under certain conditions, where some important lesson is to be impressed, but not otherwise. *The Lion's Share* glosses over and condones, not so much directly as by implication, acts on the part of our high financiers which should be unsparingly condemned.

AMY C. RICH.

The Welding. By Lafayette McLaws. Cloth. Pp. 360. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

The Welding is an interesting story, but its chief value is found in its faithful study of the life and times of the most critical days in the history of our Republic, after it became a nation of influence. Especially are the studies of Southern life and of the political world in Washington during the fifties worthy of the careful perusal of persons interested in the history of this period, as here we have a series of distinctive pictures, evincing careful study and conscientious regard for the verities of history in the hands of a writer of exceptionally broad and markedly judicial spirit,—pictures that sometimes are very revealing as giving all sides of Southern life before the war, as in the description of the slave auction in Savannah; the typically brutal slave-master; the no less typical

Southern gentlemen of broad and humane instincts; the men who worked the underground railways, and the men who hunted them out of the South. Here also are graphic pen-pictures of the stormy days so prophetic of the coming storm in Washington, when Calhoun, Clay and Webster were closing their illustrious careers and one by one were taking their exit from the stage of life. Here the reader is introduced to almost all the great characters in the political life of the America of the fifties. He is taken into Congress and hears the last memorable speech written by Calhoun, who, however, was unable to deliver it, and Webster's bid for Southern favor which cost him the admiration of the North. Here, too, he is introduced to Stephens and Toombs, to Henry Clay and other notables of the hour.

Events move rapidly. The children who figure conspicuously in the Georgia homes in the opening chapters, grow to early maturity, when the storm breaks in the horrors of the worst civil war known in the history of the world. And as was the case with the nation, so with the characters in the story. They are found arrayed against each other during the thrilling events which precede Appomattox and the assassination of President Lincoln in Washington.

The story is a romance of love in which moral conviction and sturdy acts on the part of brave young men and women who are honestly holding views diametrically opposed to each other are presented in such a manner as to enable the reader to appreciate their viewpoints and understand even when he cannot applaud their sentiments.

Only in rare instances do we see the bias of the author. This is notably the case in the passages descriptive of Mr. Garrison and Charles Sumner. Otherwise the book is broad, impartial and judicial throughout,—such a work as could not have been written at an earlier date, and few men could treat the subject as broadly as has this brilliant Southern woman.

As a novelist Lafayette McLaws has many superiors in American fiction; that is, many people who can make their characters more vital and convincing, but we know of no historical romance that presents so fine or true a picture of life in the South and in the national Capital from forty-nine to sixty-five as is given in *The Welding*.

PROFESSOR PFLEIDERER'S LUMINOUS EXPOSITION OF HIGHER CRITICISM.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

FROM time to time as civilization advances and the mental vision of man is broadened and extended, scientific discoveries render untenable the longer belief in the literal meaning of texts, passages and stories hitherto regarded as sacred and that were unquestioningly accepted in a more ignorant and credulous age. Now the newer discoveries do not affect the great fundamental ethical ideals or spiritual concepts that are the vital breath of true religion. They are at war against the letter that so often has killed the spirit—the letter that men are too prone to substitute for the spirit. But this fact is usually overlooked by the church, which instead of asking whether the new theory or discovery be true, instantly denounces those who stand for the scientific revelation or new truth. The conventional religious world has usually held to the dictum of “authority for truth” rather than “truth for authority.” To cite a typical example of many that will occur to intelligent readers, we mention the reception of the Copernican theory. It, like the teachings of Galileo, was denounced by the Roman Church as false, heretical and not to be entertained. Even the great Protestant leader, Melancthon, a fine scholar who was usually very broad and tolerant in spirit, joined in this blind and ignorant hue and cry. Melancthon, as Professor Pfeiderer points out, held that the teaching of Copernicus was “gross error and demanded its suppression by the superior authorities. He recognized its contradiction of the biblical report of Creation and the biblical world-picture, with all the far-reaching consequences more keenly than do the later theologians, who have learned to accept the Copernican view of the world in

the main, but close their eyes to the separate logical consequences.”

The same unreasoning hostility was manifested toward the evolutionary theory of the advance of life, and then, as in the earlier day, all great religious thinkers who strove to reconcile the larger scientific view with the fundamentals of religious truth were loudly denounced by those who did not dare to fearlessly use the God-given gift of reason. Who does not remember how Professor Drummond only a few years ago was criticized by the upholders of conventional religious thought for his luminous lectures on the ascent of life?

But always as humanity advances the day comes when the brave and fearless thinker who stands uncovered in the presence of truth, wherever found and who dares to think honestly, is found to be the true prophet and leader. Slowly the church surrenders the literal text to which it has attached far too much significance, and then it is seen that the spirit that was symbolized in the myth, wonder-story or narrative is just as true as ever and its real meaning is more clearly apprehended. Its divine significance is beheld to be something larger, grander and more vital than was conceivable so long as the fundamental truth was shrouded in parable, fable, myth or wonder-story, however essential these were to rivet the attention of a less discerning age.

What has been true of the scientific discoveries that have marked the advance of civilization since Europe emerged from the night of the Dark Ages is equally true of the revelations in regard to the world-religions, including Christianity, that have been made during the past century. Thus it has been discovered that some of the oldest known authentic manuscripts of books of our New Testament do not contain passages found in later copies. An example of this

*“Religion and the Historic Faiths.” By Otto Pfeiderer, D.D. Translated from the German by Daniel A. Huebner. Cloth. Pp. 292. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: B. W. Huebner.

kind will be found by the reader who will turn in the Revised Version of the New Testament to the beautiful description given in the Gospel of John of the treatment by Jesus taken in sin. This description is placed in brackets in the Revised translation, indicating that it is not in the old manuscripts. Now while it is probable that the event occurred as described, because it is in perfect keeping with the life and character of Jesus, it was not in the earlier work, or was omitted from some copies earlier than those which contained it. Such discoveries as this certainly affect the idea of the verbal inspiration of the Bible.

Again modern criticism, guided by the lamp of truth for authority, fearlessly studies and searchingly investigates not only the wonder-stories of the Old and New Testaments and the varying reports of different writers and supposed eye-witnesses of events, but it studies other great religions and compares the wonderful myths that are so similar in various sacred works and so like many of the wonder-stories of our Bible, in order that the truth may be revealed and the enlightened man may have a solid foundation on which to stand and a valid reason for the faith that is within him.

Indeed turning from the Bible to the world of scientific research, we find that "what Copernicus" had begun, physics and mathematics continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by their habit of exact, logical and causal thinking." And the continued revelations that have resulted since the dawn of the scientific era have so broadened the intellectual vision of civilization, so increased the knowledge of the world, that it is no longer possible for the great army of deeply intelligent and thoughtful people to hold many views that were considered a part of the essential Christian dogmas in earlier days.

The comparative studies of the great religions of the world have also exerted a decidedly modifying effect on the scholarship of our time. So it has come to pass that tens of thousands of intelligent men and women have come to see and understand that a more liberal interpretation of religious thought is imperatively demanded in order to bulwark the eternal and vital truths of true religion; and these thinkers are frankly facing the problems, reverently but fearlessly.

We have reached that pass in the history

of Christian thought when one of two courses is demanded; either we must adopt the ostrich policy—the hiding of the head in the sand, the arbitrary forbidding of church members to search for the truth, the pulling down of the blinds before the windows of reason, and the attempting to darken the mind by dogmatic declarations, such as was resorted to by the church when Galileo proclaimed a truth that the church insisted ran counter to the teachings of the Bible; or we must frankly face the problem raised and under the standard of "truth for authority" strive reverently but with heart actuated solely by a passion for the truth, to arrive at her blessed goal and to reconcile the fundamentals of religion with the facts of history and the revelations of God's great book of Nature.

The man of faith knows that truth is one. He knows that the common Father has made man a reasonable being for the purpose of exercising his priceless gift, and he believes he will be held accountable if he hides the light of reason beneath the bushel of fear. He believes that religion has nothing to fear from reverent yet fearless searching after truth, and he believes, furthermore, that the thinking world has reached that point when unless those positions that are palpably untenable are abandoned, millions of souls will drift into the sea of agnosticism or infidelity. As a servant of God he feels bound to follow the old injunction, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward."

The first of these courses has been recently taken by the Pope of Rome, when he forbade all priests and those studying for the priesthood together with all good Catholics, to read the great works of even liberal Catholic scholars that ran counter to his idea of the truth. He has placed the great church of which he is the head in a position very similar to that occupied when it compelled Galileo to recant. He has placed the ban on honest investigation. He has adopted the ostrich policy.

On the other hand, Professor Pfeiderer stands at the head of the great liberal evangelical theological movement which is marching forward under the standard of "truth for authority." His two masterly works, *Christian Origins and Religion and the Historic Faiths*, give in clear, concise manner the reason and the necessity for the forward movement. He shows why it is imperative

that the church should bravely accept the results which criticism, scholarship and modern research have demonstrated to be the truth; and while doing so he shows that in no way have the vital or basic truths of religion been affected.

II.

In reviewing Professor Pfeiderer's *Christian Origins* over a year ago, we stated that in our judgment it was the most important religious work that had appeared during the year, and we feel the same criticism is true in regard to his new book, *Religion and the Historic Faiths*. No more profoundly religious work has appeared in years, yet it is marked by that splendid courage that speaks of genuine faith, united with the respect for the assured results of science and critical research that marks the deeply thoughtful man who places truth above superstitious fear, prejudice and dogma of earlier and less fortunate ages than our own.

Properly speaking, the work falls into two divisions. The first is concerned with religion in its various aspects, and the second is a critical examination of the world's great historic faiths, in which the leading tenets and the good of each, and the part they have played in the historic development of man and society, are luminously set forth.

In the first four chapters Professor Pfeiderer considers "The Essence of Religion," "Religion and Ethics," "Religion and Science," and "The Beginnings of Religion." He finds religion to be the bond that attaches or binds the aspiring mind to Deity or the world-governing Power. It "seeks to put our hearts into right relation to God, and therewith to give us the right view-point for judgment of the world and of life according to its relation to our emotion and volition."

Religion is the result of the heart hunger of man, the soul's ceaseless hunger for harmony or union with the Over-Soul. "The manifold desires and fears of the natural man constitute his slavery, making him unfree and unhappy." The driving-force and the law of religious development, "from the naive beginnings of primitive religion up to the highest height of a religion of the spirit," are found in the restless striving to find God and reach peace in His love. Professor Pfeiderer makes an able argument in behalf of religion and closes with these strong words:

"From the undeniable fact, that in the

lower stages of religion, the fulfillment of wishes, mainly sensual and selfish, is sought for by prayers and sacrifices, Feuerbach drew the conclusion that religion altogether was nothing more than a product of the selfish heart and the dreaming fancy; the gods were 'wishing-beings,' whom man invented to deceive himself as to his own weakness. If that be true, how explain the riddle that a simple deception persisted among all peoples during thousands of years? And that a construction of unreason, of the diseased egoistic heart, has proved to be the most effective means of conquering natural egoism, of basing and upholding reasonable customs, order and culture, in short, has proved to be the principal means of moral education of humanity, as the history of religion indisputably teaches? If it be true here, too, that 'by their fruits ye shall know them,' then by their reasonable effects we may draw the justified conclusion that according to its innermost essence (naturally not according to its constantly imperfect forms of manifestation) religion is not an illusion or deception, but highest truth,—and its origin is not to be found in the unreason of the selfish heart, but must be sought in reason itself, the divine tendency of our race, which contains our capacity and destiny to rise above and beyond nature.

"From the time of Plato and Aristotle, all earnest thinkers have agreed that the idea of God belongs of necessity to our reason."

The ideal and the reality that face man are more or less in antagonism. Indeed, "the idea of what ought to be is never one with what actually is, but, to a certain extent, always bears the relation of opposition and negation to present reality. So it seems that practical reason, whose guiding star is the ideal of the good, stands in irreconcilable conflict with theoretical reason, which is occupied with the truth of being. . . . For that very cause, if reason does not wish to give itself up, it cannot do other than elevate itself above the world to a last and highest unity, in which all contradictions, even that of the true and the good, are unified,—to God.

"Yes, God is the word which solves all world-riddles, even the most difficult, which lies in that contradiction of is and ought."

He argues that it is a divine impulse of the spirit that urges us to seek God; an irresistible desire to "rise above all finite contradictions to the Supreme unity, which is the

cause of all that is and the goal of all that ought to be." And he continues:

"If it be a divine impulse of the spirit which urges us to seek God, then it is a divine power of the spirit which will enable us to find him—find him so far at least as it is possible for children of Time to grasp the eternal Spirit; ever more and more closely, ever shrouded in a symbol, ever in the reflected picture of the finite, ever in some dark riddle of a mysterious secret."

This constant seeking God and the clearer and higher concepts of Him attained as man advances, in no wise shake the belief in Deity for the thinker. Indeed, our author holds that:

"The belief in God proves its truth by helping man to the recognition of his destiny in the world and to the fulfillment thereof. But it not only helps to solve problems, it is itself—being the highest synthesis, the unity of the deepest contradictions—the deepest problem offered to man, with which he has struggled through thousands of years of history and will have to struggle in the future. It is determined of God 'that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he is not far from each one of us. For in him we live, and move and have our being. . . .'"

The ancient religions presented two great eas of God. In one Deity transcended all things and thus was without the universe. The other held that he was the soul of the living cosmos, and Christianity, our author finds, "seeks to unite into a unity in itself the opposing forms of earlier religions; therein lies its great superiority of abundance and strength of religious truth. . . . Its history is for that reason so much richer, as its nature is more complicated than in any other religion; it has its contemplative thinkers, its world-weary mystics, its prophets of an ideal future and its battling heroes and men of world-governing energy—each single character is fundamentally different from the others, and yet *all* are Christians, united by the common spirit of the religion of 'God-humanity,' overruling all individual characteristics."

In the chapter on "Religion and Ethics" we find much deep thought that will appeal to reflective minds. Not he who says, "Lord, Lord"; not he who makes long prayers and who is a stickler for rite and dogma; but he whoerigeth the will of the Father is the truly l iduous man.

"One may have a mass of ideas about God, perhaps carry a whole system of church doctrines about in his head, and yet be an entirely irreligious person, and remain so as long as those ideas are merely matter of knowledge and find no echo in the will, so long as they do not release religious feelings. The presence of religious feeling is an evidence that a man does not only know about God, but that he is moved by it as to his will and follows its decisions; that he has God not only in his head, but also in his heart. 'Would you have him as your own, then feel the God you think.'"

Service of God expresses itself in two ways: "Partly in unmediated relation to God as service of God in the narrower (cultish) sense, partly in mediate relation, through the moral action among men and things of the world which correspond with the divine will.

"Naturally there can be no such thing as a direct action upon God in the strict sense of the word, hence the activities of the cult-service of God have but a symbolic meaning; they are the symbolic-representative expression of the inner tendency of the will to God, the immediate expression of the pious feelings and, at the same time, the means of stimulating, energizing and imparting those feelings. The real service of God is actually only moral activity in the world, in so far as the pious soul regards it as the fulfillment of tasks set him by God, as a service for the cause of God, for the realization of the divine purposes in the world."

Whenever the cultish runs counter to the "moral purposes of society," "instead of being the most powerful motive of morality, religion becomes its gravest obstacle.

"The ultimate source of this evil lies in the childish, senseless mode of thought of primitive religion, which, without further ado, places the relation to God on a level with the relation to a powerful man,—that is, ascribes to him a selfish will, peculiar needs and self-seeking wishes; whereas the divine will is perfectly good, so that its object is absolutely one with the general highest good. The same lowering of God to the finite is also the source of the conflicts between religious ideas and profane knowledge; for if God is conceived as an individual Being, acting alongside of others, differing from other finite beings merely in degree of power, then peculiar finite activities will be ascribed

to Him which collide with those of other finite causes, hence breaking through and nullifying the causal connection of the whole of the world-order; whereas, in reality, God is the infinite power and wisdom: He is the eternal basis of the reasonable order of the world and the guarantee of the knowledge of it for our thinking."

Richly worth the reading is the chapter of "Religion and Science." Our author points out a fact very important to be remembered when he observes that:

"Religious ideas may be subjected to the most thorough-going changes, and yet religion may remain essentially the fundamental of the soul. From which, it follows, that conflicts between profane knowledge and the traditional religious ideas raise no question of the right of religion itself, but they are merely indications that the former mode of thought is no longer the adequate form for the religious life and therefore stands in need of more or less emendation or renovation."

He then traces the revolutions in the world's thought, due to the march of physical science and the rise of the modern critical method in examining things past as well as those of the present.

"The nineteenth century came with the theory of evolution, which Lamarck prepared and Darwin carried out to its victorious completion, according to which all higher species of earthly living beings, including men, developed from certain simple ground-forms through gradual and naturally-conditioned changes. But what becomes of the Biblical Paradise? of the Creation? of the perfect condition of man at the beginning? Instead of such a peaceful idyll there is put a semi-animal beginning of our race with all the horrors of the hard struggle for existence, with the slow and laborious elevation to human culture; nevertheless it is a rise from the depths of animal nature to spiritual freedom, and, in the end, that is a more sublime thought than the church-doctrine of a fall from some mythical height to an abysmal depth of depravity.

"For the science of history, the thought of evolution also became important. In history, man learned to regard more closely the gradual becoming of the higher out of the lower, without any leaps or abrupt new-beginnings; in the stead of divine miraculous deeds, there entered the natural relation of the doings of individuals under the condition-

ing influences of the social conditions of the time and their environment. It was recognized that the greatest heroes and innovating spirits were always children of their period and in some measure hemmed by its limitations, that everything temporal was temporally limited and relative. These principles were then applied to biblical history and led to a complete overturning of traditional views. The examination of the biblical writings after the critical method usually applied to profane writings was begun and their divergencies and partial contradictions in the separate traditions as well as in the total conception of Christianity was regarded. Whatever was human and conditioned by the history of the time in the utterances and teachings of the biblical authors, was in all places so clear, that the faith in the infallibility and direct divine inspiration of the words of the Bible could no longer be maintained. Finally the view widened from the biblical field to that of the whole history of religion. Here the most remarkable parallels between biblical and heathen legends soon became apparent,—parallels which partly seemed to point to a dependence of the former on the latter. For instance, the similarities existing between the biblical and the Babylon Creation and Flood stories, between the laws of Moses and those of Hammurabi, between the Jewish and the Persian doctrines of angels and devils, of resurrection and world-judgment, between the evangelic and the Buddhistic miracle-legends. Therewith the critical analysis of the traditional doctrines of faith, which had begun with externals (creation and world-picture), finally arrived at the central point: even the doctrines of Christ and of salvation were questioned, disrobed at least of their unique miraculous character, in place of which here, too, conditioning by time and history were substituted."

Next the author considers the idea that science and religion should ignore each other concluding with these observations:

"The compromise between religion and science, on the basis of a mutual ignoring and indulgence, is deceptive and untenable, however acceptable it may seem to the superficial eye. Such cheap subterfuges will not stand permanently; they are merely pillows upon which the ease-loving and lazy-thinking seek to rest, hence they are not fitting for an earnest and honest science of religion. The

latter cannot thrust aside the task of seeking a positive recognition, respect and furtherance.

"The God-idea itself is the guarantee that it must be possible to find such a relation between the two, in so far as that idea involves the unity of world-cause and world-purpose, the final of all knowing and willing. Just as that idea for morals contains the deepest foundation and perfection of duty and right volition, so for science, it contains the final ground and the finishing goal of all knowledge of the world. That is the decisive point, concerning which there must be no misunderstanding. As has been said, the presupposition of science is the undeviating lawfulness of all the world phenomena and the steady evolution of all life in nature and history. Upon what is this presupposition of lawfulness based? On proofs of any sort? Not at all; it is the basis of all the proofs of inductive research and, therefore, cannot itself be proved. Its first beginning is a hypothesis of faith, a postulate of reason which would know the world in logically ordered thinking and, therefore, must necessarily assume that the world is a reasonably ordered whole, a lawful connection of being and becoming. What else is involved in this assumption of faith which reason necessarily makes? If the world is a law-abiding arrangement of interacting finite forces, the question arises at once: Whence comes this order? Inasmuch as it governs the multitudinous number of finite beings and powers, or joins them into a unity or cosmos, it cannot possibly have its origin in the many and the finite; it must rather be the product of a uniform cause which the multiplicity presupposes, one prime power underlying all finite powers as the infinite source of power or omnipotence; yet, at the same time, it must be a reasonable principle, otherwise there could not possibly be a reasonable order in its activity in the single powers: hence, underlying the reasonable, ordered multiplicity, there will be an omnipotent-creative reason which is the unity, the world-principle or God. Or if, instead of starting from the object of thought, we begin with the thinking subject himself, we arrive at the same result. Are the logical laws of our reason invented or made by ourselves? Found, yes, that is, raised into consciousness and set in conceptual formulæ, they have been, by thinking men, by philosophers like

Aristotle or Kant, men who have thought searchingly concerning human thinking itself; but certainly the logical laws of the human reason were not made by these thinkers, just as little as the arithmetical and geometrical laws were made by the mathematicians, or the physical laws by the physicists, who first discovered and formulated them. The laws of our thinking are not products of our thinking, but they are the presuppositions which alone make our thinking possible; as Kant says, they are the 'previously-given,' or a *priori*. Whence, then, originates this core of human thinking, common to us all and previously-given to all? A non-thinking cause would not explain it, and, therefore, there remains but the one assumption that it originates in a thinking which is presupposed by all human thinking and which is super-human, that same creative reason of God in which the lawful order of the external world of nature found its basis."

Of evolution and historical processes of culture, Professor Pfleiderer observes:

"Concerning the thought of evolution which governs the natural and historical sciences of to-day, it must be said that it does not stand in conflict with the religious belief in God, when it becomes clear what the conception of evolution really includes. All evolution strives to attain one goal and this, its purpose, which is one finally with the phenomenon, as Aristotle even said, is from the beginning the driving power and the governing law of the entire process. Now modern science has taught us to regard the total of life in nature, in its manifold forms and stages, as a connected and uniform evolution. Good. That only justifies us the more in asking after the purpose of this all-embracing evolution of life in nature, and of finding it in man, who is the objective-point and highest peak, being a child of nature, and yet more than nature, because he is a thinking being, a being with reason. Now we are reminded, naturally, that the beginning of humanity is not to be thought of as a sublime spirituality, but rather as a very low animal-like naturalness; that is very likely, for even to-day every child of man must commence with a similar modest beginning. But the conclusion therefrom is only this, that the natural man is not the final purpose; the evolution of life does not rest with him as such, but goes on, no longer as a process of nature, but as a historical process of culture"

"But what is the purpose of the ever-to-be-sought and partially-achieved goal of historical culture? It is the development of the reason-tendency of man into a real reasoning, moral personality; it is the becoming of the spiritual man, who conquers nature, of and about himself, making it serve as a means of the free spirit? If the last goal of all natural and historical development is spirit, in the formal and real sense of the word, must we not presuppose that the cause of the entire development was spirit, creative spirit, setting and realizing its purpose? Or is it thinkable that at the end there should be found something in the result which had not been present in some fashion in the cause? Can the spirit arise out of spiritless matter? That would be the greatest of the world-riddles. Hence, it may be properly said, that the law-abiding order and development of nature and history, this fundamental thought of science, does not exclude the belief in God, but rather demands it for its own foundation. Thus is the harmonization of science and religion made certain."

Religion and science should walk hand in hand. The former deals with the most stupendous and inspiring concepts known to earth,—the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the unity of life; harmony of the highest human aspirations with the great moral verities that find their supreme expression in God,—love, justice and truth. Science seeks to understand God's laws and find out the truths of life and the facts of human development. If religion is to continue its ostrich policy in the face of advancing knowledge, and childishly deny proved facts, as did the church in the time of Copernicus and Galileo, then there can be no peace or harmony between religion and science; nothing, indeed, but warfare, in which science must gain and religion lose, because of the votaries of the latter insisting on emphasizing the symbolism and pictures of childhood days instead of resting on the great fundamental truths behind them,—the verities that are essential—the spirit rather than the letter. With religion bravely facing every new problem and substituting the standard of truth for authority for authority for truth, she and science can move forward triumphantly.

"But a peace-compact between them is not all that is possible; they can and they should mutually help one another. Religion contains a regulative for science, in so far as it

protests against one-sided world-views, such as materialism, positivism, nihilism and illusionism, in which the facts of the spiritual, particularly of the moral-religious life, are deprived of part of their rights. Conversely, science serves as a regulative for religion; for with that which science has recognized to be undoubted truth concerning nature or history, the religious view of the world must place itself in harmony, and whatever therein contradicts the traditional ideas can not retain validity as actual objective truth. A double natured truth is an impossibility; that would be a self-contradiction of reason and a denial of the unity of God, who is the one cause of all truth.

"Religion, therefore, must abandon such traditional ideas as contradict the verified scientific knowledge of truth. In the course of history this has been done often enough, even though it was regretfully and reluctantly done. In the end, however, it was always manifest that religion lost nothing of its actual value by such concessions, but rather gained in spiritual depth and purity. For those ideas were no more than the impurities left over from the childhood period of the race; the sensual forms and the wrappings which survive from the nature religion are being consumed in the fire of scientific criticism, so that their spiritual content remains increasingly pure, and religion approaches more and more closely to the ideal—the worship of God in spirit and in truth. This end is served particularly by the widening of the angle of vision, so that it includes not merely a single positive religion but the whole history of religion. Naturally, a naïve piety at first is pained and disturbed even by that as we had occasion to see recently in the Babel-Bible controversy.

"But it is a fact that only he really knows one religion who knows more than one religion. Not only does the study of comparative religions make us tolerant in our attitude toward other religions, because it demonstrates that the divine logos distributed the seed-corns of the true and the good throughout the world among men, but it also teaches us to understand our own religion better because of the clearer differentiation between the essential and the accidental, the permanent and the temporary."

Then comes the old, old question that was asked when Copernicus demonstrated unsuspected facts in regard to the solar system,

and that has been asked by the fearful and the letter worshipers of all ages in the presence of a newly-revealed truth or a broader and grander extension of the limits of truth than the vision of a childhood age had conceived as possible: What becomes of religion? The Greeks asked this question when Socrates taught a nobler concept of God and life's duties and responsibilities than was impressed by the childhood myths of Athens and that was one of the chief charges brought against that master-thinker by the conventionalists of his day. Professor Pfeiderer meets this question in these well-considered and thoughtful observations:

"The question is asked: But what becomes of 'revelation' in all of this? Well, it is apparent that we shall have to relinquish the notion of a unique revelation and of a single, infallible revelation; but, in the end, that, too, is no harm, but a benefit. For not until then do we learn to know revelation in its full breadth and greatness and in its divine-human nature, as the one divine light, which, through the medium of human spirits, breaks into manifold rays and colors. No longer is it narrowed to one little corner of the earth called Palestine, or to a time long since past, but in all lands and ages God has made Himself known and has permitted pure souls to find Him, when they sought Him with earnestness and reverence. If, thereby, Christianity is robbed of its title to being the only religion, it does not alter the fact that it is the highest and the best. Our valuation of our own religion no longer remains an untested faith, but by comparison with other historical religions becomes knowledge tried and tested.

"Thus we achieve the result that, instead of destroying religion, science has, from of old, performed the most valuable services for religion and will continue to perform them. But science can only do this, if religion does not assume guardianship over it, granting the fullest freedom to research, and even more, regarding science as a servant of truth, that is, of God. The more the light of knowledge unites with the warmth of the heart and with the strength of faith, love and hope, so much the more will man become the temple of the living God."

III.

Space prevents our longer dwelling on these pages, so pregnant with vital thought and so

instinct with that strong, living faith that welcomes every truth and that fears nothing from the reverent exercise of the reasoning powers. Nor is it possible for us at the present time to dwell on the luminous chapters in which our author describes these great historic faiths of the world: the religions of China, Egypt and Babylon; the religion of Zarathustra and the Mithra Cult; Brahmanism and Guatama Buddha; Buddhism; the Greek religion; the religion of Israel; Post-Exilic Judaism; Islam, and Christianity.

The chapter on Christianity, owing to the exhaustive treatment of this subject in the author's *Christian Origins*, devotes little space to mooted questions raised by higher criticism. Professor Pfeiderer merely refers to the things which the higher critics find it impossible to accept, and then passes to a consideration of the deeper things in the message of Christianity.

"Now," he says, "let us ask the question: What importance can this earliest Christian belief in salvation, a hope of an earthly divine kingdom of righteousness, of peace and of joy, have for us to-day? It is self-evident that the supernatural and the catastrophic parts of it fall away for us because history itself has shown that to be an error of the period. Nevertheless, there does remain for us the early Christian belief in the coming of the heavenly kingdom on earth; it remains as a belief in the right and victorious realization of the ethical-social ideals of human society. With this difference: we no longer expect its realization by a miracle descending from heaven, but we find in it the ethical task given to us by God, the task of honestly coöperating in person for the realization of that ideal and we hope that this labor in the cause of the divine purpose of the world must be of service in the history of the world. That is the import of faith in future salvation. The same is true of the belief in a future judgment. Although we no longer believe that Christ will descend from heaven to earth and devote some day to formal judgment, nevertheless, the truth does remain that divine righteousness ever and again, in the grave crises and in the winnowing judgments of national life, has revealed itself and will reveal itself in the future. To our thinking the single miraculous catastrophe divides into the ever-recurring catastrophes of the life of peoples, returning according to the

eternal laws of the order of the world, catastrophes in which that which is impure is destroyed by the test of fire and that alone persists which is genuine, true, and good. 'The history of the world is the judgment of the world!'"

Very luminous and helpful are the author's remarks dealing with the spirit of Christianity, —its meaning to the man who sees and feels its deeper import.

"'Ye are all sons of God through the faith in Christ Jesus.' The connection with Christ is so close that Paul can say: 'No longer do I live, but Christ lives in me.' 'If one be in Christ, then is he a new creature, the old is departed, behold he is become new.' Above all, for this new man, there has passed away the world of the law with its literal observance of the ordinances, the threats and the curses resting upon transgressors—all of that is done away with; it does not hold for such as have become free men in Christ, free men of the spirit. For 'the Lord is spirit and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.' Consequently, the spiritual man is first of all a free man, who has within himself the source of all true knowledge and the motive power of good. 'Love is fulfillment of the law'; the holy spiritual motive takes the place of external force. The same holds of knowledge.

"Therefore, John can also say: 'This is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ.' The knowledge of God after its revelation in Christ, that is eternal life, the salvation now present. According to John, it is true, Christ is not identical with the man Jesus, but something far more comprehensive: the eternal word of God, or the Logos, which has been with God from the beginning and had been the power through which all things came into being, the life of the world and the light of men,—which had revealed itself in a unique and miraculous manner in Jesus but did not confine itself to his mortal existence, and after Jesus reveals itself ever anew in that spirit which leads the community on in truth. For this reason, the belief in Jesus, that eternal Logos and Son of God, means present possession of eternal life, according to John. The believers 'have even now gone over from death to life and taste of death no more'; their faith is the power which has overcome

the world. That does not imply that the world is devoid of value and reality for the Christians as it is for the Buddhists; but rather, the world is the object of a positive moral task, the material which is to be shaped by the activity of a patient and serving love into the kingdom of God. The love, which Philo had called the twin-sister of faith, is, according to Paul, the active energy of faith and the most precious gift of grace, which will never fail though prophecies, tongues and knowledge shall cease. (I. Cor., 13: 8.) And John condenses the entire substance of the Christian faith in that deep saying: 'God is love, and whoso is in love, is in God and God in him.' If it is faith that makes man the master of all things and frees him from those things which otherwise enslave him, it is love which unites him to the whole and makes him the voluntary servant of all. Thus faith and love are the actual salvation of the present, bridging the past revelations of the divine spirit with the hoped-for coming fulfillment and completion.

"The mythical ideas of past and present miracles were naturally the outer form of the belief in salvation, necessary for the old Church as they are for many men to this day; but, from the beginning, they were merely the shell, in which lay hidden the actual experience of the present redeeming power of faith and love. Though we of to-day can no longer hold these mythical notions to be literal truth, we may well recognize them as symbols and means of representation of the permanent truth of the Christian idea of salvation. Let us be careful that we do not lose the ideal content, or lessen or weaken it by an all-too-hasty throwing aside of the symbolic shell, before we have actually grasped their deep meaning. If, from the beginning, the Christian community went beyond the earthly life of the Jewish prophet Jesus, and, for the actual object of their faith took the heavenly man, the eternal Son of God, the divine Logos which is the light of all men—truly, it was no chance inquisitiveness but it was an inner necessity; it was the involuntary recognition of the cardinal truth that the redeeming power is not a temporal thing, not even the most excellent man, but that it is the eternal divine human spirit of the true and the good. That alone can become an immediate inner experience for us; that alone can produce an unconditioned certainty, free from all temporal

and finite limitations; that alone can be a universally-valid form and authority for all men. This divine-human spirit is the truth that frees and the love that binds, opening the heart to it with a faith that knows, consecrating to it a life of active labor, of serving love, and of waiting with patience and hope—that is the actual salvation of the present for which all the figures and stories and legends and poems of the past are but means of visualization, symbols and parables: "The finite is ever an image."

"The Christian belief in salvation gathered up in itself all the truths contained in the religions and the philosophies of its time. With the religions of the mysteries, Christianity shares the mystical enthusiasm, that uplifted and intensified feeling of being-in-God and the implied hope of a blissful beyond; it converted the mystical means of salvation into symbols of a moral rebirth and of brotherly love. With the philosophy of its time, Christianity shares the reasonable worship of God in moral knowledge and practices. Again, it shares with Buddhism the abnegation of self and the world, the quiet peace of resignation; and also, with the religion of Zarathustra, it shares a courageous struggle against godlessness of every nature and a joyous hope of the victory of God's cause in the world. With Judaism, Christianity shares belief in the one sublime and holy God, the judge of men and of nations, and in the coming of his kingdom on earth; but with Plato, it shares also belief in that God, who is the highest good and the unenvying source of all that is true and good, as also belief in the divine mediator Eros, that power of inspiration resident in us, and love of those

ideals coming from above. With the Stoics, finally, Christianity shares that inner freedom from the world, the calmness of firm character, the power of self-determining will (autonomous) and the liberality of the humanitarian idea which reaches out over all nations and all classes; but it gives life to this cold and proud virtue of the Stoics by belief that the world is God's, and by love which renders the service of brothers a joy, and by the hope that all struggle and all suffering misery of the time will one day be resolved into the peace of eternity.

"Thus it is that Christianity became the religion of the religions, conquered the old world and led up to the new."

The ignorant Pagan bows down before the stone image of his god. He does not worship the image nor imagine it to be his god, but the statue, being something concrete, helps him to concentrate his thoughts on his deity. It is for him, in his slow stage of development, a necessary aid. So, doubtless, at certain stages, myths, legends and wonder-stories have been absolutely necessary to carry great truths to the minds of the people or to rivet their attention on ideals that held redemptive power. And to-day, doubtless, rites and forms are essential for many. But the tendency at all times has been to elevate the letter above the spirit; to make a reality of the myth and to lose the vital truth which it symbolized or illustrated; to emphasize the non-essential husks, the outer garment, of religious truth in such a way that the soul of religion fails to touch the spirit of man in a vital or redemptive manner.

B. O. FLOWER.

"LIGHT-FINGERED GENTRY."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE SERIOUS-MINDED novelist, especially if he be a democrat in the highest sense of the word, has a great opportunity to strike telling blows for just

*"Light-Fingered Gentry." By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 451. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

government and human advancement at the present crucial hour in our history. Indeed, it is doubtful if any other literary worker in the present temper of society wields so great an influence as the novelist who is possessed at once of imagination and the manhood or principle to stand for that which is just and

right. He looks abroad and beholds on every hand crying wrongs demanding redress; victims of injustice and prisoners of poverty, who are not responsible for their own misery and want, but are rather the result of spoliation by the cunning and masterful who have trampled on the fundamental laws of ethics in a mad passion for the acquisition of wealth and power.

Charles Dickens beheld his own father dragged to the poor debtor's jail, there to suffer cruel hardships because of his inability to meet his obligations. This opened the eyes of the young man to the iniquity permitted by a slothful conventionalism which placed the dollar above justice or humanity. Furthermore, the young novelist saw the cruel injustice suffered by the unfortunate children who became a public charge, and the wrongs endured by the poor and the unfortunate of society in many instances because of their helplessness, and he determined to raise his voice against the monstrous conditions to which State and church had closed their eyes. Had he relied on his power as a journalist, to describe the wrongs in essays, he would have done much good, but he would not have affected the great mass of the people, who must have the story with its human and dramatic interest, its lights and shadows,—the story that is a sectional view of life. And Dickens knew the temper of the age and selected the novel as the most effective weapon with which to wage his warfare for the exiles of society—the children of the night.

Victor Hugo, beholding the tragedy of man's struggle with unjust laws and the indifference of society to the fatal lack of agreement oftentimes found between law and justice, wrote his masterpiece, *Les Misérables*, one of the greatest pieces of writing that the nineteenth century produced, and in so doing he raised the interrogation point before unjust laws, customs and the machinery of convention so convincingly that no man may read the book, if he be right-minded, without having his eyes opened in such a way as to make him a better citizen and a more enlightened unit in the social organism.

In a like manner Zola, especially in his later works, dealt Herculean blows against the evils that threaten civilization and are mainsprings of the world's misery, while he also in many instances pointed out the better way.

Now these men who have wrought so

effectively are typical of the conscience-guided novelist and his power for good, when he is true to his high trust. Unhappily, where there is one man in the field of romance literature who places the cause of civic righteousness, of honesty, justice and right-mindedness above the soul-deadening appeals of a slothful dilettanteism and the popular acclaim of those who wish things to remain as they are, we find scores of gifted writers who prefer to float with the currents, to cater to slothful conservatism and to the aristocracy of the dollar, because in so doing they feel they can more quickly and easily win popularity and affluence. In other words, where there is one who places the ideal of right before thought of self, there are many who make personal considerations outweigh all other things. Therefore it is the duty of men and women who think and who possess conscience and conviction, everywhere loyally to support those who dare to be true to the demands of democracy, of good government, of social justice and the cause of the weak; for these men are the apostles of a higher civilization whose work more quickly appeals to and impresses the millions than that of any other class of thinkers. Novels like Brand Whitlock's *The Turn of the Balance*, Mr. Sinclair's *The Jungle*, David Graham Phillips, *The Second Generation*, *The Cost*, *The Deluge* and *The Plum Tree*, are works that are doing more than almost any other agency in tearing the mask of respectability from corruption, injustice and morally disintegrating conditions that if left unchecked will in a short time destroy the Republic.

II.

David Graham Phillips is the most prolific of the really virile and popular American novelists who are striking Thor-like blows against political, commercial and social corruption and the morally disintegrating influences that have become so sinister a menace to free government. His really powerful novel, *The Second Generation*, which we recently reviewed in *THE ARENA*, has been followed by a story equally as great as a social study and quite as strong in human interest. In *Light-Fingered Gentry* our author, following his plan for presenting different phases of present-day political, business and social life which threaten the integrity of free government while under-

mining the moral fiber of society, gives us a vivid picture of the conditions prevailing in that section of the world of high finance over which the great insurance grafters have so long presided for personal enrichment while posing as the high priests of morality and the conservators of the interests of the would-be prudent Americans. This book, like all of Mr. Phillips' later novels, has a double interest for thoughtful people,—as a novel and as a graphic study of present-day conditions that are ominous because the people are not awake to the character of the deadly influence to nation and individuals, if they continue.

III.

Considered as fiction, *Light-Fingered Gentry* is one of the strongest, most interesting and human novels of the year. Mr. Phillips is a realist in the sense that he pictures life as it is, but his stories are always free from the revolting and morbid elements that mark the realistic novels of many Old World writers. He is first of all the scholarly journalist who has made an intimate study of life in its various moods and of social, business and political conditions as they obtain in the Republic to-day, and he possesses the gift which marks the writings of our modern journalists, of making the reader see what he sees and feel something of his feelings in the presence of the phenomena with which he deals. His novels are true to life; so obviously history in essence that the reader finds no difficulty in following the story with much the feeling one experiences when a friend is narrating some personal passages in the lives of those with whom he is acquainted. They have no plots. There is no straining after effect; seldom, even, do they suggest the melodramatic. They are sane, strong and fine. They take a grip on the reader's imagination that cannot fail to leave a positive impress on his mind. In some of them the love motive and human interest is much stronger than in others. This is particularly the case with *The Cost* and his last two stories, *The Second Generation* and *Light-Fingered Gentry*.

In his new novel the two strongest characters, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the two persons who hold the strongest place in the reader's interest, are exceptionally well drawn. The heroine is distinctly Mr. Phillips' best feminine creation. Heretofore his women have not equaled his men.

Neva Carling Armstrong shows a distinct advance over the women of his previous works. She is an admirable study of a strong woman, revealing the complexities of a high-minded twentieth-century woman, in a developed state, who has not been blighted during the formative period of life by the artificiality that environs the wealthy in modern city life. The other principal women in the story are drawn with a strong hand and a comprehending intelligence. The background and setting of the story are also fully equal to *The Second Generation*, though entirely different, the former being concerned with life in an Indiana town, while *Light-Fingered Gentry* has a great metropolis for its background. It is a positive pleasure to note a steady advance in a writer's work such as has been noticeable in the later novels of Mr. Phillips. If one will compare *A Woman Ventures* or *A Master Rogue*, for example, with *The Second Generation* or *Light-Fingered Gentry*, he will see this wonderful development. The former works merely give the promise of the purposeful work he is now doing.

In this story the hero and heroine in the first chapter, after an unhappy wedded life, face the fact that they are not bound together with the mutual love that makes a home a home and that warrants their being man and wife. They determine to separate. Horace Armstrong, the hero, a masterful young man, goes to New York and accepts the presidency of a great insurance company which has been under fire, and the exposures of graft have made it necessary to elect a new president. The real power behind the insurance company is a high financier who proposes, as soon as the storm of public indignation has swept over, to again resort to his old practices and be, as heretofore, the real master of the millions confided to the care of the insurance company by the unsuspecting policy-holders. A struggle ensues between this would-be master of the people's millions and Armstrong.

Neva also goes to New York, where she studies art and steadily develops in character and also in personal charm, until she blossoms out into not only a wonderfully beautiful woman, but a strong, high and noble type of American womanhood. She has always loved her husband, but he has never appreciated or really loved her. Other men, including a great artist, fall in love with Neva, but she treads the highway of honor

and is steadfast to her better self. Armstrong awakens to the fact that for him there can be no other woman in the world, but Neva, owing to Armstrong's relations with the grafting insurance ring of high financiers and because of ugly stories that are circulated in regard to his business dealings, does not for a time dare to trust him, even though she has never ceased to love.

The interest never flags, from the opening chapter, and it is only a man possessing intimate knowledge of human life and strong imaginative powers who is thus able to carry the reader forward from page to page with ever-increasing interest, without resorting to plots or any of the artifices of the ordinary novelist, and without offending the reader's good taste by mock heroics. The story as a romance is one of Mr. Phillips' best works, which is to say that it is one of the most interesting novels of the year.

IV.

But it is far more than a fascinating romance of love and life. It has an ethical value at the present time that it would be difficult to over-estimate, for now as never before since the sluggish and easy-going populace was aroused a few years since by exposure after exposure of graft and corruption permeating business, political and society life, have the criminal rich, the reactionaries and privileged classes united in a systematic campaign to silence the public-opinion forming influences and again lull to sleep the partially awakened public conscience. The great hold which the industrial autocracy has on church, college and kid-glove reform organizations and associations has never been so startlingly apparent as to-day; while that part of the great press of the land controlled directly or indirectly by privileged wealth is doing all in its power to divert the attention of the people from the cancers that are eating to-day, just as surely as before the exposures, into the fabric of business and political life. While the people were ignorant of the evil conditions, they were not morally responsible for them. Now, if they permit the criminal rich to continue to oppress through immoral business practices and the debauching of government, they become partners in the crime, abettors in a nation's destruction. So the hour is far more critical than many imagine,—a time when the highest interests of democracy or free government, as

well as considerations of sound morality and the common good, demand that every true patriot work as never before to force the people to drive the thieves and corruptors from the temple of government and business life.

No man at this juncture can do so much as the popular novelist, and no man knows so well as David Graham Phillips how to vividly uncover actual conditions in a clear and telling manner, and at the same time hold the interest of the general reader so that all who begin his book will complete it.

Light-Fingered Gentry comes at a most opportune time. The insurance scandal that filled the public mind with amazed indignation is rapidly blowing over. But how far have the real conditions been changed? Have the great insurance companies been wrested from the grasp of Wall-street gamblers? Are men of the Perkins-Ryan-Harriman type to-day outside or inside the breast-works? It is of the utmost importance again to remind the people of the facts that exist and will exist until we have some root-and-branch reform work in the realm of Wall-street high finance. America's great Monte Carlo cannot continue as it has prospered during recent decades, and free institutions survive or the people escape the slavery of extortion, of remorseless greed, practically robbing on every hand through monopoly and trust power. No, it is only by the aid of such books as *Light-Fingered Gentry* which circulate freely among the reading classes and which force the people to see and understand the actual conditions, that we can hope to successfully carry forward the great work that has been begun and which alone can save free government. *Light-Fingered Gentry* takes us behind the curtain and shows the plutocracy at work in secret. It shows us the man who has long posed as the high-priest of honesty, morality and national honor for what recent investigations have shown him to be,—a moral criminal, robbing the people and poisoning the wells of public opinion. Nor is this all. Mr. Phillips is nothing if not a sincere lover of pure democracy, a hater of shams, hypocrisy and snobbishness. He knows that the criminality that masquerades under the robe of respectability in Wall street has its complement in the hollow sham, the moral bankruptcy and the pitiful apeing of reactionary and decadent life of the Old World in the so-called high society of

upper New York; and he lays bare all the world of shameless vice, criminality, pretense, intrigue and moral bankruptcy and shows just how the vitality of the Republic is being sapped, while at the same time he throws into high light the strong, fine virtues that

are the salvation of men and nations.

This work, like *The Second Generation*, is a book for the nation's health,—a book that cannot be circulated too freely. It is fascinating, strong, virile, and rings true at every point.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT.

I.

CHRISTMAS is the one day in the year when among normal people with wholesome, genuine, simple or democratic environment, almost everyone is chiefly concerned in making others happy; and therefore for all such persons it is the happiest day of all the year, for the chief pleasure of the spiritual man lies in making others happy, in self-forgetful service for the upliftment, development and enrichment of those less fortunately environed and those whose lives impinge on one's own sphere of influence. Herein, indeed, lies the profound significance at the heart of the saying of the Great Nazarene concerning the finding of life through losing it. The egoistic spirit must be subordinated to the altruistic or love spirit before man can be called civilized; before, indeed, he can be truly happy or be a beneficent influence, imparting brightness and warmth to other lives.

Someone has said that animal organisms live by feeding on one another, but spiritual life grows only by the giving of life for other lives, and one of the many things that indicate the high origin of man and a glorious destiny for the soul is found in the fact that the supreme happiness, the joy that lasts and is unalloyed, is found in giving happiness and help to others.

Now the Christmas spirit is precisely this spirit of self-forgetting love, of joyous, thoughtful service for others. This is what Christmas means to the normal aspiring and civilized man. But here as elsewhere, in proportion as men and society turn from the spiritual concepts or moral idealism that exalts while yielding pure happiness, and substitutes for it the sordid materialism of the market; in proportion as money is exalted above manhood

and considerations of personal enrichment and material aggrandizement take precedence over the ideal of justice, right and brotherhood, life becomes artificial and the vision of the victim of the mania for money or personal egoistic power, and also that of those environed by its death-dealing spirit, becomes inverted. Moral insanity supervenes. That which gave joy and happiness becomes the source of bitterness and poison. The possession of things becomes more to the greed-crazed egoist than the spirit of the giver. Wherever and whenever this condition obtains, Christmas, like other things that are precious and blessed to the sane or normal soul, becomes a blight and a curse, because of fostering feelings of discontent and human restlessness.

Only a short time since we asked a friend the question: "What does Christmas suggest to you?" He shrugged his shoulders and replied: "It is the day in the year when one receives just the things he does not want, and when he feels forced to give to everyone he knows, and usually gives just the things they do not want."

Unconsciously this man betrayed the fact that the materialism of the market had taken control of his mind, though he would have been amazed and indignant had it been suggested to him. Yet his answer was concerned only with the things—the material gifts; nothing of the spirit save the plea-imagination that the spirit was of too little concern in the balance with material gifts, to be considered.

We have often been rendered inexpressibly sad by hearing young people in the metropolitan centers describe their Christmas gifts and complain that the gifts received from

certain friends were less expensive than those given, because here we saw and felt how the eclipse of moral idealism by materialistic egoism darkened all the Godward-looking windows of the soul, leaving the spirit to grope and grovel in the cellar of materiality, where pseudo pleasures allure and deceive, only they leave the Dead Sea fruit of ashes in the heart of their victims.

This view of Christmas, however, is that of a money-mad society suffering from a temporary spell of moral aberration and seeing all things with inverted vision. To the great millions of the people who hope, love and aspire and who joy in the simple life and the love that is steadfast and loyal and true, Christmas means a radiant moment in the pilgrimage of life, when the higher nature experiences its deepest pleasure through consciousness of having made glad the hearts of those who are dear, or of having brought into the prison homes of the children of adversity a strange new light and gladness.

II.

To us Christmas suggests many things, and the word has the magic power of opening the gate of memory and conjuring up scenes—dear, tender, hallowed scenes—of the long-vanished past. It suggests our childhood days and lo! before the mind there rises a picture, vivid as though the canvas of a master-artist stood before us.

Here is a little country home in Illinois; a six-room house, with a long porch extending more than forty feet along the southern exposure, facing a broad valley studded with rural homes, each nestling in the midst of orchards and groves of noble forest trees. A fringe of trees, shrubs and bushes lines the winding banks of a stream that traverses the valley, and on the further side of the open expanse rises a forest of great trees extending from thence toward the Wabash. The view is very beautiful from this southern exposure, especially in the spring, summer and autumn, when nature weaves her robings of glory before one's very eyes, delighting all lovers of the beautiful with her magic transformations. First comes the emerald flush on earth, shrub and tree; then the orchards awake into fairy gardens. The peach trees, borrowing the blush of dawn, are robed in beauty only comparable to the bridal veil of fleecy white that covers the cherry, plum and pear trees; while the apple orchards weave

together the pink of dawn and the snow of winter and place their floral gems in emerald settings. Then comes summer in regal splendor. The wheat fields are as seas of burnished gold; the waving oats reflect a silvery sheen that contrasts charmingly with the deep green of the Indian maize, the reddish-brown of the ripening hay and the lighter green of the pasture lands. Next comes autumn, most gorgeous of the seasons, when nature, laden with the fruitage and wealth of the year, robes herself in indescribable splendor ere she falls asleep in winter's cold embrace.

The immediate setting of this country home was no less engaging. A short distance from the end of the porch was an arbor vitæ tree of unusual proportions. At the other end rose a stately Norway spruce. Not far distant were a giant silver poplar, some picturesque spike-like Lombardy poplars, a catalpa, and other foliage and flowering trees, together with massive clumps of snow-balls and other shrubs. Beds of flowers fringed the front of the house, while the porch was shaded with vines, its chief glory being a mammoth wistaria whose gnarled trunk had weathered the winters of almost a generation of time. It had flourished in the well-nourished soil and seemed to have two ambitions: to gracefully festoon the space between the supporting columns of the porch while clambering over the roof in a vain attempt to reach the great brick chimney at the center of the western end of the building, and each spring to make its little corner of the earth the most attractive spot that eye could rest upon, with a wealth of bloom of almost dream-like delicacy, making a veritable trysting-place for fairies as well as a gorgeous banquet-hall for the honey-bee and his giant cousin, whose drone and hum made musical the live-long day.

Not far from the house grew a giant sweet-briar, whose blossoms were greatly loved by our mother, and well do we remember how we children in early summer watched the pink peeping from the green buds, until at last, after a shower, the buds expanded as by magic. Then we would gather an armful of blossoms and carry them to our mother, whose large black eyes shone like stars when we handed her the fragrant flowers. We thought her joy was caused by her love for the sweet-briar. Later we knew better—knew that the wonderful light that at times

seemed to glorify her sweet face came from the joy she felt at the thoughtfulness, the manifestation of the Christmas spirit, by her little children.

The northern approach to the house led through an avenue of elms of heroic size, and on one side grew the largest acacia tree we have ever seen. It presented a splendid sight when in the glory of blossom and was a veritable Eden-spot for gorgeous butterflies and honey-bees.

But it is not the environing setting of this home or nature's festal seasons that specially interest us at the present moment. It is winter. The holiday season draws near, and we enter the humble home where were spent so many Christmases that oasis-like live in the memory of our childhood. We enter the great living room, hallowed by precious memories. An immense fireplace occupies a large part of the eastern end, in which huge hickory and oak logs are brightly burning. The room is spacious. The floor is covered with a rag carpet of the hit-or-miss variety,—rags that once clothed the family and were later cut in strips, sewed together, rolled into balls and on a neighbor's loom woven into the carpet. How the wizard memory brings back the past and peoples again that great room. Before the roaring fire night after night much of our most vital education was received, when we little imagined we were being taught; for here our father during the long winter evenings read aloud and explained the more obscure passages in a manner so graphic and entertaining that there was no difficulty in seeing the pictures he sought to conjure up before our youthful imaginations. The Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*, Rollins' *Ancient History* and other standard works, were thus presented. When we say that our father invested Rollins' *Ancient History* with an interest greater than that which we to-day derive from the most powerful romance, the reader will know something of his rare gift as a reader and interpreter.

Gone are those days, and the two who made for us a heaven of that little home are reunited in the Morning Land; and we who remain behind can only bless their memory as we say, "We miss them so!"

Of the many Christmases spent in that great room, one we remember especially well, because though it was marked by fewer gifts such as are so prized by small children, it

remains indelibly impressed on our mind, as radiant as the holly berries that make bright the Christmas-tide, and beautiful as the great pearl-like wealth of berries that clothed the mistletoe that grew in abundance in the woods near by. And because the story of this Christmas illustrates how little material gifts have to do with the happiness even of children, in a home dominated by the spirit of sincerity, love and sanity, we are tempted to describe it.

Our father was a clergyman, much loved and respected wherever known. Though his sermons were singularly free from emotional pleas and were ever addressed mainly to the reason of his hearers, he met with such success expounding the Word as he understood it, in revivals, or, as they were then called, protracted meetings, that his services were greatly in demand. Frequently he was away from home for several weeks. On the Christmas eve we have in mind, he had planned as usual to be at home. At the last moment, however, a number of young people joined the church where he was holding a meeting, and many more seemed on the verge of following their example. The church officials urged that the closing of the meetings, even for two or three nights, would break into the interest and be unfortunate. His sense of duty, that was ever a compelling motive in life, caused him to remain. Thus the little simple presents that he would have brought for the stockings were not purchased, as his return was expected until it was too late to purchase them from the town. A box sent by express from two older brothers in a great city in a neighboring state was belated and did not arrive at its destination until some time later. So Christmas eve arrived and the little girl and boy who were the only members of the family who harbored any illusion about Santa Claus, hung up their stockings and went to bed. The mother put into them some little home-made articles, well knowing, however, that they were not the little things the children had spoken of so often, so if Santa Claus might be listening he would know what they most wanted. Morning came,—a biting winter dawn, with the thermometer far below zero and the earth shrouded in winter's unsullied winding sheet. But this morning the cold was not an excuse which the little ones thought of urging for remaining in the warm and cosy beds. Out on the floor, and like homing

birds they ran to the chimney, seized the stockings, and found none of Santa Claus' expected gifts. Then our little mother, who was by our side, told us the truth she had so often broadly hinted,—that the parents and other loved ones were the real Santa Claus, and that our father's unexpected detention had prevented the presents from arriving.

"But," said she as she drew with her loving arms the children to her side before the uncovered bed of coals, "we are going to have a beautiful Christmas, my children; for it is not the presents that count, so much as the love that they represent, and we are going to have a fine dinner to-day. The boys are going to the woods. They will try and find some mistletoe and green boughs to dress the room, and this afternoon we will have a candy-pulling. To-night you shall pop all the corn you want and we will have apples and nuts, and I will tell you some stories."

The eyes of the little boy and girl met. They felt the love, the boundless love, of the mother, and they drew very, very near to her and entered heart and soul into the plan for a joyous day. Later a neighbor's child came over and her parent was induced to let her remain all night. The dinner was a great success. So was the candy-pulling. But ah! the evening! Who can describe that which one must see, feel and know to understand? The dishes were cleared away. A roaring fire burned in the fireplace. The faithful watch-dogs were honored guests of the evening family circles during the winter nights, and they were here. So were the cats, preëmpting the softest home-made rugs or curling up in the laps of the accommodating ones, who were rewarded with the purring of deep content. Down into the cellar went one of the older brothers, returning with a large basket of wine-sap and golden pippin apples and a goodly supply of hickory nuts. The corn was soon popped, after which the children all eagerly listened, first to some Bible stories, for the mother, through whose veins ran the blood of a long line of Huguenot ancestors on one side and of two generations of Welsh clergymen on the other, loved the Bible, as much as the ancient psalmist loved his God when he uttered that cry of the soul: "As the hart panteth after the water brook, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." And after the Bible stories the children clamored for some Christmas tale, so one followed. What was the story? It is no matter. Any story told by those

charmed lips would have been sweet as music to the ear of the children. We will suppose it was Dickens' *Christmas Carol*, which our mother loved so well,—that wonderful Christmas story only second to the late W. H. Murray's *John Norton's Christmas* in its human interest, fascination and ethical worth. How real and vivid when told by the mother, who possessed the strong imagination of the intuitive French and the mystic or poetic nature of the Welsh, was Marley's ghost, more potent for good than Marley living. The little eyes grew wide and something of Scrooge's fear crept into the minds of the children as the story approached the creepy situation when the ghost appears. With what breathless interest we followed Scrooge on his journeys. How our hearts went out in sympathy for his nephew and for Bob Cratchit, and how near and dear seemed Tiny Tim, with his "God bless us, every one."

And so the story was ended, and we children reluctantly prepared for bed. A bright light flashed in our mother's eyes when the children said that it had been the happiest Christmas they had known, and the little visitor exclaimed, "O, do n't you wish Christmas was every day?"

And here lies the lesson which it seems to us the Christmas season should teach. We are supremely happy the one day when we forget ourselves in our every effort to make others happy, because that day we are most completely dominated by the Christmas spirit—by the spirit of loving service, the spirit that made the life of the Great Nazarene one long Christmas day. Now if, as we think all deeply thoughtful people will admit, in the Christmas spirit man finds that which gives the purest, deepest and most abiding happiness while nourishing the spiritual nature, is it not wisdom—the highest wisdom—to strive to carry it into every hour of every day?

How quickly the hours fly! How swiftly the days pass into the weeks, the weeks into the months, the months into the years! How soon the marching orders come to cross the Great Divide! And yet, how prodigal are we of our opportunities and how miserly are we with the love that sweetens the mind, brightens the soul and glorifies the spirit of the one who is wise enough to give the love that is in him for the happiness, the upliftment and the development of all who come within the radius of his influence!

B. O. FLOWER.



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA, by Ryan Walker.

A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SMALL AND THE GREAT LAW-BREAKER.

This month THE ARENA is able to present another fine original cartoon from the pen of Ryan Walker. It is entitled "Immunity" and well illustrates a condition that is one of the crying shames of the hour. The American people are becoming heartily tired of the government merely seeking to have the great corporations fined, instead of doing as its mouthpieces have promised,—namely, securing criminal prosecutions against the great criminals. The trusts do not care how much they are fined. Indeed, they will cheerfully contribute to the campaign fund of the Republican party next time, if the administration, instead of treating the great criminals as poor offenders would be treated, merely fines the corporations; for the corporations have a strangle-hold on the people and they have shown time and again, by their insolent advance in prices after they have been prosecuted, how they punish the people whenever they are put to the inconvenience of being haled before the courts. They raise the prices enough each time not only to pay all court expenses, lawyers' fees, etc., and also to accumulate fabulous sums for campaign contributions or the debauching of the people's servants, but also to further augment their already swollen fortunes. The poor man who breaks the law is thrown into jail. Frequently his family suffer great privations. The rich corporation chief who defies the laws, committing various crimes all of which are proven in court, escapes without so much as the indignity of a night in prison. A fine is levied on the corporation, and forthwith the corporation raises prices and thus further augments the spoliation of the people for the enrichment of the few.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S VICTORY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

A National Victory Won in a Municipal Battle.

THE TRIUMPHANT election of Mayor Johnson is a victory for civic righteousness and good government of nationwide interest and significance. Never in the history of American politics were the forces of machine-rule and corporation corrupt so successful in calling to their aid the active help of powerful and popular influences that pose as champions of civic morality and just government as in the municipal contest in Cleveland. Never did a man find himself battling against a more formidable opposition than did Mr. Johnson, after the street-car corporations and the Republican machine were able to induce Ohio's most popular and plausible Republican Congressman to run against the man who found Cleveland one of the most ring-ridden and corporation-corrupted cities in America and made it the best-governed city in the Republic. Not only was Congressman Burton brought to the aid of the notorious street-car corporation which Mr. Johnson in the interests of the people of Cleveland had whipped to a stand-still, but Secretary of War William H. Taft also came rushing to the rescue of the corporations and the Republican bosses and ring; and closely behind Secretary Taft came President Roosevelt, with his letter urging Mr. Burton to run against the best mayor of the best-governed city.

Since his first election to the office of chief executive of Cleveland, Mr. Johnson has waged a double warfare. He has fought corrupt machine-rule in all its aspects and has carried on a ceaseless battle with the public-service corporations that had long dominated the political situation and in that way were enabled to exploit and plunder the people.

In spite of the familiar cries of the pretended respectables in high places, the criminal rich and predatory classes who stand behind the political corruptionists and render their position well-nigh impregnable, the electorate of Cleveland had refused to

betray Mr. Johnson, and step by step the plundering corporations were driven from their places of vantage. At length they realized that their only hope of defeating Mr. Johnson was to secure the services of a man to oppose him who had long been regarded as honorable and who was as popular as he was highly esteemed, to act as their Trojan horse. They found this "handy man" in Congressman Burton. Then an exceptional piece of good luck came their way,—something that must have astounded some of the unsophisticated among the corrupt interests who were not fully aware of the vicious political opportunism that is one of Mr. Roosevelt's besetting sins and who imagined that he was the same kind of a champion of clean government and an enemy of corrupt wealth as was their redoubtable foe, Tom L. Johnson. Mr. Roosevelt, who refused to raise his voice in behalf of clean municipal-rule when the Lincoln Republicans of Pennsylvania were waging the most desperate battle in the history of Philadelphia, to overthrow the notoriously criminal rule of boss and ring, because, as his friends declared, the President would not meddle with city politics, wrote a letter urging Mr. Burton to run, and thus threw all the weight of his power and popularity with the notorious street-car corporations and the corrupt machine.

With such a combination and with money poured out like water by the privilege-seeking and grafting interests, it would seem that there could be little chance for the man who single-handed had to meet the opposition of corporate wealth battling for its ille and aided by the President of the United States, the most popular Congressman of Ohio, the Secretary of War, and the powerful Republican machine of State and city.

**Public Confidence Based on Long Service,
That Even Corporate Wealth and
The President Could Not
Overthrow.**

Happily for the cause of decent and honest city rule and political morality in general,

Mayor Johnson had through all his course as mayor proved faithful to the people and his trust. He had steadfastly refused to be seduced by any of the lures that have proved too much for the shifty opportunistic politicians whose moral idealism is not strong enough to withstand considerations of personal or party advantage. The people knew Tom Johnson was not merely a preacher of political righteousness and civic integrity; they knew he supplemented his words with deeds. His course had been consistent, steadfast and just. They believed in him, and they refused to be seduced even by the siren voice of the President. All honor to the people of Cleveland! Their splendid stand has done more for sound municipal advance and the cause of political morality than any political event of recent years. And what a stinging and fitting rebuke was their verdict to the preacher of righteousness in the White House, who sought to overthrow the clean, honest and efficient government of the best-ruled city in America in the interests of the street-car corporations and the notoriously corrupt machines of Ohio.

President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft gave nation-wide significance to the Cleveland municipal contest, and Mayor Johnson's victory is a triumph of national importance.

Mayor Johnson as a Presidential Possibility.

President Roosevelt has not encountered any check half so significant since he began his facing-two-ways policy. He knew that Mr. Johnson was a clean, strong and able man; a business man in the highest and best sense of that term; a statesman of extraordinary executive ability; a man so aggressively honest that no predatory interest would for a moment imagine it could influence or frighten him from any position which he held to be just and for the best interests of the people. He knew that if he was reflected the mayor of Cleveland, he might easily become a most formidable presidential candidate, one whose political course would stand out in bold relief when compared with that of any of the opportunist politicians of the opposition. Moreover, if Mr. Taft, who more than any other prominent Republican politician had antagonized organized labor by his judicial rulings in favor of the railways, —Mr. Taft, who is the foe of Direct-Legislation and the man who is altogether satisfac-

tory to the *Financial Chronicle*, the leading mouthpiece of the Wall-street interests and fully as satisfactory to Mr. Rockefeller and to boss Cox as he is to President Roosevelt, should happen to be nominated, nothing would be more likely to transpire than the nomination of Mayor Johnson to oppose the friend of the Wall-street interests. So the word went forth that Mr. Johnson must be defeated at all hazards.

No one knew better than President Roosevelt how the street-car corporations would pour out their money to defeat the Mayor who had so long stood between them and the people they desired to exploit and plunder. No one knew better than President Roosevelt the fact that every predatory band and privileged interest would join in the battle against the Mayor. He also knew full well how popular was Mr. Burton, and he doubtless banked heavily on his own popularity. Only a keen realization of the fact that if Mr. Johnson should again be elected he would be a formidable candidate for the presidency can account for Mr. Roosevelt's action in interfering with the Cleveland election in the interests of the street-car combine and urging Congressman Burton to become the Trojan horse for the public-service corporations.

The result of the election is exactly what the pretended reformers who are playing a double game in the interests of predatory wealth desired to prevent. From now on Mr. Johnson will be regarded as one of the strongest popular representatives of honest reform, business government and fundamental democracy; a popular leader who has always stood for equality of opportunities and of rights, for justice for all the people, for equal rights to all and special privileges to none,—in a word, for the ideals most cherished by Jefferson and Lincoln. He has proved himself to be a statesman of extraordinary executive ability, a man of high moral ideals who has ever been faithful to those ideals, and a man who is not content with preaching political righteousness and making spectacular moves that mean nothing for fundamental relief for the people, but who has accompanied his words with deeds, ever showing a superb moral courage which is the sign-manual of lofty statesmanship and which is so conspicuously wanting in shifty opportunist politicians.

The probable result in a national way of Mr. Johnson's election under the circum-

stances is already being recognized by the great conservative press. The morning after the election the *Boston Herald* in speaking of it said:

"The result may have a far-reaching influence. Mayor Johnson's name is, in consequence of his victory, one of those upon whom President-makers may look with favor. Strongly intrenched in the very heart of the Democratic party, at least in the West,

Johnson may be one of the strongest of Bryan's rivals when the party next meets to choose a national standard-bearer."

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bryan have long been intimate personal friends, and we are confident that no statesman in America would more loyally or enthusiastically support Mayor Johnson than would Mr. Bryan. We repeat, Mr. Johnson's victory is of national significance.

THE VICTORY IN TOLEDO.

SELDOM has a candidate for municipal honors had a harder battle to fight than had Brand Whitlock in the Toledo municipal contest. The political machines, the corporations and the venal and controlled press united with that element of the so-called respectables who are always ready to rush to the aid of the minions of the machine when corporate wealth gives the word of command. In opposition to this strong combination stood Brand Whitlock, successor to Golden Rule Jones and running as an independent for reelection as Mayor of Toledo.

Mr. Whitlock's administration had been just and faithful, but very distasteful to the grafters and those who desire to exploit the people and enjoy the enormous wealth that can be wrung from the public through posses-

sion of natural monopolies. The battle was marked by great bitterness on the part of the kept or controlled press and the interests seeking to gain mastery of the city government, that they might further the interests of the public-utility corporations. But neither the combined wealth of the interests, the alarmist cries of the political Pharisees, the machinations of the machine, nor the vilification of the partisan newspapers were able to deceive the people and compass the undoing of the fearless and incorruptible young mayor. Again we had an illustration of the fact that the heart of the people is sound. Mr. Whitlock had been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. His victory is one that will greatly hearten other young statesmen who desire faithfully to fulfil their trust to the people.

OTHER POPULAR VICTORIES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

Good Government Triumphs in San Francisco.

ELSEWHERE we have noticed at length the splendid victories won for the people and good government by Mayor Johnson in Cleveland and Brand Whitlock in Toledo. In San Francisco the cause of clean government triumphed no less signally. Dr. Taylor of the Democratic ticket was triumphantly elected over the candidates advanced by the Republican and Union Labor Parties, and inasmuch as he represented the cause of clean and progressive government, the victory was a triumph for free institutions, revealing the fact that the people of San Francisco do not intend that

the riot of corruption that marked the union of the public-service corporations with the Ruef-Schmidt machine shall recur. This verdict was made all the more emphatic by the election of District-Attorney Langdon, who is justly regarded as the terror of the evil-doers. Mr. Langdon was the Independence League candidate for governor at the late state election.

The Gubernatorial Election in Massachusetts.

The gubernatorial election in Massachusetts was rich in lessons and promise of better things. Last year the progressive wing of the Democratic party secured con-

trol of the organization and nominated the Hon. John B. Moran, the able District-Attorney of Boston, for governor, and E. Gerry Brown, a life-long reformer, for lieutenant-governor. This ticket, which had the endorsement of the Independence League, polled 192,000 votes, in spite of the strong opposition of the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party, which in Massachusetts as elsewhere is the strong left arm of the Republican party, and its valiant aid in carrying forward the work of the industrial autocracy that antagonizes democratic government and the interests of the people.

This year Henry M. Whitney, of street-car and gas fame, or rather ill-fame, a man of great wealth who for years was regarded as the most sinister representative of corporational influence in Massachusetts, and a man who represented practically all that progressive democracy was battling against in its effort to restore a pure, clean and truly popular government, set out to capture the Democratic party. He selected a slogan very popular in the Old Bay State, "Reciprocity with Canada," and he also urged a business administration. He was actively supported by the capitalistic-controlled, so-called independent press and attracted to him the reactionary wing of the party and men like ex-Congressman Sullivan of unsavory fame. In time he secured a large number of delegates to the State Convention, which when it met broke up in rival camps after much riotous and unseemly conduct. Two tickets were put in the field, and the State Election Committee, composed of two Republicans and one Democrat, had to settle the matter. They decided in favor of Mr. Whitney. The latter forthwith started to canvas the state with his lieutenants. He was supported by practically the entire Democratic press of the State, with the exception of Mr. Hearst's Boston *American*.

Mr. Whitney's opponent in the convention, Mr. Bartlett, ran as an independent Democrat, while the Independence League, on a platform very similar to that of the Democratic party of last year, put in nomination for governor Thomas Higen, a gentleman who occupied a place on the State Democratic ticket last year. The candidate for lieutenant-governor on the Independence League ticket was Mr. E. Gerry Brown, who ran on the Democratic ticket for the same office last year.

Though the meetings of the Independence League were phenomenally large and enthusiastic, the press of the State practically ignored them, outside of Mr. Hearst's *American*. In fact, we have never known an instance where there was such a universal conspiracy of silence on the part of the press. Full reports of the Democratic and Republican meetings were given, but no report of the Independence League meetings. The press and the old party political managers seemed to imagine that this conspiracy of silence would prevent any organized expression on the part of the people which would be in any way formidable in favor of the candidates that represented the aspirations and ideals of progressive democracy. Just before the election one leading daily paper declared that the votes cast for the Independence League candidate would only be interesting as showing the extent of the influence of Mr. Hearst's *American*. Later events showed that they did much more than this. They showed how little influence the combined Democratic press and the independent daily papers exert when they try to forward the interests of corporation rule and disregard the aspirations and desires of the people.

When the votes were counted it was shown that Higen, with the single support of one Boston daily paper, had polled within nine thousand of as many votes as the regular Democratic party nominee received, who was backed by the combined Democratic press and many independent journals. Mr. Higen ran far ahead of the Democratic nominee in a number of cities and towns, polling a vote of over 75,000.

The daily *Transcript*, the bonholders' conservative Republican organ of Boston, could not suppress its amazement and chagrin. In its large headings describing the election it said:

"HIGSEN'S VOTE IN STATE WAS MOST SURPRISING.

"IN MAJORITY OF CITIES AND MANY TOWNS HE HEADS WHITNEY.

"HEARST WAS REALLY THE VICTOR IN YESTERDAY'S FIGHT."

In its news columns it said:

"The 'hero' of yesterday's election was, without question, Thomas L. Higen of West Springfield, independent oil man, anti-Standard-Oil man and anti-monopolist in general.

Behind him there looms up large the figure of William Randolph Hearst. Yesterday's victory was not a Republican victory, it was not a Guild and Draper victory, nor a Lodge, nor a Crane victory. It was a Hearst victory and the figures show it, and figures do n't lie, though figurers may.

"Republican leaders who chuckled gleefully when the returns came rolling in at the American House early last evening, began to look a little sober about ten o'clock. Something had given them cause. What was it? They had been analyzing the figures, and had found something sinister about them."

The fact is, the worm is turning. The people, outraged by the systematic jugglery practiced by the old parties in the interest of corporate and trust domination and extortion, are in revolt. The November election in Massachusetts is one of the signs of this uprising that will soon become nationwide. High prices, false promises and catering to Wall street and the trusts, with sham battles as popular diversions, have well-nigh had their day. The people are girding themselves and the day of reckoning is at hand.

The Election of John B. Moran.

The election of John B. Moran as District-Attorney of Boston is another of those significant signs of the times that show that the people are breaking away from the bondage of the money-controlled machines and political bosses. Mr. Moran has proved a strong, able and fearless District-Attorney. He has created greater uneasiness among the grafters, the corrupters and the corrupted in the various departments of state and city government and in the councils of "the interests" than any District-Attorney in the past score of years. For this reason the Lodge machine and the Fitzgerald Democratic machine, no less than "the interests," decreed that he should be put out of a position where he was a constant

menace to the moral criminals who wished to be considered as highly respectable while plundering the people and debauching their government. Accordingly the Republicans and Democrats nominated men for the office both of whom were special friends of Mayor Fitzgerald, the master of the Democratic machine of the great Democratic city of Boston. A united effort was made by the entire press, with the exception of the *Boston American* to compass the defeat of Mr. Moran, who was the nominee of the Independence League. The District-Attorney was prohibited by his physicians from speaking, and his enemies took advantage of this fact to carry forward a vigorous speaking campaign marked by a greater degree of mud-throwing and calumny than has characterized any similar contest in years.

But the people knew their friend, and as in Cleveland, Toledo and San Francisco, they made a fitting reply to the bosses and corruptionists. They reelected Mr. Moran by one of the most phenomenal votes ever cast in the city, the District-Attorney polling over 50,000 votes against less than 18,000 for the regular Democratic nominee and less than 23,000 for the Republican nominee.

The reelection of Mr. Moran by a handsome majority over the combined opposition is the people's reply to the machines and "the interests." If the District-Attorney retains his health, we predict that he will be next popular candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and if a candidate, we believe that he will sweep the state. He is a staunch advocate of the fundamental principles of democratic government, an aggressive advocate of the initiative and referendum, popular election of United States Senators, public-ownership of public utilities, and other measures demanded by the people in order to restore the government to the people and to secure equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people.

CURRENT CARTOONS.

WE HAVE noticed the original cartoon drawn expressly for this issue of *THE ARENA* by one of our staff, Mr. Ryan Walker, whose work is of special value because of the thought and conscience behind the pen. Mr. Walker drives home telling truths with a page or half-page drawing that it would take long arguments to impress on the average mind.

Another cartoonist who is doing yeoman's service for fundamental democracy and social justice is J. W. Bengough, whose cartoons in the *Chicago Public* are one of the strong features of that excellent weekly. In this issue we reproduce one of his best recent cartoons. Its great value lies in the fact that the simple figures representing special privilege, President Roosevelt and Mayor Tom L. Johnson, and the accompanying text, set forth the whole truth of the political situation in a nutshell. No privileged interest or great monopoly-seeking and grafting body or element in our present commercial and political life is found fighting for the success of Mayor Johnson, because all the predatory bands know he is a man who means all he says and does what he promises. He carries out President Roosevelt's admirable dictum, that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so," as faithfully as the President on occasion

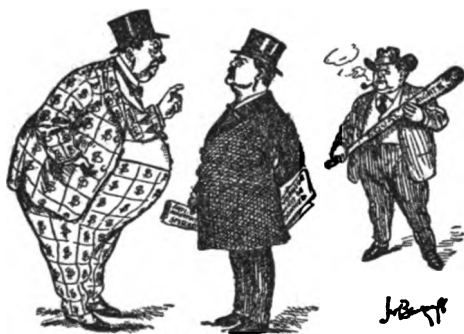


From the New York World.

THE VAMPIRE.

ignores it. He is the last man in America who would be found selecting as chief counsellor for a cabinet the man who from the time he defended Boss Tweed has been the most efficient "handy man" for the most notorious corporations, trust and Wall-street "interests" of the metropolis; nor would he be found giving a clean bill of health to a self-confessed law-breaker like Paul Morton, or recklessly branding as a falsifier his political opponent who charged that his campaign manager was collecting funds from corporate interests, when subsequent events revealed the fact that the charge made against Mr. Roosevelt's chairman, who was also one of his cabinet members and one of his closest political and personal friends, was literally true; nor would he be found selecting and pushing forward as the man of his choice to succeed himself in the White House the gentleman whom the leading mouthpiece of Wall-street interests had declared to be thoroughly satisfactory as Presidential timber. No, Mr. Johnson is not that kind of a man, and privileged interests are not represented in his councils, nor have they "handy men" always at his ear.

THE WHOLE TRUTH OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN A NUTSHELL.



Bengough, in The Public, Chicago.

ALL THE DIFFERENCE.

Roosevelt—"By why should you hate and fear Johnson more than me? I'm fighting you, just as he is!"

Privilege—"Ah, but, confound him, he really means it, you see!"

Sambourne, in *Punch*, London.**THE HARMLESS NECESSARY CAT.**

British Lion (to Russian Bear)—"Look here! You can play with his head and I can play with his tail, and we can both stroke the small of his back."

Persian Cat—"I don't remember having been consulted about this!"

On the other hand, there has never been a time when a large section of the plutocratic interests have not been favorable to Mr. Roosevelt. The vital difference between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Roosevelt is found in the fact that Mr. Johnson has moral backbone. He never plays to the galleries. He stands for fundamental justice and right, and no temptation, lure or threat can swerve him from his duty.

Frequently the cartoonist adapts a cartoon from some artist's masterpiece. Who does not remember Davenport's powerful cartoon,

Newberry, in *Boston American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

THE EXTORTION OF THE COAL TRUST MEANS THE MONEY OF THE POOR.

"The Gorilla?" When the late gamblers' panic was in progress in New York, Macauley, who is doing some very strong work for the *New York World*, published a sketch adapted from Burne-Jones' well-known "Vampire," in the cartoon the vampire is the stock-gambler and legitimate business, of course, is the victim. The application is so apt that the drawing is even more effective in its vital lesson than the original picture.

One of the best foreign cartoons of the autumn appeared in *Punch* of London. It was entitled "The Harmless Necessary Cat",

Ringel in the *Milwaukee Free Press*.**THE WOLF AT THE DOOR TO-DAY.**

and illustrated most aptly the disregard which the strong powers show for the weak, when they dare to do so,—a disregard that indicates how far, how very far, the national conscience of Christian lands has yet to go before it will come within hailing distance of the ethics of the Founder of Christianity.

Some of the best recent cartoons have had to do with the enormous prices of all trusts and monopoly-controlled articles since the coal and the beef trusts began punishing the people for the tentative and half-hearted attempt to expose the avarice and criminality of these great predatory organizations. One of the best of these drawings appeared recently in the *Boston American*, illustrating the situation in tens of thousands of American homes, due to the insatiable greed of the law-defying coal trust and the impotence of a government in the hands of a party whose machine is controlled by the great corporations. Above the drawing of the figures in

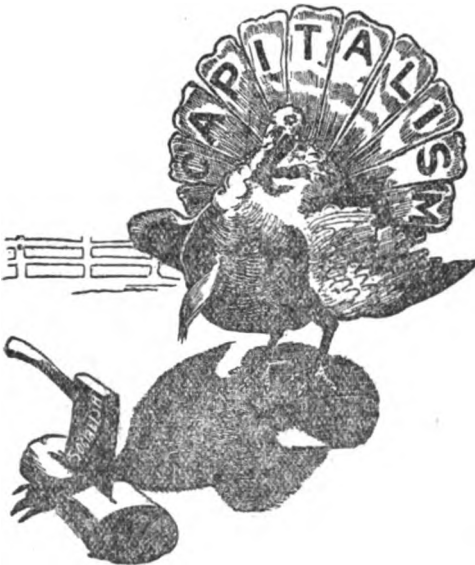
this picture is the price of coal ten years ago and that of coal in New England at the present time. The enormous disparity between the increase in the cost of mining and handling the coal and the increased cost to the consumer represents the harvest of a monopoly allowed to run riot by a government whose controlling party machines are dependent on gigantic campaign contributions for their tenure of office. How much longer will the people tolerate the tyranny of the industrial autocracy by keeping in power the servants of their oppressors?

Another good cartoon on the high prices appeared in the Milwaukee *Free Press*, entitled "The Wolf at the Door To-day."

One of the most clever recent socialistic cartoons appeared in *Wilshire's Magazine* and is entitled "Coming events Cast Their Shadows Before."

The rapid spread of the temperance sentiment in the South in recent years is perhaps the most surprising fact in relation to Southern politics. This thought is illustrated by Ryan Walker in an effective cartoon contributed to a number of daily papers.

The daily papers are gleefully reporting the fact that the recent gamblers' panic in Wall



From Wilshire's, New York, Magazine.

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE.

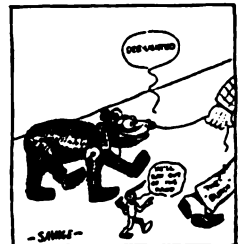
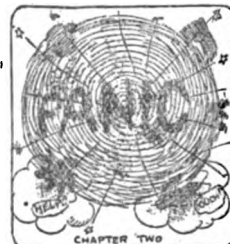
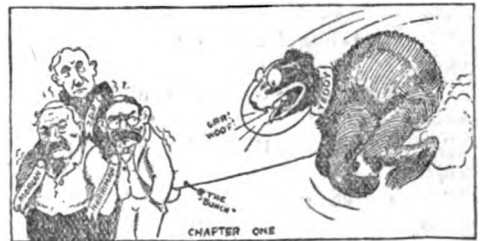


Walker, in International Syndicate.

KICKED OUT.

Mr. Rum Demon—Great snakes! I never dreamed that the solid South would be so solid against me!

street has "sobered the President," and that now he will modify his message. This glee on the part of the organs of the high financiers suggested to Savage, of the Chicago *Daily Socialist*, an amusing cartoon entitled "The Taming of Teddy."



Savage, in Chicago Daily Socialist.

THE Taming of TEDDY!

THE PEACE CONGRESS AND THE EXTENSION OF THE "WAR AGAINST WAR" MOVEMENT.

NOTHING is more absurd than the persistent attempts of the European and American newspaper press to ridicule and belittle the recent Hague Peace conference. It is true that the congress lacked any great and commanding genius with sufficient power to seize upon practical measures and so present them as to make their practicality and their moral value clearly apparent to all present; and yet no student of international problems can fail to appreciate the fact that the late Congress has been a mighty factor for world peace. The mere meeting together in friendly conferences of accredited representatives of the great powers of the civilized world in an earnest attempt to further peace and check the old-time lawless war spirit, could not fail to materially further the peace sentiment of the world. But the congress did much good, much work that will tell helpfully in the future. It agreed to thirteen conventions, which will be binding on all the powers that sign them before June, 1908. These conventions relate to the following matters:

"1. The peaceful regulation of international conflicts.

"2. Providing for an international prize-court.

"3. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals on land.

"4. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals at sea.

"5. Covering the laying of submarine mines.

"6. The bombardment of towns from the sea.

"7. The matter of the collection of contractual debts.

"8. The transformation of merchantmen into war-ships.

"9. The treatment of captured crews.

"10. The inviolability of fishing-boats.

"11. The inviolability of the postal service.

"12. The application of the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross to sea warfare; and,

"13. The laws and customs regulating land warfare."

As we have pointed out on several occasions, the peace congresses are only one of many movements that are making for international amity. All international congresses foster world peace. All great inventions that bring nations into closer rapport are favorable to this aim of true civilization; while the most significant of all facts connected with the war against war movement is the change in attitude of the toilers of the world. Up to recent times the masses of every nation were as tinder in the hands of demagogues who for any selfish motive desired war. Now the great working masses of the world are awakening to the fact that however war may advance the glories or selfish ambition of the privileged few, it means misery, deprivation and death for hundreds of thousands of their number. Consequently in recent years there has grown up a strong anti-military spirit among the toilers and this has been greatly stimulated by the economic philosophy of Karl Marx. Socialism is the sworn enemy of militarism, and it is not strange, therefore, that at the recent International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart, resolutions were adopted condemning militarism in all its phases and urging an aggressive anti-military campaign in all lands.

Another significant recent event touching the subject of world peace was the great address of M. Jaurès, the master Socialistic and Liberal leader and statesman of France, delivered early in October. In it, after calling the attention of the people to the action of the Hague conference in approving the principle of obligatory arbitration, the speaker declared it was the will, and not merely the pious aspiration of the workers of the world, that arbitration should become actually obligatory on all nations. He declared that the supreme command of the people of a nation should be "arbitrate before you fight," adding: "Make your choice between arbitration and revolution"; from which it is evident that M. Jaurès is a man of peace somewhat after the fashion of Mark Twain's "Buck Fanshaw." The great French statesman holds that the state that refuses to arbi-

trate becomes "the enemy of mankind." He holds that:

"It is not necessary to inquire which Government is the attacked and which the attacker. The aggressor, the enemy of civilization, is that Government which refuses arbitration. The Government that thus becomes the enemy of civilization, and especially of the working-classes, should expect to see the weapons which it has placed in the hands of the people turned not against the enemy, but in revolution against that criminal

Government' in order to destroy it."

We are too much in accord with the Quaker ideals in regard to war to go as far as M. Jaurès, but we believe that the binding of the people to a pledge of refusal to fight and to vote for any representative who would authorize the granting of money to carry forward a war, would be quite as effective and far more sensible, consistent and in harmony with the demands of civilization than the resort to revolution to avert war with foreign nations.

MR. EDISON AND THE BUILDINGS OF THE FUTURE.

THOMAS A. EDISON, unlike many inventors, seldom makes claims or predictions that later events prove to be unwarranted. Hence his recent exhibition of a model cement house, which he insists can be built at a nominal cost and which will be fireproof and practically indestructible, is naturally awakening much interest at a time when building materials of all kinds are increasing in cost by leaps and bounds. Mr.

Edison's proposed houses are to consist of iron frames around which cement will be poured in molds. There have been quite a number of reinforced cement buildings already erected. Many of these have been covered with sheet-iron, but Mr. Edison claims that by the plan he has perfected, pleasing and comfortable dwellings can be erected for a fraction of what similar buildings could be constructed for if composed of any other material.

TALKING OVER THE WATERS.

THE OPENING of the Transatlantic Wireless Telegraph service for commercial purposes on the seventh of October marks one of the greatest practical victories of modern science for commercial progress. The great English statesman, Hon. J. Henniker Heaton, in recent issues of *THE ARENA* showed how through the avarice of the cable companies the business of the world was being hampered. The reign of extortion may now prove short-lived through this last victory of science, as words are now being sent by way of the Marconi Wireless system at ten cents each, with a press rate of five cents per word. The thorough practicability of wireless telegraphy for commercial purposes was demonstrated on the day of the

inauguration of the service, when over ten thousand words were sent between England and America, without it being necessary to repeat a single word. The messages travel with the rapidity of light,—that is, 186,400 miles per second, so that they are received practically as soon as they are sent.

It was in December, 1901, that the first signal was successfully sent from continent to continent by wireless telegraphy, but the inventor found at that time that he would have to improve his apparatus before it could be available for Transatlantic service. Two years ago messages were exchanged between President Roosevelt and King Edward, and now the Transatlantic service is open to the world for commercial and other purposes.

THE VICTORIOUS MARCH OF THE BRITISH COÖPERATORS.

THE RECENTLY published report of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Coöperative Congress of Great Britain reveals the steady onward march of what may rightly be considered one of the most important economic movements of the age.

It was in the latter part of 1843 that twelve poor toilers met in Rochdale and organized a coöperative society and store, which was open certain nights in the week. The members made regular contributions from their scanty earnings for the purchase of stock, and they took turns in tending the store. Later they divided the profits equally among themselves. They were sturdy, honest, determined men actuated by high motives and they refused to permit discouragements such as overtake all similar feeble movements in their early stages to daunt them. At length they demonstrated the wisdom of their faith. The store became a pronounced success. Other coöperative societies were formed and the movement advanced steadily, gaining momentum with each succeeding year, until to-day the membership of the 1588 societies represented at this last congress was 2,332,754. The sales for 1906 amounted to £97,937,757, or about \$489,688,785. The profits to be divided among the coöperators amounted to £10,974,995, or about \$54,874,975.

The coöperators of Great Britain own a number of factories, mills and manufactories, several ocean steamers in which they carry their trade, and a vast amount of real estate such as houses, occupied largely by members, factories, warehouses and stores. Their commercial success constitutes one of the most brilliant victories which legitimate and honorable business can show. The enormous amount of wealth that is annually disbursed among the members, and which would without coöperation go to monopolistic corporations conducted by the few for the great enrichment of the few, or to middlemen, is but one of the satisfactory features of the coöperative move-

ment. It shows how practical is coöperation from the purely business point-of-view, when competently handled.

But the coöperators have also achieved a great work in the better housing of their people, in extending educational and social blessings to their membership, and in cultivating an intimate fraternal or brotherly spirit.

The report for 1906 shows a healthy gain practically all along the line, as has been the case from the day when the movement was firmly grounded. The work which has been accomplished is of world-wide importance showing how voluntary coöperation can be made a splendid success and that under coöperation all the members receive proportionate earnings, while under the rule of specially privileged corporations or trusts the people are exploited for the over-enrichment of the few, who in time invariably corrupt government so as to receive further special privileges that will enable them to continue to gratify their mad passion for great wealth at the expense of the people, who through tariffs, special favors and franchises are robbed coming and going; while the beneficiaries with princely incomes purchase editors' pens and the vocal organs of lawyers, statesmen, clergymen and educators to shout "prosperity" and throw dust in the people's eyes.

The age of competition is past. This must be apparent to all students of social conditions. We are in the hey-day of the rule of corporations, unions and combinations. The key-note of the present is union. The great question for the people to settle is whether that union shall be the coöperation of all for the mutual help and enrichment of all, or the union of the few for the corruption of popular government and its control, to the end that the privileged ones or an industrial autocracy shall be enormously enriched by industrial and commercial oppression and exploitation. Let this fact be kept before the popular mind.

PROFESSOR MASARYK ON INCREASE IN SUICIDES AND THE DECADENCE OF VITAL RELIGIOUS IDEALS IN THE OLD WORLD.

ONE OF the most interesting addresses delivered at the International Congress of Religious Liberals, held in Boston the past autumn, was by Professor Masaryk of the University of Prague on "The Religious Situation in Austria." In the course of his address this distinguished educator made the statement that no less than 70,000 adults and 2,000 children annually commit suicide in Europe. The Professor was discussing the rapid decline of the old religious organizations in regard to the vital hold on the moral or conscience side of life. He insisted that there was an imperative need for a new religion or such new presentation of spiritual truth as would take hold of the deeper wellsprings of life, in order to check the soul destruction in progress.

"It is a startling fact," he observed, "that 70,000 men and 2,000 children kill themselves in Europe each year. Those are tired, broken souls, souls who need a new religion. I believe that this is the great religious problem of Europe to-day—to war against this tendency of men to destroy their own lives.

"We must save these unfortunates from suicide, by giving them a new religion. There is a great want of true religion and Christianity in all the churches of my country and of Europe to-day. . . . If I see a beautiful, magnificent church edifice erected at great cost and,

along side, a house in which eighteen or twenty are obliged to live in one room, it makes me realize that the religion of that church is wanting. I hear a great deal here about liberty, but we want more than liberty. We want a new religion that will be more ennobling."

The Professor held that the poverty of the people and the lack of high or vital ideals were leading factors in the appalling mortality from suicide. The indifference of the church and its hostile attitude toward the growing ideals of democracy had greatly contributed to the rapid spread of socialism in Austria. Many were fighting with the socialists, because only through that channel could they hope for religious freedom. Socialism also gave the people hope and a definite standard and it provided for a larger measure of justice for the masses.

"My country," he observed, "is the most socialistic in the world to-day. At the last general election 87 socialists were elected to Parliament."

This spectacle of about 72,000 men, women and children committing suicide crying wrong of child labor in mine, mill and factory in prosperous America, speak of a moral stagnation in church and society and account in a large way for the rapid spread of socialism throughout every Christian land.

HOW CORRUPT WEALTH IS DESTROYING THE MORAL VIRILITY AND MENTAL INTEGRITY OF CHURCH, COLLEGE AND OTHER FOUNTAIN-HEADS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

THE HOPE recently expressed by Mr. Bryan, that the time may be at hand "when people will refuse to sell their respectability to great criminals in return for blood money," must be shared by all deeply conscientious men and women who think and who have kept in touch with recent events so

as to have witnessed the amazing exhibitions of moral obloquy on the part of beneficiaries of corrupt or tainted wealth.

The American people in recent years have had a succession of striking object-lessons illustrating how effectively the direct or indirect bribery of college, church and other

public opinion-forming influences has been accomplished by means of donations of small fractions of the wealth improperly acquired by monopoly processes, extortion and defiance of law. THE ARENA has from time to time commented on the shameful subserviency to corrupt wealth or monopoly influences manifested by the heads of leading educational institutions, in silencing or dismissing professors who strove to discharge the duty imposed upon them by every dictate of sound morality in exposing corruption, injustice and the spoliation of the people whenever the occasion demanded. We have also had occasion to show how the ministry of great Christian organizations has become strangely silent in the presence of criminal wealth and notoriously corrupt practices on the part of the Standard Oil corporation and other predatory organizations, after the churches, missionary societies or denominational schools had accepted gifts from master-spirits in the criminal organizations.

We have seen the humiliating spectacle of the American cardinal, who had said so much on many occasions in the interests of morality and righteousness, defending and speaking in justification of King Leopold of Belgium, whose wealth was so largely augmented by the blood-money from the Congo district—money that was the result of the most hideous and atrocious crimes of modern times committed against the native Africans, and whose criminal responsibility in this direction was only equalled by his gross immoralities, that have long been the scandal of Europe. Yet Leopold is a staunch supporter of and liberal contributor to the Roman Church.

We have seen how Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University has rewarded his Standard Oil friends who have been liberal in the contributions to his college, by a violent attack on the President of the United States—an attack marked by hysterical demands that Mr. Roosevelt and the decent element of society should stop investigations, and denouncing the uncovering of criminality and corruption on the part of the Standard Oil Company, the railways and other privileged criminal corporations as “raids on prosperity.” And this man, who has just written a book voicing precisely what the Rockefeller, Rogerses, Archbolds and other masters of the criminal band want said, is a leading ministerial light of the church founded by John Wesley. Does any one imagine that the chancellor of a great university

would have been found the aggressive advocate of the Standard Oil law-breakers, after their criminal practices had been fully proved, or would have denounced the uncovering of criminality on the part of the very rich, if his association with men of the Archbold type had been less intimate and if the Syracuse University had not been the beneficiary of the criminal wealth of Standard Oil magnates?

The humiliating spectacle presented during the past year of the puppet governor of Colorado defending Simon Guggenheim and men of the type of Evans, the notorious corporation chief and political boss of Denver, is another eloquent illustration of the moral disintegrating influence of wealth contributed by public-service corporations that are in politics for the enrichment of the few through corrupt practices and the exploitation of the people, and of the intimate association with political bosses and high financiers. Mr. Buchtel was at one time an honored and respected divine in his church and later the chancellor of Denver University. The hour came, however, when he was needed to act as a respectable figure-head for the notorious political ring that has so disgraced the Centennial State, and in an hour of weakness he yielded to the temptation and appears to have come as completely under the influence of Boss Evans as Chancellor Day appears to be under the influence of the Standard Oil chiefs.

If these men were the hired retainers of criminal wealth on the one hand and political bosses on the other, they could not serve the twin foes of clean and free government more effectively than they are doing. And yet all thoughtful and patriotic citizens must recognize the fact that the greatest peril which confronts republican institutions to-day is found in this union of corrupt corporation wealth and political bosses. This twin evil, in the favor of which the influence of the Days, the Buchtels and men of their class is cast, is doing more than all else to undermine free institutions, to corrupt government, to debauch the public opinion-forming influences and to destroy the moral idealism that is the hope of life and of true civilization.

We repeat what we have said before: There is nothing so demanded as the awakening of the people and the aggressive pushing forward of the work of uncovering the vampire and criminal classes that are fattening off of honest industry while undermining sound business prosperity and public morality.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Menasha, Wisconsin.

THE FIRST annual report of the Municipal Water and Light Plant of Menasha, Wisconsin, a town of 6,000 people, gives the total cost of operation, including interest and insurance as \$6,667.49, receipts \$10,752, surplus \$4,084.51 for profit and depreciation. The water and lighting accounts being kept separate shows the electric plant responsible for the surplus. Fuel oil has been used and has proved to be much cheaper than coal. The oil being pumped from the car to the station tanks and sprayed into the engine cylinders under air pressure of 60 atmospheres (900 pounds), making boilers unnecessary. In November, 1905, the city began to supply water from its municipal pumping station at an initial cost of \$105,000. \$75,000 was raised on 4½ per cent. bonds, the rest paid from cash funds on hand by the city. February, 1906, the electric equipment, dynamos, poles, wire, lamps, etc., were added at a cost of \$10,000, so that the total investment amounts to \$115,000. The water is taken from the Menasha branch of the Fox river, the plant being situated upon its bank. The water being clear and free from vegetable growth does not have to be filtered. One cause of loss to the city plant is the fact that many of the factories and mills, being situated themselves upon the banks of the river, pump their own water. Meters are placed in the city hall, school buildings, etc., and the water used is charged for at the usual rate. These rates are 15 cents per 1,000 gallons for any amount per day between one gallon and one thousand gallons, 10 cents for 1,000-3,000 gallons a day, 8 cents for 3,000-6,000 gallons; and 6 cents for any amount between 6,000 and 12,000 gallons per day. A minimum charge of \$5.00 per year, however, payable semi-annually, is collected of all users of water.

Of the lighting plant, the year's operating expense, insurance and interest was \$2,334.90, total receipts were \$5,377.00, surplus then

(appreciation and profit), \$3,042.10. The general control of the plant is in the hands of a Water and Light Committee of the City Council. The people are in favor of adding to the equipment of the lighting plant in order to furnish light to private consumers.

Municipal "Autos."

THE TIME is probably not far distant when the public works of large cities will be served almost altogether by self-propelled vehicles. They are not in general use yet, but, as they prove themselves successful and economical, they will be more and more adopted. Already there are automobile street-sprinklers, and sweepers, road rollers, refuse and dog-catcher's wagons, besides the different pieces of fire apparatus in use in the different cities in Europe and America. The special types of newer vehicles mentioned above being rather costly are not much in evidence. The largest number of municipal automobiles are used by the fire chiefs and police, health, parks and street-cleaning commissioners, and many police-patrol wagons and ambulances are noticed. The types of machines used by the fire chiefs vary in kind from the motor bicycle of Salt Lake City's chief to Chief Croker's sixty-mile-an-hour touring car in New York. In that city about thirty machines are owned by the municipality. Hartford, Connecticut, has used a self-propelled steam fire engine for more than twenty years. Over thirty years ago Boston owned and used a similar type of machine, while in 1897 and 1898 the city purchased two others which are now used in the shopping district. New Orleans and Newark each also have a steam-propelled fire engine. Some of the European cities have more elaborate equipment for fire service which have been under the observation of the Bureau of Manufacture of the Department of Commerce and Labor of this country for several months. In Paris is a street-sprinkler which in winter can be converted into a street-sweeping machine; then there are patrol wagons that can be quickly

changed into ambulances. In Chicago four machines are in use by the Public Library, the annual cost of operating which has been found to be but \$7,980 even with a depreciation of 15 per cent. added. Horses and wagons doing the same work would cost \$10,395. The first cost is more in the case of the automobile. In Los Angeles motor cycles are used from the central station by the police in cases needing their services in a hurry.

Public Laundries for Washington.

A NEW departure in this country is being proposed by the Commissioners at Washington, D. C., where they wish to install public laundries in connection with their proposed public baths. These public baths with laundries attached are very common in Europe but are new to this country. The plan contemplates a laundry containing about thirty stationary tubs for the use of the women of the poorer classes. A drying room would be provided, hot air or steam drying the clothes. The cost of these public laundries would be about \$1,000 each.

Jacksonville's Electric Lights.

THE REPORT of Superintendent Ellis of the Electric Light Plant of Jacksonville, Florida, recently issued, states the receipts from lighting and power to be for the year \$223,684.29, an increase of \$37,614.81 over last year's receipts. The actual cost of operating the plant is given as \$112,965.12, the earnings as \$110,719.17, \$60,128.48 of which was expended for new machinery, meters and line extensions. The output of current during the year was 4,610,493 kilowatts, price received for it being 4.85 cents per kilowatt. The cost per kilowatt of current at the switchboard was \$71,407.79, being 1.54 cents per kilowatt; based on the total operating expense however, it was 2.45 cents per kilowatt.

Bollandale, Mississippi.

AT A MEETING of the tax-payers of Bollandale, Mississippi, called by the Mayor and board of Aldermen to find ways and means of raising funds in order to continue operating the water and light plant, they decided to increase the water-tax per hydrant 100 per cent., making a present price of \$1.00, also to increase the price per head for stock to 20 cents instead of the old rate of 10 cents.

They had been having a monthly deficit of \$60, and as the city taxes were almost due it was decided to raise the *ad valorem* tax rate from 7 mills to 10 mills. Taxable property is at present about \$300,000. This method will provide the city with an annual net income of \$3,000, \$1,800 to be applied as interest on bonds, the balance to be credited to the sinking fund.

Free Service Proposed.

AT VENTNOR CITY, New Jersey, an unique method has been proposed and put before the people for their approval regarding municipal-ownership of some of their public utilities. The plan as outlined is for the city to purchase the present water-works, from the now controlling syndicate, erect gas and electric-light plants to furnish tax-payers with light and fuel, free of rental, and have the operating expenses of the three plants entirely raised by direct taxation.

Lynchburg, Virginia.

THE NEW gravity works of Lynchburg, Virginia, have cost slightly over \$700,000. The system brings water a distance of twenty-two miles from Pedlar river. The water is brought through a thirty-inch main from an immense dam.

So-called Failures.

FROM a recent number of the *Municipal Journal and Engineer* comes this statement regarding municipal-ownership failures. Some little time ago in consequence of reports that had been circulated regarding the failure of certain municipal gas plants, the Editor sent out inquiries to all of them, hoping to compile a list of the replies received for his readers. Only two of them responded to his appeal for information, and these referred to the Richmond, Virginia, and Norwich, Connecticut plants. The facts regarding these plants are as follows:

The oldest gas plant in this country is the one at Richmond, which commenced operation on February 22, 1851, having been built at a cost of \$463,861.08. For the year 1906 the total gross receipts were \$459,020.73, and total gross disbursements \$283,365.99, leaving a profit of \$175,654.74, but deducting as is necessary \$80,000 for depreciation and interest of 4 per cent. bonds, we find an apparent profit of over \$95,000. This might be reduced somewhat by unpaid taxes and a

few other items such as office rent, remuneration for services of certain city employes, insurance, etc., but it does not seem probable that this apparent profit could be entirely wiped out. At the close of 1905 a statement in the report was to the effect that all expenses of the plant including interest placed against the receipts from gas, coke, etc., from the date of construction of the plant to the end of 1905, shows a balance of \$1,003,504.61 in favor of the city, which would be sufficient to entirely build a new plant and hence would more than cover the total depreciation. That does not look like a financial failure. Mr. W. P. Knowles, the superintendent of the works, has issued a pamphlet answering some criticisms made by Mr. Howard Bruce of New York City regarding some of the

equipment in 1905, which can probably be obtained from him by any one interested.

The city of Norwich, Connecticut, owns and operates both gas and electric plants under the control of one commission, but accounts kept separate. The total amount of income credited to the gas plant for the year ending July 31, 1906, was \$56,790.60, total operating expenses, salaries, interest and depreciation being \$49,185.26, show a net profit of \$7,606.34. Financially the plant seems to be successful. The combined gas and electric plants were purchased by the city in 1904 at a cost of \$227,000. The report therefore covers the second year of control by the city. The profit from the first year was \$10,451.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

Oregon's Monopolies Fighting in The Last Ditch.

THE Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company has discovered that it must either break down the Oregon Constitution or eventually be compelled to bow to the will of the people in conducting operations in that state. It has decided, therefore, according to that arch-enemy of popular government on the Pacific coast, the *Los Angeles Times*, to seek the overthrow of the amendment of 1902 and the consequent nullification of all subsequent legislation affected by it. The *Times* exults over the prospect (?) of legal anarchy in Oregon and the extinction of popular power over predatory corporations, but its exultation is premature, to say the least.

The attorneys for the telephone trust claim to have discovered that the Federal Constitution is violated by the initiative and referendum in the following respects, namely—they deprive the Legislature of power to:

Prescribe time, place and manner of electing United States Senators and Congressmen;

Direct the manner in which the State shall appoint electors for president;

Consent to junction of Oregon with other States or parts of States;

Apply to the United States government for protection from domestic troubles;

Apply to Congress for conventions to propose amendments to the Federal Constitution; and of power to ratify amendments to the Constitution;

Choose United States Senators;

And further, the lawyers declare that it violates the rights, privileges and immunities granted to corporations; and, finally, that it is unrepresentative, and violative of the Republican form of government.

Some fifty or more minor objections, all on alleged constitutional grounds, are made to the initiative law, but chief among them is the one salient defect, so-called, that it "destroys the Legislature and constitutes a certain portion of the voters of the State as a legislative body, in conflict with the Constitution of the United States which provides that the States shall create and maintain separate legislative assemblies."

The Supreme Court of Oregon has fully sustained the Constitution on every point and it is not easily conceivable that the Supreme Court of the United States will consent to

throw a whole state into anarchy in violation of every principle of democratic government for the mere sake of relieving a monopolistic corporation from the payment of a just tax.

The occasion for this action of the telephone trust is the attempt of the state authorities to collect a 2 per cent. gross revenues tax imposed upon franchise corporations by the people's law of 1903.

Governor Chamberlain Says it Will Spread Throughout The Union.

IN AN interview at the National Irrigation Congress, Governor Chamberlain of Oregon is quoted as speaking in most enthusiastic terms of the initiative and referendum. He said:

"The best people of my State are overwhelmingly in favor of them and more than satisfied with their workings. They have been of incalculable value to the State. In 1902 the people by an almost unanimous vote, amended the Constitution by the adoption of the initiative and referendum, under the terms of which, though the legislative authority remains vested in the assembly, the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution and to enact or reject them at the polls independent of the legislative assembly. They also reserve the power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the assembly.

"The effect of this has been most salutary. For whether a legislative body is nominated or elected by political machines backed by beneficiaries of special legislation or whether as a typically representative body having the best interests of the people at heart, the amendment serves as a check upon theascalities of the former class and as a corrective of errors of omission and commission of the latter.

"There is little doubt that when the wonderful purifying effect of the initiative and referendum become more widely known and appreciated they will be adopted all over the Union."

Miscellaneous News.

THE Ohio Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Columbus, October 1st, gave the initiative and referendum bill which is to be acted upon by the legislature of that state at its approaching session its most emphatic endorsement.

THE National Federation for People's Rule has issued a brief for a public debate on a resolution for establishing the initiative and referendum in National affairs. This literature should have a wide circulation among schools and colleges everywhere.

THE PRIMARY election law passed by the Illinois legislature last winter has been declared unconstitutional by the state superior court. The announcement of the decision, says the news despatches, was greeted by a cheer by the politicians in the lobby of the Leland Hotel at Springfield.

A NEW charter movement has been started in Los Angeles, and every would-be political grafter and corporation magnate is putting forth every possible effort to eliminate direct-legislation and the recall or to nullify them by raising the percentages which are already very large to a prohibitive point. Truly eternal vigilance is the price.

THE Oregon Supreme Court has handed down a decision in which all three of the contested referendum cases are settled, sustaining the validity of the referendum petitions. This means that the bills under protest will go before the people for final arbitrament at the coming June election. The first bill is one increasing the regular annual appropriation for the State University from \$47,500 to \$125,000. The second is the Multnomah County Sheriff bill; and the third is the bill providing compulsory railroad passes for state officials.

SENATOR LODGE told his Boston audience lately that direct legislation means mob rule. This brings the recent experience at Whiting, Indiana, to mind. The City Council there tried to put through a traction grant of fifty years' duration, paying little heed to popular protests. As the Council reached the concluding stages of action on the bill a crowd of angry citizens swarmed into the chamber and forced an adjournment. One of the Aldermen was beaten and others effected a narrow escape. No legal way of applying the initiative and referendum principle exists in that city and so the citizens resorted to an illegal or extra-legal method of applying it. It was a case of putting the principle into force with boots on, as it were. Doubtless even Senator Lodge will agree that a legal recognition of this principle in government is better than an assertion of it by force.

THE Independent platform of Toledo declares for direct-legislation.

DECATUR, Louisiana, held a special referendum election September 12th, on the subject of territorial extension.

THE Independence League in each state where an organization has been formed, so far as we have seen, has placed the demand for the initiative and referendum as the first plank in its platform.

THE Missouri friends of direct-legislation are putting up a splendid campaign of educational work in support of the constitutional amendment upon which the people are to vote in 1908. The work is led by Dr. W. P. Hill, president of the state league, ably seconded by John Z. White who is lecturing throughout the state.

GRAND RAPIDS keeps up the use of the referendum. A franchise granted to P. T. Cook to construct a street-railway was not satisfactory to many of the people so a referendum petition was filed and the people now will have the privilege of rendering the final decision. It is said that every property owner on the streets in question has signed the protest, and that there is but little doubt that the franchise will be turned down by the people.

A NUMBER of franchises for electric and steam roads are being asked of the city of Sacramento and instead of the whole matter being left to a much be-lobbied city council to settle, the existence of the referendum power has evoked a popular public interest and a joint committee from the civic and municipal bodies of the city is acting as a steering committee for invoking the referendum where necessary on the different franchise propositions.

THE Ohio Constitution contains the following:

"All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit, and they have the right to alter, reform or abolish the same whenever they may deem it necessary; and no special privileges or immunities shall ever be granted that may not be altered, revoked or repealed by the General Assembly."

Surely there is a basis here for constitutional support of the direct-legislation measure which has already passed one house of the

legislature and is being ably championed by the State League.

THE Washington State intercollegiate debate next Spring will be upon direct-legislation, and the forces are lining up on the subject already in a series of preliminaries.

A SPECIAL village election at Merchantsville, New Jersey, September 27th, to vote on the proposition to erect and maintain a pumping plant in order to furnish a better and purer water supply to consumers, resulted in 115 votes being cast, 55 for and 57 against, and three mutilated ballots. The proposition was declared lost.

THE CONSTITUTIONALITY of the direct-legislation provision of the Wilmington' Delaware, charter will be tested by an appeal to the Superior Court. The ordinance passed by the people last winter requiring the city tax collectors to give corporation bond went into effect October 1st and it is reported that these officers have refused to comply with the law.

AN ATTEMPT by the legislature to abolish the popular city meeting at New Britain, Connecticut, was referred to the people September 24th, and defeated by a vote of 99 to 582. The people may well be reluctant to give up their meeting until something better adapted to large populations and quite as democratic is offered in its place.

AT A SPECIAL meeting of the voters of Willimantic, Connecticut, September 10th the bill referred by the legislature giving the city the right to cut and sell ice was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This right which the city receives by this vote does not signify that the city will go into the ice business but the intention of those who favored the measure was more to hold a club over the local ice dealers who last summer combined and charged high prices for ice when there was no need of it, as the crop of the preceding winter had been a good one. The vote was a victory for Mayor Daniel P. Dunn, who was sponsor for the measure in the general assembly.

IN AN editorial on "Do Voters Think?" the Omaha News takes the position that they do think, and can be depended upon to show consideration for moral issues. It says:

"The whole state of Georgia has just gone dry. Louisiana is seven-eighths dry. Ala-

bama expects shortly to adopt similar prohibition laws. In Texas ninety counties are already dry. In Kentucky ninety-one counties are dry. More than half the counties of Iowa have local option. There are only three wet cities in Tennessee. In Maryland 500 cities and towns have prohibition ordinances. More than half of Missouri is dry. Prohibition has claimed nearly all of Florida. More than half the counties of West Virginia have no saloons. In Arkansas sixty out of seventy-five counties are dry. Prohibition is assured in Oklahoma for twenty-one years. Indiana and Ohio are voting down the saloons, town by town. In Illinois there are already nearly 200 local option towns."

THERE will be a referendum on two amendments to the New Jersey constitution at the November election. These amendments provide for a reapportionment of the Assembly districts of the state in the interest of a purer politics and should be passed by a big vote.

A PETITION signed by three ex-mayors and 119 other citizens of Melrose, Massachusetts, protests against an expenditure of \$75,000 on improvements to the High School building. These gentlemen want a referendum but cannot demand it. Doubtless many of them are Lodge Republicans and believe in his interpretation of "representative" government, so why should they object to what the city council does?

THE CITY council of Shreveport, Louisiana, having taken steps to oust Chief of Police Cheleth from office, the chief has secured the right to have his position decided by a referendum vote of the people.

THE SOCIALIST party of Montana has issued a call to secure a referendum vote on the proposition of boycotting the Bell Telephone company. It will be necessary to secure the endorsement of at least three of the forty-two locals in the state in order to secure a referendum vote. If this endorsement is secured the question of boycotting the company will then be submitted to all the locals in Montana.

AS A RESULT of agitation on the part of a minister, a petition has been signed by over 10 per cent. of the voters of the town of Elliott, New York, calling upon the County

Clerk to place the license question upon the ballot at the November election. He was required to comply. There is far more referendum voting of this sort being done throughout the county than can be easily realized.

REV. FATHER DONOVAN of Middletown, New York, having proposed to convert his parochial school into a public school on condition that the city pay \$4,800 yearly to the parish and that he be given the appointment of the teachers, the proposition was submitted September 20th to a referendum vote. The vote stood 643 for acceptance and 934 against.

THE PEOPLE of Norwich, Connecticut, held a special election September 17th to vote upon an appropriation for a new school building and only a few dissenting votes were recorded.

THE PRESIDENT of the street-railway company of San Diego, California, having been refused an extension franchise by the city council, has secured enough signatures to compel the council to submit the question to a referendum. This is a most unique proceeding and its outcome will be watched with interest.

Municipal Affairs of Los Angeles makes a convincing answer to the objection to direct-legislation that it is expensive. It observes that Los Angeles has had direct-legislation since 1903. In those four years there has been a recall of one councilman; it cost \$1,000. There has been one referendum at a special election; it cost \$8,500. There has been one referendum at a general election; it cost nothing. And one franchise graft worth \$1,000,000 has been allowed to die for fear of a referendum; it cost nothing. The total expense of the law has therefore been \$9,500, or \$2,375 a year; and the total saving at least \$1,000,000, or \$250,000 a year. As *Municipal Affairs* says, the expense was "a very modest charge for insurance against legislation that is disapproved by the people," to say nothing of the amount saved by the legal possibility of a referendum. Men who object to direct-legislation on the ground of its expense, will do well to ponder on this record.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

The Oregon Initiative.

CONCERNING the Proportional Representation amendment to the Constitution of Oregon, it was stated in the quarterly *Proportional Representation Review* for October, that the Gove system was to be provided for in a schedule to the amendment, and that that system was to be used in all legislative and municipal elections throughout the state, including primaries; also for preferential voting on the absolute-majority plan for election of all single officers, primaries included. The controlling factor was the desire for a system which would provide a uniform method of voting, both for single officers, such as governor, and for representatives, such as members of the legislature. This could be done only by one of two systems; the Hare or the Gove; and for simplicity's sake the latter was chosen.

This was the information before me at the time of preparing that publication. Since then, the decision as to the schedule has been reconsidered, and it has been thought wiser to initiate an amendment which provides simply for the principle of Proportional Representation in the kind of elections above mentioned, leaving the specific system to be enacted by subsequent legislation.

Accordingly, an Initiative petition is being launched, headed by the amendment without the schedule. If sufficient signatures are procured, the people of Oregon will vote next June on this Constitutional Amendment providing for Proportional Representation.

Here is news of surpassing interest and importance to every proportionalist and lover of good government. If the people of Oregon adopt the constitutional amendment which is to be submitted to them, our reform will be tried on so extensive a scale as to attract the attention of the whole country and throw much needed light on the question of what system is the best for use in the United States.

England.

THE Proportional Representation Society has printed in pamphlet form the speech of Lord Courtney in the House of Lords in moving the second reading of the Municipal Representation Bill.

MR. KEIR HARDIE, the popular labor member of the British Parliament, is a member of the British Proportional Representation Society.

A VALUABLE document has been issued by the British Parliament. It is a "Blue Book" of 144 pages, containing, as its title states, "Reports from His Majesty's Representative, in Foreign Countries and in British Colonies Respecting the Application of the Principles of Proportional Representation." These reports were sent in compliance with a circular letter from the British foreign office—signed by Earl Grey. They show what legislative measures have been taken for the application of the principle of Proportional Representation to public elections, whether national, provincial, cantonal, municipal, or otherwise; how such measures are found to work in practice; and what modifications and extensions of the system have been made during the period it has been in operation.

The result is a collection of authentic data covering the ground indicated in the circular, and exceedingly useful for reference, besides showing the use of Proportional Representation in cases about which it would have been difficult to get information otherwise.

The price of the Blue Book is forty cents, including postage and the Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League has two copies on hand.

THE Metropolitan Counties Branch of the British Medical Association has adopted the Hare-Spence system of Proportional Representation in the election of its four vice-presidents and its five representatives in the central council of the association. A

detailed report of the election of the vice-presidents was published by the British *Medical Journal* of June 22nd last, and has been reprinted in pamphlet form by the Proportional Representation Society. In the election of the vice-presidents the four who headed the poll on first choice were those ultimately elected. In the election of five representatives, the man who was sixth on the first count beat the fifth man finally by one vote. Over 850 votes were cast. The adoption of Proportional Representation by this large and influential organization is a result of the illustrative election held by the Proportional Representation Society, as described in an earlier issue of this department of THE ARENA. Dr. G. Crichton became interested in the account of that election as published in *The Morning Post*, and brought the matter to the notice of his fellow-members of the Medical Council.

Professor Commons' Book.

THE PUBLICATION of a second edition of Professor John R. Commons' excellent book on Proportional Representation* is an event of importance to all who desire an improvement in our representative system, and justifies a somewhat full review.

The few adverse criticisms I have to make can be very briefly disposed of. Events have recently moved so far and fast in the United States concerning Direct-Legislation that Professor Commons' references to that subject in Chapter VII. appear somewhat antiquated. He frankly admits a much more favorable impression of Direct-Legislation than formerly, but he has retained old and foreign data on the subject which might well have given place to more recent experiences, especially when he has made so admirable an exposition of the subject in his third and fourth appendices. Noticing the adoption of Proportional Representation in Belgium for parliamentary elections, the author says that the system is the same as that used in the Brussels trial election of 1893. This is an error, because the List system used at that election was based on the multiple vote, whereas the method now used in Belgium is

the List system with the single vote. Then in speaking of the Hare system Professor Commons rather contemptuously refers to its advocates as "those who, in a too doctrinaire fashion, wish to abolish political parties," and so on. This is not a fair description of the proportionalists who are pushing the Hare system in England and Australia, where it is the only system advocated.

Turning now to the general contents of the book, a rapid review, chapter by chapter, will be useful and suggestive.

"The Failure of Legislative Assemblies" is the subject of the opening chapter, showing in eight vigorous pages how legislatures have fallen from their high estate and the need of some root remedy. Then fittingly follows:

"The Origin and Development of Representative Assemblies." This chapter's title sufficiently indicates both its subject-matter and its interesting contents, dealt with by one very much at home in historical writing.

"The District System at Work" is a powerful and convincing arraignment of the existing method of election in single-member districts, supported by an array of facts and figures, the collection of which must have involved much labor and research, and concluding with these pregnant words:

"The gerrymander and inequality in the representation of parties are bad enough; but the deadly evil of the system is expulsion of ability and public spirit from politics, and the consequent dictatorship of bosses and private corporations."

"The General Ticket, the Limited Vote, the Cumulative Vote." Professor Commons next deals with these three methods of election, which have been extensively tried, and he shows by statistics, facts and illustrations that the first-named method is as bad as single-member districts, and that the two others are inefficient and inadequate remedies, taken as systems by themselves. Of "crude cumulation" he well says:

"The cumulative vote, therefore, whether in small or large constituencies, must involve either waste and guesswork, or extreme dictatorship of party machinery."

"Proportional Representation" is the title of the fifth chapter, in which the author propounds a remedy for the political evils he has been discussing. After an analysis of the single-vote principle and a description of the Hare system, he proceeds to consider what plan is best suited to present political

**Proportional Representation*. Second Edition with chapters on the Initiative, the Referendum, and Primary Elections. By John R. Commons, Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., 1907.

conditions in the United States. He discusses at length the List system with cumulative vote, and the plan recommended in 1895 by a committee of the American Proportional Representation League. This latter plan embodied a List or Ticket system with multiple vote, each elector having power to distribute his votes amongst candidates of more than one ticket, and to concentrate on one ticket the votes that he does not distribute individually. This is the plan which the author prefers. In illustration of its working he gives an account of a trial election held on this principle in Brussels in 1893.

"Application of the Remedy" comes next. It shows how and why the use of Proportional Representation would remedy political evils whilst elevating and purifying politics. Professor Commons shows the fallacy of such a remedy as compulsory voting, and concludes thus:

"The real problem is not how to compel unwilling voters to vote, but how to give effect to the votes of those who are willing."

"Party Responsibility" is the title of Chapter VII. It is an able analysis of the practical working of representative government, and effectually disposes of the idea that the adoption of Proportional Representation would lead to a multiplicity of parties, to a weak government, or to the balance of power being given to small third parties. The paragraphs which relate to the real nature and growth of legislation are illuminating and brilliant. "The fundamental nature of legislation is not party victory, but compromise," our author says; and he shows how it must always be so. Not a base compromise born of pusillanimity, but a true and righteous expediency.

"City Government" is the next topic considered, largely from the standpoint of present conditions in the United States. It is clearly shown that the adoption of a real representative system would do away with the need for autocratic mayors and elevate the city council to its proper position as the supreme authority, whilst making it an assembly of the leaders of opinion and interest. "Our cities are not now in need of greater independence among the citizens, but of better machinery for expressing their actual independence."

"Social Reform" is the subject of Chapter IX. "Political Reform" is only the preliminary to Social Reform." This sentence gives the key-note of the chapter.

"The Progress of Proportional Representation" is related in the concluding chapter, beginning with the work of Thomas Gilpin and Victor Considérant in 1844 and 1846 respectively; and coming down to the Swiss cantonal adoption of Proportional Representation. A full account is given of the American adoption and repeal of various crude attempts at proportional representation, usually in the form of the Limited Vote or the Cumulative Vote. The chapter is not brought down to date, because no reference is made to the Tasmanian elections, to Japan's adoption of Proportional Representation, nor to the Belgium law of 1899; the latter, however, being briefly alluded to in the preface to the second edition.

Then come six appendices. The first deals exhaustively with methods of obtaining the electoral quota. Professor Commons propounds one of his own based on eliminating the vote of any party which is below a certain percentage, and then getting a quota by division of the remaining votes by the seats. I heartily agree with Professor Commons' objections to that "highly complicated" method, the d'Houdt quota, which really gives worse results than simpler methods, if we may judge from one of the professor's illustrations.

"The Legalization of Political Parties" deals with the party primary and the need for a frank recognition of parties.

The third appendix does full justice to Direct-Legislation, and in right eloquent fashion. The fourth appendix deals with the Initiative and Referendum in city government.

"Proportional Representation from an American Point-of-View," the subject of the fifth appendix, is self-explanatory.

Finally, I am very glad that Professor Commons has printed, as the sixth appendix, his article from *The Independent* on "Representation of Interests," which always appealed to me as a particularly valuable presentation of one of the main principles of Proportional Representation.

ROBERT TYSON.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Farmers' Union in Tennessee.

THE GROWTH of the Farmers' Union and Coöperative Association of America in Tennessee is strikingly shown by figures compiled in the office of the secretary of state, and published in the *Nashville Tennessean*.

Within the past twelve or fifteen months the members of the union have organized and chartered in this state says, the *Tennessean*, twenty-four companies for the purpose of building, owning and operating warehouses in which to store their crops, to hold them until prices suit them. These concerns have a combined capital of \$134,500. Hardly a week passes that two or three of these farmers' warehouses are not chartered.

The membership of the Farmers' Union in Tennessee is now estimated at 20,000, and it is rapidly growing each month. The membership in Alabama reaches to about 75,000, and in every Southern state in the union has a large and constantly increasing membership. The total membership in all the states of the South is now possibly not far from half a million.

Few, perhaps, realize how tremendously this organization has spread over the Southern states. It started in Alabama and Georgia less than three years ago, quickly crossed the Mississippi and sprang into strong life in Texas and Arkansas. It now covers every Southern state. The purpose of the organization is fraternal and commercial. It was organized to enable the farmers to protect themselves by building warehouses in which to place their crops and hold them until they are ready to sell. In many counties of this and other states, however, they have erected gins for the purpose of ginning their own product and putting it in the bale, so that it can be held.

Politics have no place in the union, the by-laws of every county organization making it a prohibition to allow anything of a political nature whatever to be considered in the various meetings. This was the rock on which the

old Farmers' Alliance foundered, and the originators of the new movement wisely took the lesson to be drawn therefrom. Following are the corporations which have been chartered by the farmers in Tennessee, with their capital stock within the last fifteen months:

Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of McKenzie, \$1,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse and Storage Co., of Gibson county, \$5,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Haywood county, \$2,000; Planters' Union Warehouse Co., of Robertson county, \$3,500; Farmers' Union Gin, Warehouse and Compress Co., of Halls, Lauderdale county, \$1,500; Farmers' Union Warehouse Stock Co., of Carter county, \$3,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Stock Co., of Madison county, \$1,000; Farmers' Union and Gin Co., of Obion county, \$10,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Hardin county, \$5,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Hardeman county, \$10,000; Farmers' Coöperative Warehouse Co., of Tipton county, \$1,500; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Lauderdale county, \$4,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Gibson county, \$10,000; Fayette County Warehouse, Ginning and Storage Co., \$6,000; Farmers' Union Warehouse Co., of Dyer county, \$4,000; Bean's Creek Warehouse Co., of Franklin county, \$3,000; Bethel Springs Farmers' Union Cotton Warehouse Co., of McNairy county, \$3,000; Enterprise Warehouse Co., of Lamont, Robertson county, \$1,500; Henning Union Warehouse Co., of Henning, Lauderdale county, \$3,000; McKenzie Farmers' Union Warehouse and Storage Co., of Carroll county, \$1,000; Farmers' Union Gin Co., of Lauderdale county, \$6,000; Holly Grove Union Gin Co., of Haywood county, \$3,000; Union Gin Co., of Dyer county, \$3,000; Farmers' Protective Union of Sullivan county, \$50,000.

Right-Relationship League News.

THE Right-Relationship League is doing the most extensive work for the spreading of

coöperation anywhere in the United States. News of their work has been given frequently in the columns of *THE ARENA* but the reports recently received from them denote greater accomplishment than ever before. Indeed the League reports that the demand for organization work is becoming greater than they can handle.

On the first of October they had forty-five stores organized on the Right-Relationship League plan in twelve county companies, all operating within one hundred miles of the Minneapolis office. They are organizing at the rate of about five stores a month, and hope to surpass this record in the winter months.

THE SECOND store in the St. Croix County Coöperative has been organized at Hudson, Wisconsin, where a large number of railroad employes and mill workers united with the farmers in forming the coöperative company. They are to start with a grocery stock, and hope soon to add other lines of goods to their stock, so that they will have a complete department store. Over fifty stockholders have already subscribed. Another town in that county is about to organize, and the League Secretary states that calls have come from several other towns for admission to the county company.

A NUMBER of farmers have organized a coöperative company at Northfield, Minnesota, which makes the third in the Dakota county chain. Seventy-one shares of \$100 each were subscribed for at the organization meeting.

A NEW county coöperative has been added to the rapidly-growing list in Minnesota. Montgomery, in Le Sueur County, is the town in which the new store which has a capital of \$15,000 is established. Immediately after this organization was completed, two proposals were read from merchants in other towns of the county to turn over their businesses to the company on the regular plans of the League, and were accepted by the Board of Directors. It is expected that there will be at least six new stores by January 1st.

THE MANAGERS of the "Peoples' Store," a department of the Polk County Coöperative Company at Clear Lake, Wisconsin, state that this store, with about the same stock of goods as it had the year before, in the same location and with the same management, is

doing nearly double the business this year that it did in the corresponding months of last year under competitive conditions and management.

ONE of the League stores was organized at Castle Rock, Minnesota, last February, and has been so successful that when, during the first week in October, it came to the knowledge of the farmers that the elevator at that place was for sale, a subscription was immediately circulated and in three or four days thirty subscribers were secured on the equal ownership plan of the League, because they did not want the railroad-controlled elevator lines to get hold of it.

A THIRD store in the Scott County Coöperative Company is organized at Belle Plaine, Minnesota, with fifty-six charter members.

THE ORGANIZERS and representatives of the American Society of Equity and representatives from about a dozen Right-Relationship League stores met in conference at the office of the League, September 30, and it is believed that as a result of the conference there will be much harmonious coöperation between the two organizations wherever they come in contact in the future. It developed that there had been some little friction between the organizers of the two movements in one or two places, and it was agreed by all present that there was no necessity for any such friction, that the ultimate object of both organizations being the elimination of competitive waste and the saving of profits to producers and consumers, the work should not overlap nor conflict.

Co-operative Commission Company.

OVER 100 cattlemen from all over Indiana are said to have joined in the organization of a coöperative commission company which was incorporated at Indianapolis in September. This was done to protect the members against the exorbitant and unfair treatment accorded them by the Indianapolis stockyards people. Mr. W. B. Hiner of Flora, Indiana, is the leading projector of this organization.

Fishermen's Co-operative Company.

A FISHERMEN's Coöperative Company with a capitalization of \$10,000 in shares of \$25 each, has been organized at Augusta, Maine, for the purpose of conducting a wholesale and retail fish business.

Carnegie Tech. Co-operative.

A STUDENT'S coöperative employment agency has been organized by the Carnegie Technical School at Pittsburg for the purpose of mutual aid in securing employment both during study and after graduation.

New Jersey Banks.

EFFORTS are being made to revive the New Jersey State League of Coöperative Building and Loan Associations, which was an active and powerful organization in the state until the managers of the so-called State and National Banks came in and attempted to use it for bolstering up their fraudulent schemes, and then the truly coöperative institutions withdrew. At present the coöperative banks are in so flourishing a condition that they feel justified in reorganizing the League and thus securing a stronger support from the public, and enabling them better to oppose the other banking institutions.

A New Insurance Company.

THE Farmers' Mutual Equity Insurance Society has been organized at Henderson, Kentucky, by more than one hundred property-owners of the surrounding county. The members are confident that by running it on the coöperative plan they will be able to insure their property and avoid excessive rates.

More Co-operative Apartments.

ANOTHER large coöperative apartment house is to be built in New York City at the southeast corner of Seventh avenue and 58th street. It is to be twelve stories high and will cost \$900,000.

Farmers' Banks.

THE Farmers' Union of Washington Parish, Louisiana, is about to establish a bank to be managed by the farmers, and to loan money to farmers only, at a low rate of interest. The farmers in that neighborhood are now placing their cotton in the coöperative warehouse, and will hold it until the price reaches 15 cents per pound.

Campaign in Kentucky.

AN ACTIVE campaign is being carried on this fall in Kentucky for the closer affiliation of the American Society of Equity and the American Federation of Labor. State Senator Newman has praised emphatically the

work which the American Society of Equity is doing, especially in Kentucky, where the farmers are now receiving better prices for their crops than ever before, saying that it is entirely due to their stand against the trusts and their coöperation in pooling their interests. In regard to the tobacco situation about 85 per cent. of the growers have entered the 1907 pool and will soon be in position to demand their own prices. The two societies working together hope to be able to more nearly equalize the wages paid in the city and country.

Nucula, Colorado.

A NEW coöperative colony is being organized at Nucula, Colorado, the object of which seems to be the same as that of all other coöperative colonies which have ever been organized—to establish an ideal commonwealth along educational and social lines with equal justice for all. Membership is obtainable by purchasing 100 shares of stock in this association, which sells at \$1 a share.

Co-operative Boardinghouse.

A NEW YORK woman who opened a boardinghouse on East 15th street, fifteen years ago began by giving her cook and head man 15 per cent. of the profits after the first six months of their employment. She has continued this plan until now all of the servants share in the profits and she finds that the plan works very successfully. The servants consider themselves an integral part of the establishments and consequently each one does all that lies in his power to make the business thrive. At present she operates five boardinghouses in New York city, and is about to open two large hotels, one in New York and the other in Washington. All of these are run on the profit-sharing principle and the servants are privileged to aid in the management.

The Washington Store.

THE Departmental Coöperative Guild of Washington, District of Columbia, has secured the large building on the corner of Ninth and G streets, Northwest, where on the first of November they opened the first department of their large department store, consisting of a first-class grocery and provision store.

Co-operating Druggists.

CO-OPERATIVE buying is rapidly increasing among small dealers who have to combat the trusts, and but recently there was a report of the coöperation of the dry-goods merchants for this purpose in a small Western town. Now comes the news that the National Association of Registered Druggists is about to undertake the buying of their supplies coöperatively, and several other organizations dealing in drugs have organized upon a similar basis.

Co-operative Cotton Factories.

THE Farmers' Union of Texas has decided to erect several cotton factories in that state to utilize the low-grade cotton in the manufacture of cheap cotton goods. This "dog-tail" cotton, as it is called, is used by market manipulators to decrease prices for the better grades, for they claim that it cannot be classed. The factories are to be operated coöperatively, following out practically the same idea that is in effect in conducting the cotton warehouses. By manufacturing this cotton into goods in Texas it will be kept off the market, and a much higher price can be commanded by the farmers for the regular grades. There are from 300,000 to 500,000 bales of the dog-tail cotton produced in Texas yearly, and it is the intention of the Union to erect a sufficient number of factories to utilize this.

Philadelphia Apartment House.

A CO-OPERATIVE apartment house for women who are self-supporting has recently

been opened at No. 615½ North 8th street, Philadelphia, with all modern conveniences, extremely low rates, and the attractions and refinements of a real home. The house itself which was formerly one of Philadelphia's fine old homes, has been thoroughly renovated, and is furnished in beautiful simplicity. There are large and comfortable bedrooms, and the reception room, made pleasant and inviting by rugs, mission furniture, piano, polished floor, and dark green walls, is a most delightful place for the women and the entertainment of their friends. The diningroom and kitchen arrangement are distinctive. Small mission tables are used in the diningroom, and each guest sets her table with the individual accessories of china, linen, and silver, with the house linen, for her exclusive use. In the kitchen each person has her own little gas stove and cooking utensils, so that meals may be cooked and served at any hour that suits convenience and business arrangements. On the second floor there is a teacher of domestic science, one of the assistant workers at the Settlement which has inaugurated the institution, who teaches cooking, sewing and housekeeping for five cents a lesson. In the basement is the laundry, with stationary tubs and all modern appliances, which is for the exclusive use of the guests. The charges are \$1.25 a week if a girl shares a room with one or two others, and not over \$1.75 if she has a room alone. A small fee is charged for the laundry, and another for the gas used in cooking. The home was opened on October 1st.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE: Our readers will find in Mr. FRANCIS LAMONT PIERCE'S contribution, which we publish this month, a brilliant and exceptionally able paper, searching and severe, but in the main just. The author is a critic of far more than ordinary power and a man who we predict is destined to make a high place for himself among the great critics and litterateurs of America. His strictures and comparisons are in many respects so eminently just that, though unpalatable, they call for careful consideration, and coming as they do from an American thinker, they will be better received and accomplish more good than would be possible if the critic were a foreigner.

The Unrest in India Its Genesis and Trend: SAINT NIHAL SING'S thoughtful paper on the unrest in India will challenge the attention of American men and women interested in world problems. The author is a young East Indian of fine scholarship, a regular contributor to the four leading high-class magazines of India, *The Indian*, *Hindustan* and *Modern Reviews*, and *The Indian World*. Mr. SING has made a long and careful study of conditions in his own country and he presents the subject in an admirably temperate and judicial spirit. It is a luminous paper, and will aid materially in giving our readers the East Indian's view of this important problem.

The Good and Bad of the President's Policies: We desire to call the special attention of our readers to the lucid and discriminating estimate of President ROOSEVELT'S policies and achievements made in this issue by Mr. W. B. FLEMING. The author writes in a calm and judicial spirit. He thoroughly appreciates the good that has been accomplished by the President and its far-reaching influence on the public mind, but this does not blind him to the grave shortcomings and failures that have marked Mr. ROOSEVELT'S administration. He is too discriminating and too fundamental a thinker to join in the shallow cry of those who are engaged in indiscriminate and fulsome praise of the President. He shows how, in critical moments, when a brave stand would have meant victory for the people, the President has weakened and compromised.

The Growth of a Social Organism: Mr. ALLAN L. BENSON'S remarkable paper, which appears in the present number of THE ARENA, is one of the most original and thought-arresting politico-economic contributions of recent months. In it the author traces the growth and development of organized life from the simple cell to the complex organism of man, and then institutes a comparison between the expanding development of

life and the growth or development of the social organism. The paper is strong, clear, striking and in many respects unique. It will compel thought, and because the positions advanced are so lucidly stated and so logically sustained, it will carry conviction to many men whose ideas have heretofore been confused in regard to government and the evolutionary trend of the social organism.

The Public Works High School: One of the greatest achievements of democracy is found in the general diffusion of knowledge through public secular education; but great and beneficent as has been this wonderful extension of popular education under the fostering influence of free government, the time is overpast for further educational advance. There are tens of thousands of youths who are compelled, after finishing their grammar-school course, to give up their scholastic work because they have not the means to complete a high-school education, and these boys and girls, eager for knowledge and ready to make great sacrifices to obtain it, would be of immense service to the Republic if they could finish the education they so crave. Now, the giving of all such the opportunity they desire in return for a certain amount of public service that will also be of real benefit to them, is the central thought of the splendidly wrought-out plan that is clearly set forth by Mr. WILLIAM THUM in this issue of THE ARENA. The author of this paper has evidently made it the subject of months of careful study. He examines the question in an exhaustive manner and meets the various objections that might be advanced. It is a very notable paper that should be read by every educator and, indeed, by all thinking citizens who have the highest welfare of the nation at heart. We shall be pleased to hear the opinion of educators and earnest patriotic citizens on this question. It surely is a problem worthy of earnest consideration. We believe Mr. THUM is blazing the way for an advance step in rational democratic public education, and that his thought merits the serious consideration of all earnest men and women.

All Americans of Royal Descent: In the November ARENA we published one of the most important magazine essays of the year on *Government by Federal Judges*, prepared expressly for this magazine by the Chief-Justice of North Carolina. In our present issue, Justice CLARK appears in a paper very different in character. In it he shows the absurdity of the present undemocratic mania on the part of certain reactionaries for genealogies that will show they descended legitimately or otherwise from some king or scion of nobility in the remote past. Justice CLARK exposes the ridiculous character of this quest in a most ingenious manner. He holds, and rightly holds, that "Nothing is more absurd than the spectacle of

an individual seeking to attract imputed honor to himself by asserting claims to descent from one who held some post of honor centuries ago."

Our Book and Literary Section: Our illustrated book and literary section of THE ARENA for this month will be a delight to book-lovers. It contains a number of finely executed half-tone portraits of literary men and women, especially authors of important works, that will be highly prized by those who value good books and wish to possess the portraits of men and women who are appealing to the reading public. The book-studies, reviews and literary notes which accompany the illustrations will also be of special interest. Mr. FLOWER's long reviews of Professor PFLEIDERER's great work and of DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS' new novel are supplemented by many short reviews by the Editor of THE ARENA and those of other staff writers, the whole making one of the most attractive literary features of any Christmas magazine.

One Hundred Years' Battle With the Poison Trust: CHARLES R. JONES, who contributes the striking paper on the rapid growth of the temperance sentiment in recent years, is Chairman of the Associated Prohibition Press and is peculiarly well fitted to give this historic survey of the question with which he deals. On the 15th of next June it will be precisely one hundred years since the first temperance society was organized in America. Starting with this meeting, Mr. JONES traces the march of the temperance movement in the United States. A large portion of the paper is devoted to the amazing strides which have marked the temperance movement in the United States during the last two decades, and especially during the last ten years. We think it is safe to say that this is the most comprehensive and authoritative historic summary of the onward march of the prohibition sentiment that has ever been presented to the public.

The Teaching of Christian Science in Regard to Mesmerism: Elsewhere we have called special attention to Mr. FARLOW's paper explaining the teaching of Christian Science. In the October ARENA, in noticing the question of mesmerism, animal magnetism and hypnotism, we had no desire to confuse these things with the cures performed by Christian Scientists, or to convey the idea that they were similar. Had we been discussing and contrasting these cures and the results

that have followed treatment by Christian Science, and the experiments of hypnotists and others, we should have clearly pointed out the radical difference in the theories. We should have shown that the Christian Scientists hold that God is the only positive force in the Universe and that it was through the prayer of understanding, or through the recognition of His power and the right of man to enjoy health, harmony and happiness, as the image of the Divine Mind, that cures were effected and the reformation of drunkards and others brought about, in a manner which they hold to be precisely similar to the cures wrought by the early Christians. Indeed, they hold that these cures are in conformity with the teachings of Jesus, in which he says, "These signs shall follow them that believe," and again, "Greater works than I do shall ye do," etc.; while, on the other hand, the hypnotists produced their results by hypnotic suggestion, or sometimes by suggestion unaccompanied by hypnosis. In our October issue, we were merely aiming to show the absurdity of Mr. CHANDLER's claim advanced against the founder of Christian Science, by citing a vast array of testimony of physicians and leading scientists to show the potentiality of that which, by implication, Mr. CHANDLER denied. Mrs. EDDY has insisted on the potential danger of mesmerism, magnetism, etc., and Mr. CHANDLER insisted that this view was an evidence of her being under the influence of "delusions," and "the man on the street" or the general public who know nothing about the question, might easily accept Mr. CHANDLER's view and not accepting the teaching of Christian Science, the only way to show such a person the untenable character of the lawyer's contention was to show what things had been done, according to the testimony of leading members of the medical profession and physical scientists, by mesmerism, hypnotism or suggestion. The general newspaper reader might have refused to accept the views of the founder of Christian Science, and yet when he found men whom the world of physical science regarded as eminent,—men like Doctors LIEBEAULT and LIEGEAIS,—contending that crime could be committed by hypnotic suggestion, the opinions of such savants would cause him to pause before accepting without reservation the declaration of men like Mr. CHANDLER, who, in the nature of the case, know little of the subject under discussion. Mr. FARLOW, as head of the Publicity Bureau of the Christian Science Church, is in a position to present the teachings of Christian Science in regard to mesmerism in a thoroughly authoritative manner.

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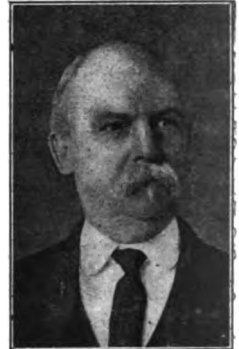
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LAST autumn in publishing our prospectus we said: "From our arrangements already perfected we believe we are warranted in promising that during 1907 THE ARENA will be stronger and more absolutely indispensable to progressive, thoughtful and high-minded patriots who believe in the Declaration of Independence and the ideal of justice for all the people than ever before in its history. In the nature of the case, a magazine dealing with vital problems of the hour cannot announce its program a year in advance, and even if that were possible, for obvious reasons it would not be wise to do so."

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Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace



Hon. Walter Clark, LL.D.
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A brief glance at the content-matter of THE ARENA for 1907 will, we think, show that never in its history has it published so many really vital papers or carried on so aggressive and successful a battle for justice and nobler social conditions along the line of fundamental democracy than during the past year; and it affords us much gratification to know that this opinion is shared by our readers, judging from a number of letters which we are constantly receiving from valued friends and subscribers, many being from the pens of persons who are prominent in public life and among the foremost reform workers of the age. One friend says:

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A prominent writer and public speaker of Chicago, under date of August 30th, says:

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An equally distinguished public character, educator and lecturer in Ohio, writing under date of August 20th, says:



Edward Treggar

"Let me add a word of praise for the new ARENA. It has never been more helpful and splendid. I look ahead to its coming as to the monthly visit of an old friend worth while. It is vital, full of courage, and has a balance which is helpful in keeping man's intellectual self on an even keel, yet always pointed to the port beyond the fog. If my frequent commendations in public and private are of any good, I shall be most happy."

From Toronto, Canada, comes this word from a scholarly author

"I am glad to know that your publication THE ARENA is progressing in every way. It keeps me in touch with the radical thought and movements of the day better than any other magazine I receive."

We could multiply such words of commendation from correspondents until they would occupy many pages. The above, however, are sufficient to indicate an opinion that, judging from the tone of a great majority of our letters, is felt by the large and steadily growing family of ARENA readers.

Something of the service to the cause of social and



George Wharton James

THE ARENA ADVERTISER



David Graham Phillips

individual development which THE ARENA has rendered during the past twelve months may be gathered from a perusal of the table of contents, but space prevents our more than briefly mentioning a very few of the strong writers who have contributed to its pages and some of the most notable subjects ably discussed during 1907. Among the leading thinkers and popular writers who have given our readers the result of their mature thought we mention the following:

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, D.C.L., LL.D., the most eminent living evolutionary philosopher and one of the most fundamental and profound economic writers of the time; Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., author of "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," "The Story of New Zealand," etc.; the distinguished English statesman, J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.; Hon. Walter Clark, LL.D., Chief Justice of North Carolina; Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labor for New Zealand and one of the foremost constructive statesmen of Australasia; John



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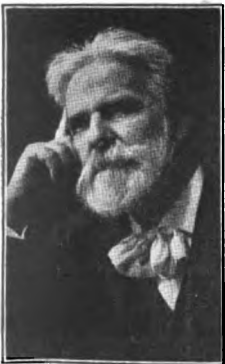
Moody, author of "The Truth About the Trusts," etc.; David Graham Phillips, one of the closest students of political life in America; Professor Frank Frost Abbott, Ph.D., of Chicago University; Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey; Charles Klein, author of "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Daughters of Men" and "The Music Master"; William D. McCrackan, A.M., author of "The Rise of the Swiss Republic," "Swiss Solutions to American Problems," etc.; Professor Archibald Henderson, Ph.D., of the University of North Carolina, one of the ablest literary and dramatic critics of America; Joaquin Miller, the Poet of the Sierras; George Wharton James, author of "The Wonders of the Colorado Desert," "In and Out of the Old Missions of Southern California," etc.; F. Edwin Elwell, the famous American sculptor; and James MacKaye, author of "The Economy of Happiness."

These are but a few of the many distinguished thinkers who have contributed their best thought to THE ARENA during the past twelve months.

The subject matter, though more especially devoted to political economy and social problems, has covered a wide range and has been calculated to touch life in a vital and helpful way, both individually and in its larger social relations. Something of the breadth and scope of its discussions may be seen from the following very partial list of important papers that have appeared:

"The Railways for the Nation"; "The State-Owned Railways of Germany"; "The Government-Owned Railways of New Zealand"; "The Truth at the Heart of Capitalism and of Socialism"; "Constitutional Changes Demanded to Bulwark Democratic Government"; "Secretary Root and His Plea for Centralization"; "The Growth of the Slum in Our Cities"; "Why I Am a Socialist"; "Why I Am not a Socialist"; "The Present Status of Our Civil Service"; "The Historic Aspect of the Virgin Birth"; "Recent Humanistic Legislation in New Zealand"; "Some Results of Municipal-Ownership in Great Britain"; "The False Note in the Modernization of Germany"; "The Federal Government and State Liquor Laws"; "The Evolution of the Trust: Its Evil Element and the True Remedy"; "The Spirit *versus* the Letter of the Creeds"; "Religion, Philosophy and the Drama"; "The Theater as a Potential Factor for Civilization"; "Modern Germany—Mad?" "Plant Consciousness"; "Democracy and Socialism"; "World-Peace"; "The Cable Telegraph Systems of the World"; "The Anomaly of Capital Punishment"; "Victor Hugo: Critic, Prophet and Philosopher"; "The Economic Basis of the Divorce Problem"; "The Child in Nature's Workshop"; "Senator Robert M. La Follette for President"; "The Federation of the World"; "Two Successful Experiments in Civic Government: Galveston and Houston"; "Massachusetts' Historic Attitude in Regard to Representative Government"; "The Catholic Church and Socialism"; "The Season's Social Drama"; "The Fallacies of Christian Science"; "The Truths of Christian Science"; "The Sweep of Economic Events in the Light of History"; "The Dramas of Oscar Wilde"; "Parental Education"; "Chinatown and the Curse that Makes it a Plague-Spot in the Nation"; "Municipal-Ownership and Political Corruption"; "Idealism: A Sketch"; "Government by Federal Judges"; "Municipal Art in New Orleans"; "New Zealand: A New Democracy"; and "Political Economy and Present-Day Civilization."

Two things have marked in a striking degree the content-matter of THE ARENA: Its papers have been preeminently authoritative in character. Many of its contributors are among the foremost thinkers of the day; others are persons who have made a special and intimate study of the subjects under discussion. Thus for example, Mr. A. W. A. Brown, who has written two notable papers, "The Government-Owned Railways of New Zealand" and "New Zealand: A New Democracy," prepared these papers after a visit to New Zealand and an exhaustive study of the actual workings of the social and political organism of the dominion. Professor Frank Parsons' two papers on "The State-Owned

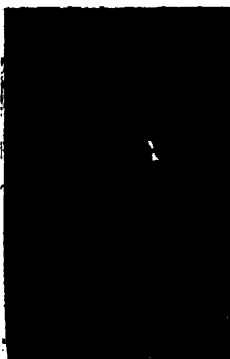


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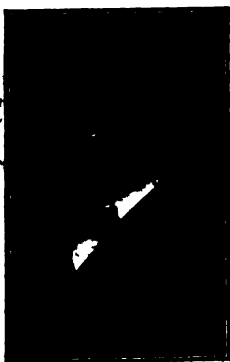
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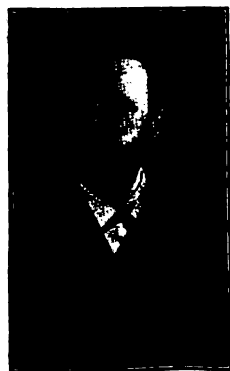
church and only retired from the priesthood when he was given the alternative of ab-
economic teachings which he believed to be the nearest approach to the ethics of the
relinquishing his position in the church.

Again: last year we mentioned the fact that we had several important improvements
would make THE ARENA more than ever indispensable to live, earnest and thoughtful



John Moody

equipped writer in the [reform ranks for collating and digesting] Public-Ownership n
of THE ARENA are receiving each month a carefully edited digest, of the most imp
Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation, Coöperation and Proportional Representation,
be obtained in any other publication extant. In addition to these news department
of the Present" presents each month a vivid pen-picture of significant events in the p



Prof. Frank Parsons

Railways of Germany" were the fruit of a careful personal investigation which extended over the German Empire. The same was true of his paper on municipal-ownership in Great Britain. This contribution was the fruit of exhaustive personal investigations made during two trips taken for the especial purpose of studying British municipal affairs in Scotland and England. Ellis Meredith's paper on "The Senatorial Election in Colorado" is a bold exposé of corrupt conditions in the Centennial State, made by one of the ablest and most competent journalists of Colorado,—a person who is personally intimately acquainted with all the facts in her state. The papers by George Wharton James are the fruit of personal investigations made as special commissioner for THE ARENA in the various cities with which he deals. The paper by Thomas McGrady on "The Catholic Church and Socialism" is another illustration of the special fitness of THE ARENA's contributors to discuss the subjects in hand. Father McGrady was for fifteen years a loved and honored priest in the Roman

Several of these improvements have already been made. Thus, by special arrangements with Mr. Ralph Albertson, one of the leading practical reform workers of America, with Professor Frank Parsons, the leading authority on Public-Ownership in America, and with Mr. Robert Tyson, secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, we have added four new departments that are of first importance to friends of genuine democracy, economic progress and just government. By the original arrangement, Professor Parsons was to conduct the department containing the current news relating to public-ownership of natural monopolies; Mr. Albertson the departments of Direct-Legislation and Coöperation, and Mr. Tyson that of Proportional Representation. Professor Parsons' severe illness rendered it impossible for him to conduct the Public-Ownership department, but happily we were able to arrange with Mr. Albertson to add this department to his other two. Mr. Albertson has for several years been working with Professor Parsons in his great Public-Ownership labors and is, next to the Professor, probably the best

religious and educational worlds, viewed from the standpoint of fundamental democracy. The Book Review department is superior to that of most contemporary magazines and is exceptionally valuable to thoughtful people, owing to the conscientious and careful reviews which are prepared by a corps of exceptionally competent writers. The Book Studies are among the best specimens of book reviewing of the day. Another new and popular department is the "Editor's Quiet Hour," in which Mr. Flower is seen at his best. Since the establishment of this department the Editor of THE ARENA has received a number of letters expressive of great appreciation on the part of his readers. The following from the popular cartoonist, Ryan Walker, is typical of many of these communications:

"I want to congratulate you on the new department, "The Quiet Hour," in THE ARENA; it brings the reader into such close touch with your splendid self."

This month THE ARENA increased from 112 to 128 pages, adding sixteen pages of illustrated matter each month.



Archibald Henderson

We have several other important improvements in view which we hope to introduce during the coming year. We feel that we can safely promise our readers that **THE ARENA** for 1908 will be stronger, abler and more effective in its battle for civic righteousness and individual growth and development than ever before. In all departments of vital relations, political, social, economic, educational, religious, philosophic, scientific, and in the domains of art, literature and criticism, **THE ARENA** for the ensuing year will, we believe, eclipse all previous records. Our determination is to make 1908 the red-letter year in the history of this review, making it a magazine that no man or woman who cares or dares to think will feel he or she can dispense with. In its pages the master thinkers who represent great fundamental movements for the preservation and advancement of democracy and the conservation of the rights and interests of all the people, will from month to month speak to the thoughtful and earnest men and women of the nation. No pains will



J. Henniker Heaton

be spared in our effort to make each issue superior to its predecessor in all that should mark a great original review of opinion which has at heart the highest interests of the individual and the social organism.

What "The Arena" Stands For

THE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious, and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, **THE ARENA** stands for a peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under theegis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the out-flowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," **THE ARENA** demands:

- I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.
- II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.
- III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to their strength.
- IV. Voluntary Coöperation.
- V. The abolition of child slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.
- VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.
 - (a) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.
 - (b) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.
- VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.

THE ARENA FOR JANUARY

Among the many notable papers which will be features of the January ARENA, we call special attention to the following:

I. THE STORY OF RIMINI. By Professor Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

This is an absorbingly interesting and illuminating study of the Rimini story by that brilliant critic and essayist, Professor Archibald Henderson. Ever since Dante seized upon it and touched it with the magic of his genius, this wonderfully fascinating and tragic tale of human love has been a favorite theme with poets, painters and musicians. Mr. Henderson's paper first treats of the story as a matter of historic fact. He next gives us a brief glimpse of Chaucer's quaint version of the tale, and of Dante's all-too-brief rendering of the pathetic story in "The Inferno." He then passes to a consideration of Maeterlinck's mystical treatment of the Rimini theme, closing with a study of Stephen Phillips' dramatic masterpiece.

II. THE ULTIMATE ISSUE INVOLVED IN RAILROAD ACCIDENTS. By Carl S. Vrooman.

This is one of the strongest, ablest and most startling papers on the railroad question that has appeared in any magazine. The author, next to Professor Frank Parsons, is, perhaps, better qualified to write intelligently on the railroad situation than any other thinker in the land. He recently spent over a year in the Old World, with the special purpose of making an exhaustive study of the railroad conditions in all parts of Western Europe. Later he returned to this country where he further added to the extensive knowledge he already possessed of our railroad systems and their management. His paper on "One Phase of the Railroad Question," published in a recent issue of *McClure's Magazine*, justly attracted general attention. His paper contributed to the January ARENA is, we think, far more fundamental and vital in character than that able article, as it is more comprehensive in scope. It is a paper that no wide-awake American can afford to overlook.

III. INHERITANCE TAXES. By Arthur B. Hayes, Solicitor of Internal Revenue.

This is, we believe, the most masterly and authoritative paper on Inheritance Taxes that has yet been written for a magazine. The author since 1901 has been Solicitor of Internal Revenue, Department of the Interior, Washington. In this paper he has made an exhaustive study of the subject, citing the opinions of eminent jurists and various rulings and decisions of the Supreme Court. The author is a strong believer in the Inheritance Tax, and it is safe to say that the paper will be in general demand during the next few years, as the agitation for the Inheritance Tax more and more engages the public mind.

IV. THE PERSONALITY AND THE ART OF MINNIE MADDERN FISKE. By Kenyon West. Illustrated.

A striking feature of the January ARENA will be an extended study of this gifted actress as woman and as artist, prepared especially for this review by the well-known author, journalist and critic, Kenyon West. The paper will be magnificently illustrated with a large number of exceptionally fine half-tone pictures.

THE ARENA FOR JANUARY

- V. THE SOUL OF MAN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCULPTURE. A Study of Mr. Partridge's Portrait Busts.** By B. O. Flower. Magnificently illustrated with half-tone portraits of Milton, Franklin, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Whitman, Whittier, Lincoln, Markham and Edward Everett Hale; together with a full-page view of a corner in Mr. Partridge's studio, showing his statue of Nathan Hale and the "Peace" statue.

In this beautifully illustrated sketch, the Editor of THE ARENA shows the high demand which Twentieth-Century civilization makes upon the man of genius. He must be spiritually awakened so as to see the real man behind the veil of flesh. Mr. Flower points out how the masterpieces of many of the ancient Grecian sculptors, although well-nigh perfect representations of sensuous life, were signally lacking in that subtle quality which speaks of spiritual enlightenment. In Mr. Partridge's portrait busts he shows this soul quality, which he believes will be more and more a distinguishing characteristic of Twentieth-Century sculpture. The paper is rich in suggestive thoughts, and with the beautiful illustrations makes a strikingly attractive feature.

- VI. THE RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR DISTINGUISHED.** By Theodore Schroeder.

In this paper Mr. Schroeder points out what he conceives to be the chief points of difference between the religious and secular concepts.

- VII. ZIONISM OR SOCIALISM: WHICH WILL SOLVE THE JEWISH QUESTION?** By Saul Beaumont.

Although this paper will primarily appeal to intelligent Hebrews, it is a very informing survey of the question,—such a discussion as will give all readers a clearer idea of the question than most people at present entertain. The author is a young Hebrew, who like so many young men and women who have fled from the despotism of Russia, has thought deeply and intelligently on a question very near to the heart of the Jewish people.

- VIII. THE PROBABLE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE TRUST.** By Phillip Rappaport.

Mr. Rappaport is a clear reasoner, and this paper will command the attention of the most thoughtful men and women who are making a study of present-day social and economic problems. It is full of important facts and logical deductions that intelligent people should consider.

- IX. ROBERT BROWNING: THE EAGLE-HEARTED POET OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.** By B. O. Flower.

In the Department of "The Editor's Quiet Hour," Mr. Flower gives a fine study of Robert Browning as the eagle-hearted poet of the Nineteenth Century. He shows how strong in moral virility, how spiritually stimulating, is the verse of that great master. The paper will appeal to all lovers of poetry and persons interested in wholesome optimistic social ethics.

- X. NEW RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AS VOICED BY THE ENGLISH LEADER OF THE NEW THEOLOGY MOVEMENT. A Book-Study.**

The Book-Study for the January ARENA is concerned with Rev. R. J. Campbell's recent work dealing with the New Theology. This extended book-review is an admirable complement to Mr. Flower's study of Professor Pfleiderer's *Religion and the Historic Faiths*, which is the subject of a critical review in this issue of THE ARENA.

How To Organize a Lecture Course

First—Negotiate with the local organizations that are professedly interested in serious subjects. We frequently deal with Men's Clubs of churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, Federated Trades Councils, Boards of Trade, reform clubs, etc.

Second—If no organization can be interested, then ascertain if an accessible and desirable lodge hall or lecture-room of a church seating about 200 can be obtained for about \$5.00 per night, and advise us of the open dates. Satisfactory dates can doubtless be given you.

Third—Immediately organize a committee of ten or fifteen men and women of progressive trend to be known as the Good Government League Lecture Association, or such similar name as may be selected.

Fourth—Prepare a selected list of one hundred or more names of readers, students and other wide-awake persons of the city. Such a list if reached by interviews and correspondence will form the basis for a lecture attendance of two hundred or more.

Fifth—Secure one or more persons to thoroughly canvass the city and secure guarantors for season tickets. Season tickets for the five lectures usually sell at \$1.50. The agents can be paid a commission to be agreed upon, out of the proceeds. Do not forget that to secure a constituency of 100, 200, or 300 ticket-buyers who will purchase season tickets to a course of economic lectures, is practically developing a due-paying membership to what can readily become a very useful organization.

Sixth—If personally unable to participate in organizing the course kindly supply us the following information: The names and addresses of several of the most progressive clergymen, as complete a record as possible of the secretaries of the men's clubs of churches, reform clubs and such other organizations as might be interested. Supply us a list of ten or fifteen progressive men who are interested in economic, civic or social questions. With this information we will endeavor to obtain results by correspondence. Your personal work, however, will greatly facilitate our efforts.

Final Suggestion—We desire to place your city in our circuit. With your coöperation and that of our many friends we will gradually add to our present circuit until we will be placing economic courses in the principal cities from Winnipeg to the Gulf and from Ocean to Ocean—the results will be worth the effort. Never in our time has there been so opportune a moment for vigorous action as now.

TERMS—Cost of entire course, consisting of four lectures and one debate, or of six lectures, within Chicago-Boston, Chicago-Minneapolis, and Chicago-Kansas City circuits, \$200—to be paid in equal installments as lectures are delivered. The Association pays all traveling and local expenses of speakers. It also supplies advertising matter in small quantities at absolute cost of production in large quantities. The local committee supplies stereopticon and operator when needed.

We solicit correspondence with all friends willing to coöperate in placing a course of lectures in their cities. Please inform us if interested, so that we may send you names of other interested parties and further advise you in regard to details of work. Address:

F. H. MONROE, President, Palos Park (suburb of Chicago), Illinois.

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